

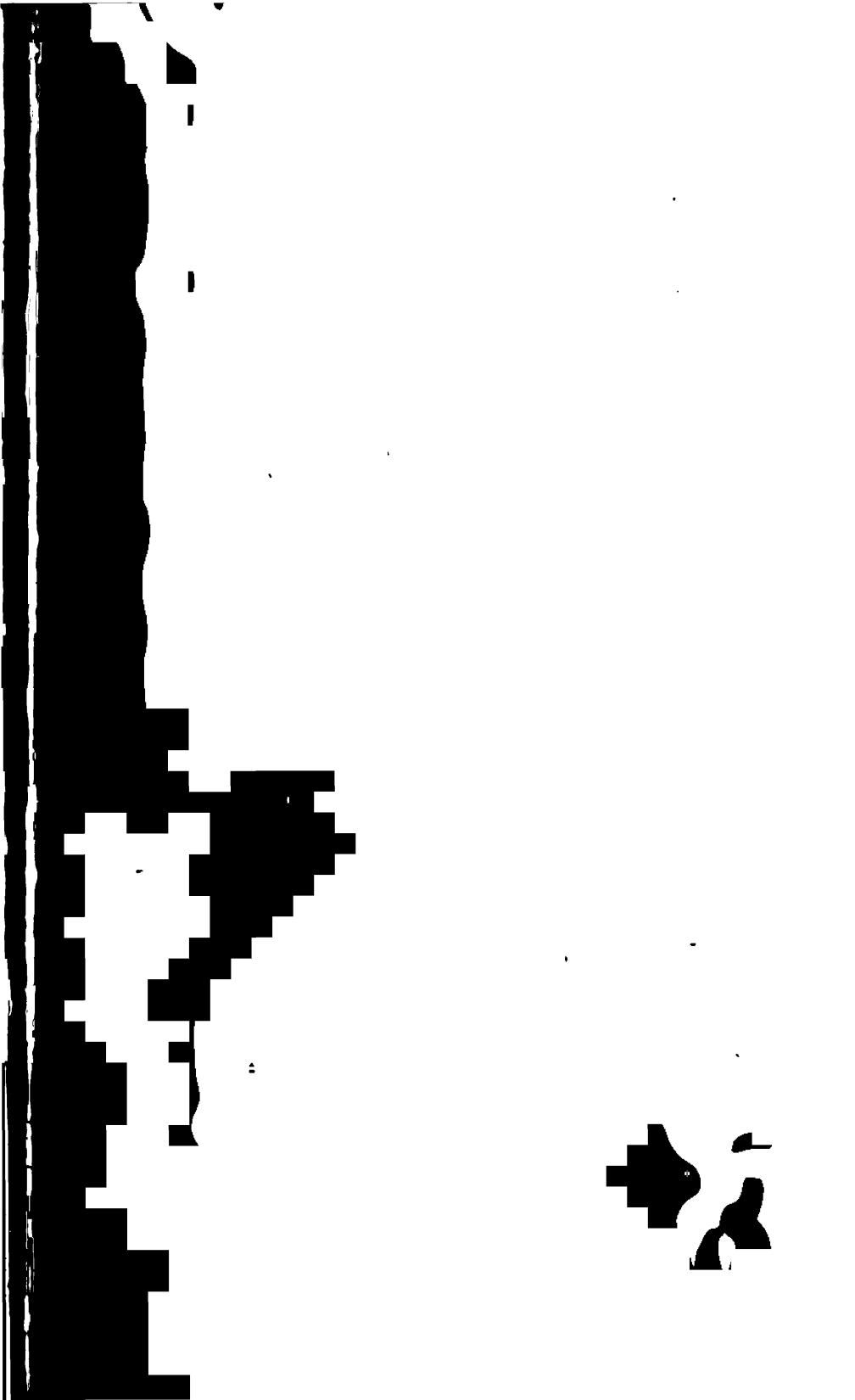




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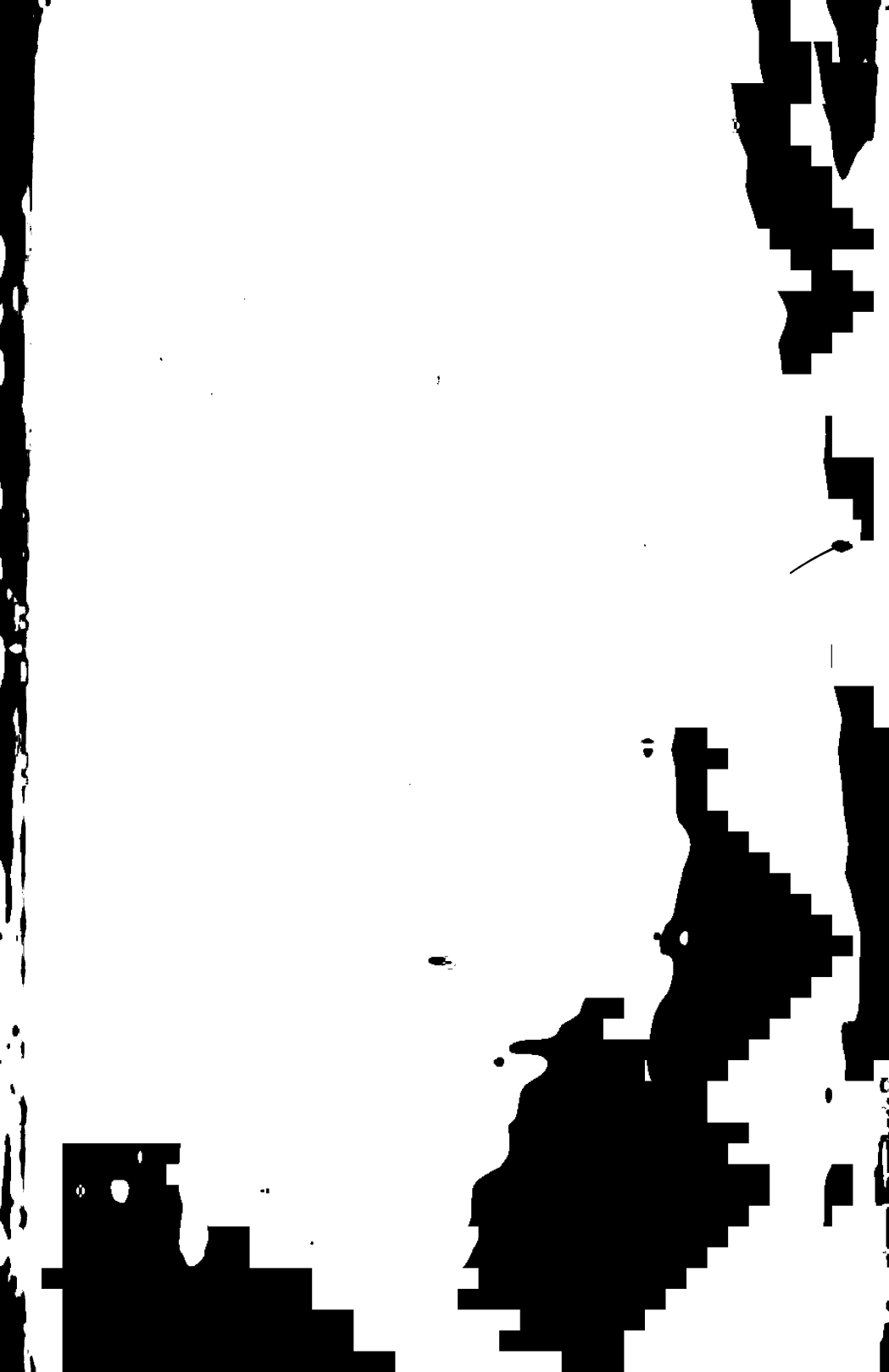
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17-15  
PROCEEDINGS

NATIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE

**SOCIALIST  
PARTY**



1912



# NATIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE

# SOCIALIST PARTY

HELD AT

Indianapolis, Ind., May 12 to 18, 1912

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STENOGRAPHIC REPORT BY

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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## National Convention of the Socialist Party

Held at Indianapolis, Indiana, Beginning Sunday, May 12, 1912,  
and Ending Saturday, May 18, 1912

### FIRST DAY'S SESSION.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party of America was called to order by National Secretary John M. Work at Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, Ind., Sunday, May 12, 1912, at 10 o'clock A. M.

The roll was called by Delegate Strebel of New York, and showed the following named delegates and alternates to be present:

ALABAMA—G. L. Cox.

ARIZONA—Erma Hyatt Allen, E. Johnston.

ARKANSAS—Ada Callery, Dan Hogan, J. A. C. Meng, A. R. Finks.

CALIFORNIA—A. E. Briggs, Edw. Adams Cantrell, Geo. W. Downing, Mary E. Garbutt, Job Harriman, E. H. Mizner, R. A. Maynard, A. W. Harris, Ernest L. Reguin, N. A. Richardson, H. C. Tuck, J. W. Wells, Fred C. Wheeler, Ethel Whitehead, Thos. W. Williams, J. Stitt Wilson, Frank E. Wolfe, C. K. Broneer.

COLORADO—W. P. Collins, A. H. Floaten, Mary L. Geffs, Thomas M. Todd, John Troxell.

CONNECTICUT—Sam E. Beardsley (at large), Ernest Berger, Edward Perkins Clarke, Chas. T. Peach, Jasper McLevy.

DELAWARE—Frank A. Houck.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—W. J. Ghent.

FLORIDA—J. S. Alexander, C. C. Allen, Fred Stanley.

GEORGIA—Max Wilk.

IDAHO—G. W. Beloit, Thos. J. Coonrod, Sidney W. Motley, Isaac Franklin Stewart.

ILLINOIS—J. O. Bentall, Bernard Beryn, Joseph R. Burge, John C. Sjoden, Louis F. Haemer, John C. Kennedy, Marshall E. Kirkpatrick, George Koop, James P. Larsen, Caroline A. Lowe, F. T. Maxwell, Mary O'Reilly, W. E. Rodriguez, Seymour Stedman, George North Taylor, Guy Underwood.

INDIANA—Samuel S. Condo, W. W. Warner, Janet Fenimore, Stephen C. Garrison, William H. Henry, James Oneal S.

M. Reynolds, William Sheffer, Florence Wattles.

IOWA—Margaret D. Brown, John Juul Jacobsen, Lee W. Lang, Irving S. McCrillis.

KANSAS—Oscar H. Blase, A. W. Ricker, L. F. Fuller, May Wood-Simons, S. M. Stalard, Benj. Franklin Wilson.

KENTUCKY—Charles Dobbs, Walter Lanfersiek.

LOUISIANA—J. R. Jones.

MAINE—Geo. Allen England.

MARYLAND—Chas. B. Backman, Dr. J. Rosett, C. W. Staub.

MASSACHUSETTS—James F. Carey, Alex. Coleman, Charles E. Fenner, J. M. Coldwell, Robert Lawrance, Patrick Mahoney, Rose Tenner, George E. Roewer, Jr., Dan A. White.

MICHIGAN—Frank Aaltonen, Jas. Gerhyde, Guy H. Lockwood, Hamilton McMaster, Etta Menton, J. A. C. McFarland, Jas. H. McFarland.

MINNESOTA—Marietta E. Fournier, John H. Grant, Nels S. Hillman, J. Sigall, Olaus Jacobson, Morris Kafas, Thomas Erwin Latimer, J. G. Maattas, David Morgan, Jay E. Nash, A. O. Devos, O. S. Watkins.

MISSISSIPPI—M. E. Fritz.

MISSOURI—Ernest Theo. Behrens, Wm. Lincoln Garver, Caleb Lipscomb, George W. O'Dam, Otto Vierling, W. A. Ward.

MONTANA—Lewis J. Duncan, Clarence A. Smith, Jacob M. Kruse, James B. Scott, Philip H. Christian.

NEBRASKA—Fred J. Warren, Clyde J. Wright.

NEVADA—Grant Miller.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—John P. Burke, Wm. A. McCall.

NEW JERSEY—Henry Carless, Christopher J. Cosgrove, George H. Goebel, W. son B. Killingbeck, Harry F. Kopp, Frederick Kraft, James M. Reilly, Gustave Theimer.

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## NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION.

NEW MEXICO—J. B. Lang.

NEW YORK—Henry Stobodin, Charles J. Ball, Jr., Fred Bennetts, Theresa Malkiel, William Burckle, Jas. A. Mansett, Edward F. Cassidy, William E. Duffy, Otto L. Endres, C. L. Furman, Morris Hillquit, Algonon Lee, E. Lindgren, Meyer London, Herbert M. Merrill, Albert Pauly, Clinton H. Pierce, G. Rothmund, Charles Edward Russell, Harvey A. Simmons, U. Solomon, Gustave A. Strebel, Joshua Wanhope.

NORTH CAROLINA—Benjamin T. Tiller, NORTH DAKOTA—A. E. Bowen, Jr., Robert Grant, Chas. D. Kelso, Arthur Le Sueur.

OHIO—Jacob L. Bachman, Wm. Bessemer, Max Boehm, T. Clifford (at large), D. Lewis Davis, Dominick J. Farrell, Edward John Jones, Dan McCartan, William Patterson, Edgar Eugene Powell, Marguerite Prevey, Chas. M. Priestap, C. E. Ruthenberg, Anna Katherine Storck, Frederick Guy Strickland, Lawrence A. Zitt.

OKLAHOMA—Otto F. Branstetter, Carrie C. Block, J. T. Cumbie, Roscoe Emin Dooley, L. E. Irvin, Patrick S. Nagle, Geo. E. Owen, John G. Wills.

OREGON—Maurice E. Dorfman, John Hayden, Tom J. Lewis, Floyd C. Ramp, C. W. Sherman.

PENNSYLVANIA—George W. Bacon, J. Mahlon Barnes, Cora Mae Bixler, Leroy Rutherford Bruce, Dan M. Caldwell, Anna Cohen, Jos. E. Cohen, Frank A. Davis, Lewis Goaziou, Richard L. Grainger, James C. Hogan, Gertrude Breslau Hunt, Charles A. Maurer, James H. Maurer, C. W. Ervin, Frederick Hall Merrick, Edward Moore, William Parker, Robert B. Ringle, John W. Slayton, Alfred Geo. Ward, Robert J. Wheeler, David Williams, Lorenzo Birch Wilson, Jr., John C. Young.

RHODE ISLAND—James P. Reid, Edward W. Theinert.

SOUTH CAROLINA—William Eberhard. SOUTH DAKOTA—Benjamin Dempsey.

TEXAS—Rickey Alexander, Geo. C. Edwards, Chas. A. Byrd, Ed. A. Green, Thos. Aloysius Hickey, Ernest Richard Meitzen, Will S. Noble, Jacob Chesley Rhodes, L. L. Rhodes, M. A. Smith, J. C. Thompson.

UTAH—Homer P. Burt, James A. Smith, Wm. Morris Wesley.

VERMONT—John Spargo.

VIRGINIA—Geo. Milton Norris.

WASHINGTON—Leslie E. Aller, Adam H. Barth, Frans Bostrom, Edwin J. Brown, Wm. H. Wing, Emma D. Cory, H. C. Cupples, Anna Agnes Maley, Kate Sadler, Carl Sadler, Henry Hensefer, Hulet M.

WEST VIRGINIA—C. H. Boswell, E. H. Jett.

WISCONSIN—Victor L. Berger, Dan W. J. W. R. Gaylord, W. A. Jacobs, Thoms. Kleinf, Emil Seidel, Elizabeth H. mas, Carl D. Thompson.

WYOMING—Antony Carlson, Paul J. aulsen, J. Suaja, Foreign-Speaking Organizations, Josef Novak, Leo Laukki, Jos. Corti, H. Gluski, Zdzislaw Banka, Christian Larsen, Frank Patrick.

The National Secretary stated that the delegates and alternates answering to the roll call were entitled to permanently organize the convention.

Nominations for chairman for the day were called for, and the following delegates were placed in nomination:

James F. Carey, Massachusetts. Declined.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Pennsylvania. Declined.

Morris Hillquit, New York.

John Curtis Kennedy, Illinois. Declined.

Dan White, Massachusetts. Declined.

W. P. Collins, Colorado.

M. A. Smith, Texas. Declined.

The nominations were then closed.

Delegates Strebel, Floaten, Rodriguez and Oneal were appointed tellers.

A rising vote was taken, resulting in 158 for Hillquit, 70 for Collins. Del. Hillquit was then declared elected chairman for the day. On taking the chair he spoke as follows:

### OPENING REMARKS.

**CHAIRMAN HILLQUIT:** Comrades, it is with extreme pleasure and pride that I open this fifth National Convention of the Socialist Party. (Applause.)

In looking at this representative and splendid gathering my thoughts involuntarily revert to the first convention of the Socialist Party, likewise held in Indianapolis. It is just eleven years ago now; a very short, insignificant span of time, but within that time the Socialist movement in this country has so grown in extent, in significance and in substance, that a convention meeting here today represents an entirely different movement from what it did represent eleven years ago.

When we organized the Socialist Party here in Indianapolis we claimed 10,000 members, a number born somewhat more of our enthusiasm than of actual fact. Today we have about 150,000 members (applause), men and women who periodically pay a certain small amount for the privilege of serving the great cause. There is no other political party in this country which can boast of an organized army of this kind.

When we first organized we had about half a dozen papers preaching the gospel of Socialism. Today we have about 300 of them, dailies, weeklies, monthlies, carrying the gospel of Socialism in thirty different languages to all the nationalities constituting the people of the United States.

When we first organized our party our voting strength was about 100,000. We have added about a similar number and more every year. Our last reported vote was 600,000, and in the next election we are sure to double or treble that vote. (Applause.) The Socialist Party has grown into a political party of first magnitude.

The questions of selecting the nominees of the different parties for the office of President of the United States, whether it be Roosevelt or Taft, whether it be Clark or Wilson, are very subordinate questions which will not in the least affect the welfare, the actual life of the American people. But whether the Socialist Party will again double its vote, whether the Socialist Party will show up a million and a half or two millions strong, will be a historical fact which will lay the foundation for a new society, for a new life in this country. (Applause.)

The Socialist Party has grown in every other way. It has grown in influence. Within the last few years it has demonstrated itself to be a factor in the social, political and public life of this country. It has, for the first time in the history of this country, forced open the doors of Congress to its representatives, and we intend to keep the doors open. (Applause.) In the next election we are sure to have, not one, but half a dozen or a dozen representatives of the Socialist Party fighting the cause of labor in the Congress of the United States. (Applause.)



We have, within the last few years, finally succeeded in demonstrating to a large portion of the working class of this country that the Socialist Party is the only party that truly, fully, at all times, represents their interests and fights their battles, and labor is coming into our ranks in larger and larger numbers every year—aye, every month and every day.

But, comrades, it is not merely our physical growth, it is not merely our large strength, upon which we congratulate ourselves in assembling at this convention today. It is the fact that the Socialist Party has at all times remained true to its trust and carried the banner of International Socialism aloft in this country, unsullied and unstained. (Applause.)

The Socialist Party, comrades, represents a factor of tremendous importance in this country, and this convention is called upon to lay the foundation for the future work, extension and struggles of this party. It is not an exaggeration to say that today there are about three millions of Socialists in this country, men and women, voters and non-voters. The eyes of these three millions of people in the United States are focused upon us. They expect us to show the road to the emancipation of the working class, and to lay the foundation for a stronger, more powerful, more efficient instrument for the struggles of the working class in this country.

May we undertake our work and our tasks with a realization of these great duties which we are to perform. May we remember, at all times during the continuance of this convention, that the work we are called upon to do is work of tremendous importance, and let us not waste time by petty, unimportant, insignificant matters. A suggestion has been made by some comrades that this convention should last about two weeks. No greater mistake could be made, comrades. (Applause.) If we are to let the convention lag on, if we are to work ourselves into a state of exhaustion where we will be incapable of doing good work, then by all means let us remain in session two weeks or three weeks. But if we are to do the work before us as full-grown men and women, let us not waste time. Let us do our work within a week. Let us dispose of every subject that comes before us, on its merits, and without wasting time. (Applause.)

And here another point, comrades. We need not close our eyes to the fact that we come here from different parts of the country, with different and sometimes conflicting views on various questions of policy and tactics. It is well it should be so. No live popular movement can exist without like differences between the adherents of that movement.

But let us remember, comrades, that when we held the first convention of the Socialist Party, the Unity Convention in Indianapolis, we had perhaps more radical differences. The spirit was more acrimonious. We thought at that time that the differences between us could never be bridged. But how trivial, how silly do those differences look to us today. How trivial, how silly will our tactical differences look to us when we are once in the midst of the actual fight for the working class. (Applause.)

Let us not forget this, comrades, and let us carry on our deliberations with all the differences, legitimate differences of opinion that we have and should have, in the realization that, after all, we are here for one joint common cause, the emancipation

of the working class, and let us act accordingly. (Great applause.)

The Chairman called for the nomination of a temporary secretary.

James Reilly of New Jersey was the person nominated for Secretary, and unanimously elected.

## RULES FOR THE CONVENTION

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The next order of business is the adoption of rules. We are not constituted before the adoption of rules.

**DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.):** If in order, I move to proceed to the adoption of rules serialim as printed in the leaflet distributed to the delegates. (Seconded.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** These rules have been amended by the National Executive Committee. What will be in order now will be the reading of the proposed rules as a whole. We will then take them up serialim, and we will proceed to do so.

**DEL. GAYLORD:** Then I withdraw my motion.

The convention rules prepared by the National Executive Committee were then read by the Secretary.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We shall now proceed to discuss the proposed rules serialim. Unless there is objection made on the floor to any of the rules mentioned we will consider them adopted.

**DEL. GOEBEL:** In the event of any addition of new rules, wouldn't it be better to wait till all that you have read are acted on?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Additional rules will be entertained after the ones proposed have been disposed of.

**DEL. MAHONEY (Mass.):** I move that the report of the Committee on Rules be adopted as a whole. (Motion seconded.)

**DEL. KAPLAN (Minn.):** I move to amend that we take up the report serialim. (Seconded.)

The amendment was adopted and the report was taken up serialim.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The first rule will now be read, and if there is no objection we will proceed to the next.

Rules 1 and 2 were read and adopted without objection.

Rule 3 was read.

**DEL. GOAZAIOU (Pa.):** I move to amend that the Secretary shall select a reading clerk.

The motion was seconded and put and carried, and the rule as amended was adopted.

Rule 4 was read.

**DEL. GOAZAIOU:** I move to amend by changing the word "elect" to "appoint."

**DEL. BERGER (Wis.):** Now, Mr. Chairman. We had that rule in that shape originally; it read: to appoint. But that was changed by the National Executive Committee. As far as I am concerned, I am willing it should be amended to read now as it originally read.

**DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.):** "Sergeant-at-arms and assistants." How many? What does that mean?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** That would leave it to the discretion of the appointing or selecting body.

**DEL. RICHARDSON:** Then, I move to amend by striking out "and assistants," because that requires this whole convention to elect all the assistants; and further, that the sergeant-at-arms be authorized to appoint his assistants.

The amendment was accepted by Del. Gozaizou and was carried.

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Rules 5 and 6 were read and adopted without objection.

Will rule 7 be next read.

F. CEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): A point of indignation. Is this a party press committee for the press committee for the convention?

Pierce CHAIRMAN: A publicity committee for the convention, as we understood it.

DEL. GAYLORD: Not a committee on party press?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not on party press.

DEL. GAYLORD: Thank you. Now, I move to amend the title of the Committee on Municipal Program, substituting therefor "State and Municipal Program."

The amendment was seconded and was then accepted by Del. Berger on behalf of the National Executive Committee and agreed to.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move to amend the rules by adding a committee of five to bring in a report on the question of the party press. (Seconded.)

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Does that list constitute all the committees?

THE CHAIRMAN: The appointment of 14 committees named in the rules does not exclude special committees that the convention may select from time to time later.

DEL. ENDRES (N. Y.): I move that we disassociate with the Committee on Contested Seats.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether there are any contests. Com. Work, will you inform us whether there are any contests of delegates?

SEC. WORK: No contests.

The motion of Del. Endres was seconded.

DEL. BERGER: At the time we prepared the report we did not know whether there would be any contests or not. I am glad that the party is so harmonious.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I observe that where the rule provides for extra or additional committees there is the modification that the number of delegates shall be 7, and that not more than one delegate shall be from the same state. I ask, does that apply to the previous committees or the subsequent committees?

THE CHAIRMAN: It applies to both.

DEL. BERGER: It applies to all the standing committees.

THE CHAIRMAN: The 14 committees.

DEL. BERGER: The 14 committees provided in this report. We may have special committees later, and then, of course, that rule would not apply.

DEL. GAYLORD: A point of order. I do not know that it matters, but isn't the Committee on Contested Seats a constitutional committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is. Therefore, Com. Gaylord, I assume and shall hold that the constitution intended the election of a committee at this time, describing the number and method of election to provide for cases where there are contests. It is not made just for this convention, but for all conventions. Where there are no contests the constitution does not intend to have a committee.

DEL. KRAFFT (N. J.): I move that all committees consist of 9, so that the convention is better represented on the committees.

THE CHAIRMAN: Motion out of order, on the ground that the constitution provides for the number of members of the committee.

DEL. COSGROVE (N. J.): As I understand your ruling—I may be mistaken—

you are dispensing with the Committee on Contested Delegates?

THE CHAIRMAN: There is such an amendment before the house.

DEL. COSGROVE: Well, is it not a fact that there are some delegates that are not here yet, and if you dispense with the committee it eliminates a contesting of delegates that might arise?

THE CHAIRMAN: If there should be such an occasion this convention will always have a right, under the constitution, to elect such a committee.

Del. Wheeler of Texas inquired as to the last committee read by the clerk.

THE SECRETARY: A committee on State and Municipal Program of seven members. He accepted that.

DEL. BERGER: Yes, I accept that.

THE SECRETARY: It now reads "State and Municipal."

DEL. OWEN (Okla.): I want to find out what disposition was made of the motion to appoint a Committee on Party Press.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is pending before the convention and will be voted on as soon as we reach it.

DEL. OWEN: I want to move to amend that motion by changing the number of members of the committee from 5 to 9.

THE CHAIRMAN: What committee are you referring to?

DEL. OWEN: Committee on Party Press, from 5 to 9.

THE CHAIRMAN: From 5 to 9, a Committee on Party Press.

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I desire to state this: That I believe that the Committee on Contested Seats ought to be elected, and it ought to be elected at once, just as it stands on the original program, for this reason: That though there may not be any contests between duplicate delegations, there may be some contests as to the seating of alternates in this convention, and the committee ought to be elected now instead of delaying.

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): A point of order. The comrade seems to be discussing something that has already been disposed of.

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DEL. DUNCAN: The question before the house is the size of the Party Press Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the entire rule as read is before the convention. No vote has been taken on it or on the amendment.

DEL. WILSON: My point is this: Any delegate arriving here who is or might be contested ought to have an immediate hearing before such a committee and have a chance to be seated in the convention, and not have to delay until we come back and elect such a committee. I hope this will be left in the original form.

DEL. LOCKWOOD (Mich.): Comrades, it is going to be very evident to all of us that if we are going to try to vote on all these committees and different amendments we are going to get mixed up, and I think it would be very advisable to separate these lists of committees and vote on each one serially. Otherwise we won't know what we are voting for. We can do that and dispose of both these committees without any contest at all. I move to that effect. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that we proceed to vote upon each of the proposed committees separately. As far as the committees provided by the constitution are concerned the motion is out of

order. As far as the few additional suggested committees are concerned it may be entertained.

DEL. COSGROVE (N. J.): I move that the committees not named by the constitution shall be taken up seriatim. (Seconded.)

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): What are we going to vote on?

THE CHAIRMAN: On all the amendments before us.

DEL. GOEBEL: The amendments ought to be taken up separately. I am interested in one of them.

THE CHAIRMAN: What we have before us is the proposed rule submitted by the Committee on Rules, to which the amendments are as follows and will be voted on in the order stated: First, that as to the committees not named in the constitution we proceed to vote on each one separately. Then there is an amendment to the effect that we dispense with the Committee on Contested Seats. Then another amendment that we also elect a Committee on Party Press, of five members; and an amendment to that amendment that such committee consist of nine. We now proceed to the first amendment, that we take up seriatim the committees other than those mentioned in the constitution.

The amendment was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment we are now going to vote on is the amendment to dispense with the Committee on Contested Seats.

The question was put and the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed to the amendment that we elect a Committee on Party Press, to consist of five, and amended to consist of nine. We will divide the motion.

Del Berlyn accepted the amendment to increase to nine.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is accepted by the mover of the motion. Does the seconder object? He does not. The amendment before you, then, is the one that we elect a Committee on Party Press to consist of nine members. All in favor—

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): I want to speak on the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not while we are voting. You are too late.

Del. Goebel claimed the floor, on the ground that there had been no opportunity for debate on the motion.

The chairman ruled that Del. Goebel was not entitled to the floor.

Del. Thompson (Wis.) appealed from the decision of the chair, and the appeal was sustained.

DEL. GOEBEL: I want to say, in justice to myself, that I should not have appealed from the decision of the chair, even though I thought it was unjust. I do not intend to appeal from the decision of the chair at any time during this convention, even though I do not like the decision. But I do feel that this matter ought to be discussed. We are providing for the appointment of a separate committee to do a certain thing. We have a clause in our national constitution which specifies that we shall not print a party paper. This motion in itself is covered right in that clause in the constitution. If this committee brings in a report it must go again to the Committee on Constitution, where it properly belongs. Let it go there to the committee where it belongs, the Committee on Constitution. Therefore, I am opposed.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): It is my unit that the fact that we elect a committee on Party Press does not change the fact that the committee so elected will have the functions to considering the party ownership of the press. New York, the party ownership of the press. There or may not consider that subject. The creation of a Committee on Party Press enables us to have the whole subject the welfare of our party press considered, and methods devised for improving its efficiency. Few matters of greater importance to our organization will come before us. I therefore urge the comrades to adopt the resolution to create this committee.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I trust the distinction made by Comrade Spargo may become clear, if it has not already done so, between a party press and a party-owned press. A Committee on Party Press might discuss and report recommendations concerning party ownership of the press, or it might not. The question of the party papers is a big one and interests us all. We are looking for information. I am in favor of the committee.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I want the delegates to vote on this motion intelligently. I do not speak of, nor do I have any intention of dealing with the party-owned press. We have a party press which we recognize in our National Bulletin. The relations of that press to the party are very important ones to take into consideration. There are many things in connection with a movement like ours which are different from any others. This is not a haphazard movement. This is an intelligent, organized movement, and we want to give it the most intelligent expression. And the question of the relations of the party to the party press and of the party press to the party, and to its principles, and to maintaining the resolutions and platform which we are to adopt in the convention—all these things and many other things have something to do with this convention, and the comrades throughout the country are looking for us to do something. I look at this question as being entirely different from a question of a party-owned press. But if the question ever comes up it must come up in a different form from the intention of this resolution. I just wanted to make myself plain.

Del. Solomon (N. Y.) moved the previous question. Carried.

The amendment to elect a committee of nine on party press was then carried, the rule as amended was adopted.

Rule 8 was then read by the Secretary on the subject of time allowed speakers.

DEL. TUCK (Cal.): I move as an amendment that five minutes be substituted for ten minutes. (Seconded.)

DEL. COSGROVE: A point of order. A motion was made to act on these rules seriatim. You are now going on to another altogether.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is well taken. We will now refer back to the previous paragraph and read the committees separately.

The Secretary read, under rule 7, "A convention press committee of five members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to such a committee?

DEL. BERGER: I would call it a Publicity Committee, in order to avoid misunderstanding.

THE CHAIRMAN: Publicity Committee it is called. Any objection to Publicity Committee?

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N. Rules 5 and 6 (Ark.): I move to strike Balhouth out and insert "publicity."  
 WILKIE W. AIRMAN: That has been done.  
 F. C. ELL: G. A. of the committee. No objection  
 dress, nation committee? Next.

non or secretary read the next item, "Aud-  
 bert? Committee of five members."

PIERCE CHAIRMAN: Any objection?  
 RUSSEL GAYLORD: To go to Chicago and  
 audit the party accounts, everything.

THE CHAIRMAN: No objection. Pro-  
 ceed to the next committee.

The Secretary read the next item, "A  
 Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organiza-  
 tions of Seven Members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection?

DEL. GAYLORD: It seems to me this  
 is a matter which also will come before  
 the Committee on Constitution necessar-  
 ily. The relations of the foreign-speaking  
 organizations must be worked out in the  
 constitution. The activities of the foreign-  
 speaking organizations are something that  
 they concern themselves with. They will  
 do that; they will do it, anyway. I move  
 to strike out this committee because it  
 goes into the Constitution Committee's ac-  
 tivities. (Seconded.)

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): We have in  
 the present national constitution different  
 provisions covering foreign-speaking or-  
 ganizations. But this question cannot be  
 settled by a mere provision in the consti-  
 tution. It requires a special committee,  
 one which understands the question of  
 foreign-speaking organizations and their  
 relations to this organization. If you want  
 to deal with the question locally you must  
 have a committee on the subject.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): This subject was  
 up before the congress two years ago, and  
 Com. Gaylord remembers, himself, that  
 when this question of the organization of  
 our foreign comrades came up we were  
 obliged to confer with the foreign com-  
 rades themselves in large numbers in or-  
 der to get some intelligent understanding  
 by the Constitution Committee as to what  
 we ought to do, and they brought to us  
 their suggestions, but these suggestions  
 apparently have not worked out satisfac-  
 torily. I think it would be a great mis-  
 take to leave this to the Constitution Com-  
 mittee. I think that the representatives  
 of the foreign-speaking organizations  
 themselves, or at least a sufficient number  
 of them, should be placed upon such a  
 committee, and they should confer to-  
 gether and have an opportunity, in their  
 effort of assisting, if necessary, the Com-  
 mittee on Constitution. But, at any rate,  
 think that distinct committees should be  
 organized for this particular purpose.

DEL. GAYLORD: I withdraw my mo-  
 tion.

DEL. SADLER (Wash.): I move to  
 amend that we increase that Committee  
 on Foreign-Speaking Organizations from  
 seven to nine. (Seconded.)

DEL. BERGER: We accept the amend-  
 ment.

DEL. PANKIN (N. Y.): I represent a  
 foreign language organization. May I  
 suggest to the convention that it would be  
 a wise thing to have on the committee on  
 the relations of the foreign-speaking  
 groups, some delegates representing for-  
 eign groups?

DEL. MOORE (Pa.): I move that an  
 auxiliary committee of three from the  
 foreign branches be appointed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is out of  
 order. The representatives of the foreign-  
 speaking organizations are here with the  
 right to a voice only. It has been cus-  
 tomary at the past conventions to have

our Committee on Foreign-Speaking Or-  
 ganizations confer and co-operate with the  
 delegates of these foreign-speaking or-  
 ganizations, and I have no doubt the pro-  
 ceeding will be followed this time.

On motion of Del. Strebel the previous  
 question was ordered.

The question was then put on the motion  
 that a Committee on Foreign-Speaking  
 Organizations to consist of nine members  
 be elected, and the motion was carried.

The Secretary read the next item, "A  
 Committee on Labor Organizations and the  
 Relations of the Party to Labor Organi-  
 zations, of seven members."

DEL. JACOBSEN (Iowa): I move to  
 amend by increasing the Committee on  
 Labor Organizations from seven to nine.  
 (Seconded.)

DEL. BERGER: I accept this for the  
 committee. My experience in these con-  
 ventions, covering a long, long period, is  
 that the smaller the committee, the better  
 it works. However, there is very little  
 difference between seven and nine, and I  
 accept the amendment.

DEL. BYRD (Tex.): I cannot see that  
 it is essential to increase that committee  
 from seven to nine, and I think we should  
 vote it down.

The question was then put on the elec-  
 tion of a committee of nine on Labor Or-  
 ganizations, and it was carried.

The Secretary read the next item, "A  
 Committee on Co-operation, of seven mem-  
 bers."

DEL. SADLER (Wash.): What is the  
 function of this committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The function of this  
 committee is to consider the co-operative  
 movement and to report to this convention  
 on the character and importance of the  
 movement and the proper relations be-  
 tween the Socialist Party and the co-op-  
 erative movement. Any further discussion?

DEL. BERGER: And also to make sug-  
 gestions to this convention how to assist  
 the co-operative movement. The Socialist  
 movement, in order to be successful, must  
 not only help the trade union movement,  
 or rather the economic struggle, but must  
 also back up the co-operative movement.  
 That is another root of the co-operative  
 commonwealth that we cannot neglect.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will  
 bring in recommendations on that point.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I would suggest  
 that the title of the committee be ampli-  
 fied, as it were.

THE CHAIRMAN: To-wit, namely—

DEL. HOGAN: By describing the char-  
 acter of co-operation which it shall con-  
 sider.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your amend-  
 ment, Com. Hogan?

DEL. HOGAN: Co-operative manufac-  
 turing.

DEL. BERGER: No, I object.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that your amend-  
 ment, Com. Hogan?

DEL. HOGAN: No, it is not my amend-  
 ment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well. Any fur-  
 ther discussion? Any objection to the  
 appointment of that committee?

DEL. HOGAN: I simply wanted to sug-  
 gest to the committee that I thought that  
 ought to be done.

THE CHAIRMAN: The comrades will  
 take the suggestion. Any objection to the  
 appointment of this committee?

No objection was heard, and the rule  
 was adopted.

The Secretary read the next item, "A Committee on State and Municipal Program, of seven members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to the election of a Committee on State and Municipal Program?

DEL KRAFFT (N. J.): Moved that the committee be enlarged to nine.

Del. Berger accepted the amendment on behalf of the committee.

DEL SMITH (Utah): I want to know if this committee is to consider the question known as commission form of government.

DEL BERGER: Yes.

There being no objection, the rule was adopted.

DEL THEIMER (N. J.): I would like to know whether there is a Committee on Immigration provided for?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Immigration was elected by the last party congress and will report at this convention.

Rule 8 was read by the Secretary a second time.

DEL KATE SADLER (Wash.): I move to amend that no delegate shall speak twice unless by unanimous vote of his delegation.

THE CHAIRMAN: That would be unnecessary. By unanimous vote this delegation can do anything without motion.

DEL TUCK (Cal.): I rise to renew my motion to strike out "ten minutes" and substitute "five minutes." (Seconded.)

DEL BERGER: Com. Chairman and comrades, I am accustomed of being limited to a five-minute rule. The average man can say a great deal in five minutes, but the average Socialist orator cannot. And there are a good many men and women here who only have a chance once in four years, and at best in two years, to tell us what happened in the state of Washington or the state of Mississippi. That is why I proposed to make it ten minutes. I will be very glad to accept the five-minute rule, however, if it meets the wishes of this convention. Five minutes are plenty as far as I am concerned. I simply wanted to give some of my comrades a chance.

DEL MALEY (Wash.): I speak against the amendment for five minutes; not in behalf of the Socialist agitator, but in behalf of the comrades in this convention who must have a little time in which to form their thoughts.

DEL RAMP (Ore.): I want to accept the amendment. I think the amendment is good, but I want to offer an amendment to the amendment, that a delegate may be given the privilege of speaking a second time upon a motion, with the consent of this organization. (Seconded.)

DEL LANFERSIEK (Ky.): I want to suggest to the delegates that it is costing the men and women here at least five dollars for every minute, and if you cannot express your sentiments in \$25 worth of minutes, then sit down. (Applause.)

DEL RINGLER (Pa.): I am in favor of the five-minute amendment. I know that absolutely a week was wasted by the adoption of the ten-minute rule heretofore.

DEL LEWIS (Ore.): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is one before the house.

DEL LEWIS: I have another amendment to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: A substitute for the whole?

DEL LEWIS: A substitute for the whole; that no delegate in any one of the

delegations shall speak twice until a delegate in all the other delegations shall have had an opportunity. (Seconded.)

On motion of Del. Solomon of New York, the previous question was ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, comrades, there is no rule yet to allow anybody to speak after the previous question is put. The recommendation is that the mover of the motion or chairman of the committee be allowed to speak after the previous question is put. By analogy, if no objection is made, Com. Berger will have the floor.

DEL BERGER: I got up and accepted the amendments in order to save time. The five-minute rule I also accept for the committee. I believe that if anyone has anything worth while this convention will grant him an additional five minutes at any time. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There are two questions before the house, whether it shall be five minutes or ten minutes. There are also two amendments and a substitute before the house. One amendment was to insert "five minutes" instead of "ten minutes." The other amendment was that no delegate be recognized if any other delegate from his state has been recognized and there are members of other state delegations that have not been recognized.

SEC. REILLY: Here are the amendments: The Tuck amendment provides for five minutes. Then there is the amendment by Del. Ramp of Oregon, that a delegate can be given the floor the second time only by a vote of this body.

THE CHAIRMAN: By a majority vote.

SEC. REILLY: A majority vote, of course.

DEL SPARGO: I rise to a point of information. I desire to know whether it will be your ruling that the vote we are to take now will decide the entire matter?

THE CHAIRMAN: This will decide the entire rule; the amendment being disposed of first, and the entire rule as amended next.

DEL SPARGO: Then I desire to be heard in opposition to the substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: It cannot be done. The previous question has been put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are before the house one substitute, two amendments and the original motion or rule. The substitute is to the effect that no delegate be recognized if any member of his delegation has been recognized on the question while there remain states which have not been heard from on the subject and desire to speak on the subject. The amendment to the amendment is that the time of each delegate be limited to five minutes unless extended by a majority vote. The amendment is that the time limit be five minutes instead of ten. The rule is that the time limit be ten minutes except for the chairman of the committee, majority and minority reports of committees, who shall have twenty minutes, and also after the previous question has been called each side to the question shall have one speaker with five minutes.

The question was then put on the substitute, and the substitute was defeated, the vote being 54 for and 159 against.

The motion was then put on the amendment to the amendment, limiting speakers to five minutes unless the time should be extended by majority vote, and the motion was unanimously carried.

The rule as amended was then adopted. DEL CAREY (Mass.): A point of inquiry. I would like to know if that would

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Balthovent the granting of an additional five minutes as provided in the rule. Does it do away with the power of the convention to extend the time, or if that is to be subject to change?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; the understanding of the chair is that they may have an extension of time, an additional five minutes to debate.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): A point of inquiry. Do I understand that the chairmen of committees will not have twenty minutes to report?

THE CHAIRMAN: They will.

DEL. SPARGO: I desire to know whether the chairman understands and rules that the rule as adopted granting time for chairmen of committees applies to the minority as well as the majority.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chairman does so understand.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): A point of inquiry. I wish to ask the chair, what is your ruling on the last rule where twenty minutes is given to the chairman of a committee to report? Can he divide his time? Has there been any place allowed for his reply at the close of the discussion, according to the rules?

THE CHAIRMAN: He has five minutes after the previous question is called, under the rule.

DEL. WILSON: Is that for the chairman or for the two?

DEL. BERGER: I think it says two speakers.

THE CHAIRMAN: It says two speakers, one on each side, and the chairman of a committee, in a discussion of a report, will certainly be the representative of the one side for which he speaks.

DEL. BERGER: Not necessarily. If the chairman of the committee wants to grant his time to somebody else he may do so, as long as his side is represented. Both sides ought to be heard and represented. The twenty minutes he can also divide up if he so chooses, among the various members of his committee, but as a rule I believe he will consume the whole time. I never do.

DEL. WILSON: Then I wish a ruling, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The ruling of the chair will be that the chairman of a committee cannot divide his time. That is a personal privilege accorded to the chairman of a committee for the purpose of enabling him personally to make a report, not to deal out patronage to others.

DEL. BERGER: That is not in accordance with the views of the committee nor with the practice in large parliamentary bodies. Com. Chairman, you have no right to say what I want to do.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair rules. Now, the orderly way is to take an appeal.

DEL. BERGER: I take an appeal. Am I at liberty to state my reason?

THE CHAIRMAN: You are at liberty to state your reason.

DEL. BERGER: I appeal for this reason: If the chairman of a committee has somebody on the committee that understands a question better than he does and the chairman is willing to grant such a member a part of the time, which really belongs to the entire committee, to make the statement or part of the statement for the committee, it should be his privilege to do so. Such is the custom in every large parliamentary body. This is a convention of about 300 members. We cannot all be prepared to speak on every subject. There are some men who have peculiar qualifications to speak on certain

matters which they have made a study. They are on committees, and they ought to have a right, if the chairman so decides, to explain the position of the committee on those questions. I appeal to the convention to grant the chairmen of the respective committees that right if the chairman or the committees so choose.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair has ruled as it has for this reason: First, what is before me is just the rule. The rule gives twenty minutes to the chairman of the committee to speak, not to divide. Now, I know that the rule prevails in Congress and similar legislative bodies which places it within the power of the chairman to divide his time. But this rule I consider absolutely undemocratic. I consider it part of the entire arrangement by which the committee and the chairman of the committee practically decide a proposition. It seems to me, where we provide for general discussion and give five or ten minutes, as the case may be, to anyone who may desire to speak on the subject, members of the committee will have ample opportunity to speak. Why do you make the exception of twenty minutes? Because, whether it is the chairman or spokesmen of the committee, we want one consecutive, complete presentation of the subject, and we know that that cannot be done in five minutes. That is why we gave twenty. But I do not think it was the intention of this convention to take a certain portion of time practically out of the hands of the convention and place it in the hands of the chairman of the committee and let him distribute it as he pleases. Now you have heard both sides, and will decide in accordance with your own wisdom.

A vote was taken on the appeal, and the chair being in doubt, a rising vote was then taken, resulting in 77 in favor of the appeal and 131 against. So the decision of the chair was sustained.

Rule 9 was then read as follows:

"The sessions of the Convention shall be from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. and from 2:30 to 5:30 p. m. Night sessions as ordered."

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): I move as an amendment that the sessions be from 9 a. m. to 12 m. and from 1:30 to 6 p. m. The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is that the sessions shall be from 9 to 12 and 1:30 till six.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I offer as a substitute that we meet from 9 a. m. till 1 p. m. and from 2 p. m. till 6:30 p. m. I will give my reasons in a minute.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): We have set the time from ten o'clock so as to give the various committees time to work. The committees must have time to do their work in order to make it possible for the Convention to go on. In case you are elected to serve on a committee you will find that you are an extremely busy man, Comrade Sadler. Your committee will meet at eight o'clock every day and have plenty of work until ten. You will also have plenty of work for the evening unless we decide to hold night sessions. Our proposition is based upon a great deal of experience, both in Socialist conventions and in those of various labor organizations. Remember, your work is not confined to the convention floor; it is in the committees where the real work is done and where the difficult questions are thoroughly thrashed out.

I am surprised at Comrade Berlyn. He has always in the past stood for the eight hour day. Now he wants us to work

ten or twelve hours out of twenty-four. I am not willing to go back on the eight hour day after fighting for it all my life—that is, I am willing enough to do committee work besides of the eight hour convention day.

In order to facilitate the business of the convention please accept the proposition of the Committee on Rules.

DEL. BYRD (Tex.): I seconded that resolution, or amendment; but Berger's point is well taken; and I withdraw my second.

THE CHAIRMAN: The withdrawal does not affect the motion.

DEL. SADLER: In support of my motion that we come to order at nine o'clock and run until 12, and reconvene at 1:30 and run until 6, I want to say that you cannot get the committees to come out in the morning and work. The only time you can get them to work is after we adjourn the convention at night. That is the only time you can get committees to work. You can't get a whole committee together before. Two or three will be lying in bed up to nine o'clock, and coming to the convention late anyhow. So to get the work done—the working class are used to hard work anyhow—we can do the committee work at night.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any further discussion?

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I move the previous question.

The previous question having been duly seconded was ordered by the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment comes first; the amendment is that our sessions commence at nine and continue until noon, and then reconvene at one thirty and continue until six.

The amendment was declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original motion is the adoption of the rule as reported, which is that we meet at ten o'clock, remain in session until one o'clock; reconvene at half past two, and remain in session until half past five; night sessions as ordered.

Rule 9 was then declared adopted as reported and read.

The Secretary then read Rule 10 as follows:

#### RULE 10.

"Robert's Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question has been called one delegate on each side may speak for five minutes."

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection Rule 10 will be adopted as read.

Rule 10 was declared adopted.

#### RULE 11.

"During the sessions no smoking or chewing of tobacco shall be allowed on the floor of the convention."

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection?

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move to amend by adding the words: "Or in the corridors of the convention hall."

THE CHAIRMAN: The jurisdiction of the convention extends only to the four walls of the hall. The amendment is out of order.

Rule 11 was then adopted as read.

#### RULE 12.

"Each delegate shall select one of its members to announce its vote."

DEL. RODRIGUEZ (Ill.): This only means, I assume, in case of a roll call?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): I want to offer an addition to the rule as read. The addition is in the following words: "The

vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegates of said state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is understood.

DEL. GOEBEL: I want to offer my amendment and speak to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Read it again.

DEL. GOEBEL: You have read the rule as reported by the Committee. I want these words added: "The vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegates of said state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote."

The Chairman: I shall have to rule it out of order. Under our constitution we cannot interfere with instructions from states to their delegates, and those instructions may include the unit rule. The chair has ruled that the amendment cannot be entertained because it contravenes the constitution of the Socialist Party of America, which vests the power to instruct delegates or to provide for the procedure of any delegation, in the State organizations. The chair holds that if a State should instruct its delegation to act and vote as a unit this convention has no power to override that instruction.

DEL. GOEBEL: I want to call attention to the fact that I think you have deprived me of my rights, unconsciously. I have offered an amendment, and I have the right to give my reasons therefor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair holds that this amendment is not in order.

DEL. GOEBEL: This is such an important matter that I shall have to appeal in some way.

THE CHAIRMAN: You may appeal from the chair's ruling, Comrade Goebel.

A DELEGATE: I seconded the motion of Comrade Goebel.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not a question of a second or otherwise. The chair has ruled the amendment out of order; and you know, Comrade Goebel, that I won't take it as a personal offense if you appeal from the decision of the chair. If you want to bring the question before the body of the convention you will please take an appeal.

DEL. GOEBEL: Then I will do so for the purpose of bringing the matter before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair has been appealed from. Comrade Goebel will state the reasons for his appeal.

DEL. MORGAN (Minn.): A point of information. Were all these delegates elected by referendum vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a question of information. I want to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the question now before us does not permit any discussion except the parliamentary question of the appeal from the chair's ruling. State your reasons, Comrade Goebel.

DEL. GOEBEL: My reason for appealing from the decision of the chair is because I take the position that this convention has the absolute right to say on what terms it will count the vote of any delegate or set of delegates in this body. Just as we decide who are legal delegates and who are not so we have the right to decide whose vote shall be counted and whose shall not. The reason for my motion: everyone familiar with old parties and their politics knows that they have what is called the unit rule. A selected man in the delegation can take the delegation from his state and cast it as one vote; the majority of the delegation through its chairman casts the vote

of every delegate in the delegation from his state. For example, if you have nine delegates in a delegation from a particular state, and six of them are in harmony, the chairman gets up and announces nine votes for the particular view for which the majority stands, and the six have disfranchised the three. But we are not in old party politics. We want the delegates to speak for themselves. And I rest my position on this, that we have the absolute right to determine as this vote state exactly what terms we will accept the vote on.

THE CHAIRMAN: In support of my ruling I will say this: I have absolutely no sympathy for the practice of binding delegations. I think it is a very vicious, a very unsocialistic method. I think it should not be tolerated in the Socialist Party. But I think our constitution should make provision against it. I hold that under the present constitution the state organization is the sole authority for the action of its delegates. The delegates represent the state organization. The state organization may instruct its delegates to vote for certain candidates, or for certain measures; and it may instruct its delegates to vote as a unit; and we are powerless under the constitution to override the will of the membership in that state.

Whether this is proper or improper is not the question. If in my state an attempt had been made to gag the delegation by the unit rule I should vote against it, but I say that the National Convention of this party has no power to override a decision of the state introducing the unit rule, bad as that rule is. That is all there is to it. The vote comes now upon the appeal. The question is: shall the decision of the chair be sustained. Those in favor of sustaining the decision of the chair will say "Aye." Those opposed "No."

The chair is in doubt. It was a long "No;" I don't know whether it is a strong "No."

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): Division.

THE CHAIRMAN: A division is called for. All those in favor of sustaining the ruling of the chair will rise and remain standing until counted.

Upon the division the vote stood 79 to sustain the ruling of the chair, and 129 opposed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The ruling of the chair is not sustained. Comrade Goebel's motion is now in order and he has the floor.

DEL. DAN WHITE (Mass.): I thought I was voting on the opposite side of the question.

DEL. BERGER: Count me the other way.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any others who voted under a misapprehension? There was a majority of fifty votes against the chair, and one or two votes won't affect the result. Comrade Goebel has the floor.

DEL. GOEBEL: I desire to have added the following words: "The vote of no state shall be cast as a unit, where the

delegates of such states are not in agreement upon the matter up for vote."

The motion of Delegate Goebel was seconded.

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): I move to amend that by adding: "Providing, that where an instruction has been given by referendum on any particular question the instruction of that particular question shall be obeyed."

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is unless there should have been contrariwise instructions by a state referendum.

The amendment of Delegate Edwards was duly seconded.

DEL. BERGER: I originally opposed the amendment of Comrade Goebel because I thought it was unnecessary; but after I heard the explanation of our chairman I think Goebel's amendment is very necessary.

We have had the same *modus operandi* in the past. No one has ever questioned the right of every delegate to vote as he pleases. But the chairman of the delegation acted as the spokesman for the delegation. He announced the result, whatever the result was.

But since the chairman construes the rule differently I believe it is necessary to have an amendment of this kind. On the other hand I am not in favor of the amendment to the amendment offered by the delegate from Texas. That would put the state's right idea back where Comrade Hillquit wants it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thinks it is.

DEL. BERGER: We have just voted something down, and now you want to put it in through the back door. I hope the convention will reject the amendment to the amendment and accept the original amendment offered by Comrade Goebel of New Jersey.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): The amendment offered by Comrade Goebel I look upon as vicious in a Socialist organization. I am here today representing the state of Illinois—not Barney Berlyn's views, but I am here in a representative capacity: I am here in a delegated capacity in any way that my state chooses to direct me. I am in duty bound to carry their message here; or if I could not do that I should refuse to act for them. Now let us understand this proposition. This is not a Democratic convention; this is not a Republican convention. This is a Socialist convention. We are here in a delegate capacity to carry out the principles and wishes of our constituency. If our constituents on a special subject have instructed us it is the duty of the delegation to see that every member of that delegation follows the instructions of his state in his delegated capacity. If not, if he violates those instructions, when he goes home he should be expelled from the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: The rules having been adopted so far as the time fixed for our sessions the hour of adjournment has more than arrived, and the convention stands adjourned.

The convention then adjourned until 2.30 p. m.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Hillquit called the convention to order at 2:30 p. m.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now considering the twelfth rule and there are twenty-five before you for your consideration. There may be more offered. When we have

passed upon the rules we shall have to elect our permanent officers; and we shall then have to nominate fourteen different committees, with 117 members on those various committees. Every state will nominate. Now, comrades, if we dispose of



those nominations today we can have the ballots printed over night, and we shall be able to vote upon the nominees tomorrow morning. If we don't do that we lose an entire day. So we have to dispose of our business with great dispatch. Please bear that in mind.

Rule 12 is now before you. The secretary will read Rule 12; and then the amendment and then the amendment to the amendment.

**THE SECRETARY:** The amendment offered by Delegate Goebel of New Jersey is that the vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegates of that state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote. The amendment to the amendment offered by Delegate Edwards of Texas is this: "Unless instructed to vote as a unit by a referendum vote of their state."

**DEL. EDWARDS:** I wish to make a correction. As read it refers only to specific instructions, and not as an instruction vote as a unit. I will read the motion to amend: "Provided that where an instruction has been given by referendum on a particular question the instruction on that particular question shall be obeyed."

Speaking to that I wish to say that I am heartily in favor of the motion of Comrade Goebel which will prevent tying up a delegation by the unit rule where the delegation is divided. But where a state has expressed by referendum its opinion on a particular question I believe that if a delegate is unwilling to abide by the decision of the party of that state on that particular question he should not be a delegate; and believing that an instruction on a particular question should be obeyed I offer that amendment.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The secretary will read the amendment as corrected.

**THE SECRETARY:** "Provided that where an instruction has been given by a referendum vote on any particular question the instructions on that particular question shall be obeyed."

**DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.):** This entire question has arisen over instructions given by the state of California. I presume therefore it is our duty to inform the delegates here of the facts. The facts are that our state secretary wrote a resolution upon matters of general policy, generally consistent with the policy adopted in the state of California. This proposition, all of it in fact, would be looked upon favorably by the membership of that state. After having written his resolution he sent it to Local Vista and had it initiated and passed out through the state without submitting it to the State Committee. We were therefore instructed on all the propositions contained in the resolutions prepared by the secretary, and at the close of the general instructions this instruction was given and this I want to read to the convention, so that you may know precisely what the situation is and what it is that you are acting upon:

"And be it further resolved that the foregoing shall be and constitute instructions by the membership of California to its state delegation to the National Convention to be held May 12, 1912; that on all questions said delegation shall vote as a unit, and that on all matters where not instructed a majority vote of the delegation shall determine the attitude of the delegation."

Now that is what we are up against; and that is what you people are acting upon. And that is the source of the resolution.

**DEL. WRIGHT (Neb.):** This convention is not responsible for the instructions given to the California delegation; they should formulate their own method of voting as a unit; and it is not essential that we shape our rules of order to meet the situation presented in their state.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Do you rise to a point of order?

**DEL. WRIGHT:** I am speaking to the resolution.

**DEL. MERRICK:** It seems to me to be very clear at this time that this matter is one of importance to this party as a matter of precedent that you are going to set for future conventions. Comrade Goebel's proposition is perfectly clear. There can be no question for a minute but what any good Socialist who comes instructed by his state should live up to those instructions. But to claim for one minute that on matters where there is no instruction the delegation should hold a caucus and bind and throttle the members of that delegation in all probability in violation of the will of the majority of the members of the party in the state is certainly contrary to Socialist ethics and principles. And if there has been a matter of very great importance arisen since that vote was taken in the state of California, upon which they could not instruct the delegates, I cannot as a Socialist look with favor on any practice that smacks of Republicanism or Democracy by bringing in a gag unit rule here.

I say, comrades, that we should stand by instructions given on any specific proposition; but the Socialist Party shall say whether any unsocialistic practice shall prevail in this National Convention of the party; and whether any state delegation shall be allowed to proceed in a way that is in violation of fundamental socialist principles.

I think it is an unfair proposition in any sense that if a state has instructed its delegates on any important question that it has also the right and power to say to those delegates at the convention when something of importance suddenly arises which they cannot know about except as delegates at the convention, that the majority of the delegation shall have the power to override and silence the minority on that uninstructed matter. It seems to me that you are setting a dangerous precedent, derived from Republican and Democratic politics, and having no proper place in a Socialist organization.

**DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.):** I think it should be made possible where a delegation has been instructed on a particular subject for the chairman of the delegation to cast the entire vote of that delegation, no matter how the individual delegates may feel about the matter. That is not the business of this National convention. And so far as the delegates carrying out their instructions from their state on any given proposition, if any delegate who comes here instructed on any such proposition disregards the instructions of his state, it is for the state organization to settle that question; and it is not for us to settle here. If when he has been selected by a state as a delegate to this convention representing that state he has been given instructions how the state wishes him to vote on a particular question he should follow those instructions; and if he does not he should be dealt with by his state. But the delegates here can not by any means pass a unit rule whereby a chairman of a delegation will cast a solid vote of the delegates from a

particular state irrespective of the wishes of the individual delegates.

I believe the proposition by Goebel was absolutely superfluous. At no time was it the purpose to have the chairman of the delegation cast the entire vote of the delegation regardless of the wishes of the individual delegates. On the other hand the proposition of the gentleman from Texas would make it possible in a caucus for the majority to claim that there was an understanding in the state for the delegates to vote one way, or the other, and then for the majority of the delegation from that state to claim the entire vote of the state and cast the vote accordingly.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): I do not believe there is anybody who sticks more for the democratic control of the party than I do. But I want to say that if any state—my state or any other state—instructs its delegation to cast their vote in a certain way; and then it is not done, it is the will of the majority and not the will of the minority that is being violated. If the majority of the members of the party in a state decide that I shall cast my vote according to the wish of the majority of the delegates, and as a whole, why that is the instruction of the majority of socialists in that state; that is the will of that state. If it came from some subdivision of the party in that state without a referendum vote that would be a different thing. But when it comes to a clear majority of the state on a straight referendum if you are to have state autonomy at all then you must stand back of the vote of that state, and let them decide whether they wish their delegates at this convention to cast their votes as one unit. If they have more faith in the opinion of a majority of their delegation than they have in the individual views of a minority that is their right. If they wish the majority of the state delegation to rule the delegation it is their right so to instruct the delegation. I maintain that the majority of the Socialist Party still have the right to run it.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I believe that since this is a question of procedure and as the convenience of this convention is opposed possibly to the will of the constituents of a certain delegation, I think it will be well for the convention to subject its convenience to that will by tabling this whole matter. And therefore I move as a substitute that we table the original rule and all the amendments that have been offered.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion to table is always in order and is not debatable.

DEL. GOEBEL: A point of information. Under Robert's Rules of Order—and that is what we are acting under—if a motion to table is carried it carries with it all the rules does it not?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not all the rules; simply Rule 12.

The motion to table was declared lost.

DEL. KAPLAN (Minn.): I want to say that I am in favor of the amendment to the amendment. I take it that we are a delegate body; not at all an authoritative body. When we come here from states that have instructed us on certain propositions—it makes no difference whether those instructions are on matters that they have not had an opportunity to consider—the rule that the majority of that state has laid down by its votes must be our rule. We have no right to take away the referendum powers of the state that instructed that delegation. It would be establishing a bad precedent. If you vote

down the amendment to the amendment it leaves you establishing a proposition here that takes entirely away from the states the right to instruct their delegates, going as delegates to a delegate body, and according to the wishes of the party membership of a state plainly expressed. Now do we want to take such a position or do we not? We know there are differences of opinion among delegates from a state. And it is precisely because there are differences of opinion that delegations are most frequently instructed on certain definite propositions. Now do you say that we, delegates in convention assembled, must override the action and decree of the whole membership of a state? If you do vote down the amendment. But if you believe in democracy; if you believe in the principle of the referendum, and the right of the membership to express themselves, and their right to instruct their delegates, and the moral duty of the delegates to follow those instructions then vote for the amendment to the amendment.

The previous question having been moved and seconded was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question having been called the secretary will read the original rule; the amendment and the amendment to the amendment.

THE SECRETARY: Rule 12. The original rule you have before you. Amendment by Goebel: "The vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegates of said state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote. The amendment to the amendment by Edwards is: "Provided that where instructions have been given by referendum on a particular question the instructions on that particular question shall be obeyed."

THE CHAIRMAN: The question comes on the amendment to the amendment

DEL. GOEBEL: Have I not the right to close under our rules?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DEL. BERGER: Some one has the right to close. See Rule 10.

DEL. GOEBEL: I have the right under that rule.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair is wrong. Speak on, George.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): I believe Goebel has spoken once.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is on one side, the chair holds. That rule has been adopted.

DEL. GOEBEL: I want to say that I do not give the snap of my finger for California or any other state in this matter. We are here representing the national Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of America. Comrade Kaplan says that we are going to establish a precedent. I am perfectly willing to concede the point. What is tried to be established here is the method by which crooked politicians in various states have been able to trade off the vote of entire state delegations to others having like powers for favors promised to them. And the precedent that we shall establish here will be that it will not go that way in the Socialist Party.

Comrade Edwards' amendment does not alter my original motion one iota except to make it more clear. What he proposes is very clear. If I have been instructed by a referendum of my state to vote a certain way on a certain proposition, on the trades union question, or the immigration question, it is my business to obey those plain instructions. But that is not the point here. The party in California have instructed their delegates how they shall vote

on certain specific questions and then on top of that added another referendum by which they are directed to vote as a unit on the matters about which they have not been specifically instructed by their state. That means, if they have eighteen delegates as I think they have, that if ten of them who think a certain way on any new proposition get together then even though the membership of that state know nothing of the merits of that particular question, yet if the ten of them agree that way a certain one representing that ten will stand up and cast the entire vote of the eighteen delegates. And that is what I do not believe in. If that is Socialism, then it is not my kind of Socialism. It is crooked Socialism. If we are going to establish a precedent let us establish it and make it clear that we won't have the methods that apply in the old parties. Let us say that we don't want that condition of things where one boss can meet another boss and say: "Let's shake hands. I will give you my delegation on this proposition if you will give me yours on that." That is what this thing means.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does any delegate wish to speak in opposition to Comrade Goebel's position?

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I do.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Gaylord.

DEL. GAYLORD: This does not look such an awfully serious proposition to me, and perhaps I have had as much experience in old party politics as some of the others. And perhaps I do not understand the terrible possibilities of this sort of thing. But it looks to me that we are all here in a representative capacity; and that when the state organization of one state has made up its mind and voted that its delegation shall vote as a unit I do not know what right we have as a convention to override those instructions. Delegates accept their positions as delegates under the conditions prescribed by their state organizations. And they do so under the national constitution. There is nothing in the national constitution so far preventing or prohibiting the action that is reported to have been taken by the membership of California.

The appeal to Socialist principles is rather vague and indefinite. No specific principle of Socialism has been named in support of the other side. Democracy is too big a word, and the ideas too hazy when so generally called upon in support of a proposition. I have known democracy to be invoked on both sides of a controversy, on both sides of the same proposition, and I could just as well invoke it here against Comrade Goebel's proposition. Goebel wants the organization in California which has thousands of members in it to be overridden by these few score people gathered from the four winds of the universe. How is that? That sounds as good as yours does. I could say it louder, too, if I wanted to. What's the use?

But there is a more serious matter here, and that is the right of the membership of a state to instruct its delegation as to all actions and as to the entire method of their action in the national convention. And this convention has no right to set that aside. I challenge the right of this convention to do it. I challenge our right to make that rule, especially in the case of the specific instructions of California there. I don't care particularly about California; but we are setting a bad precedent when a national convention without a con-

stitutional provision to that effect, presumes to override a state referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall vote first on the amendment to the amendment, offered by Delegate Edwards.

The amendment to the amendment upon a rising vote was then declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote now comes on the amendment of Comrade Goebel. The secretary will read.

THE SECRETARY: "The vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegates of said state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote."

DEL. SOLOMON: The amendment just passed I think does away with this amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair thinks not. The amendment of Delegate Goebel as read was then declared carried. And Rule 12 as reported was declared carried as amended.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.) asked that the rule be read as amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will read the rule as amended.

THE SECRETARY (reading): Each delegation shall select one of its members to announce its vote. The vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegates of such state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote; provided, that where an instruction has been given by referendum on a particular question the instruction on that particular question shall be obeyed."

#### RULE 13.

"Each delegation shall designate in the absence of any delegate the alternate who shall fill such vacancy."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to Rule 13?

DEL. BRANSTETTER (Okla.): I would like a ruling of the chair. If the rule means that the delegation shall select an alternate where a vacancy exists regardless of the rules of their particular state then that is a rule that this convention has no right to adopt. Most state organizations provide in their state constitution a particular order or rotation in which alternates shall be selected; and this convention has neither the right nor the power to give to any state delegation the right to select an alternate except in accordance with the rules of that state constitution wherever the state organization has already decided the way in which an alternate shall be seated. If that is the construction of the rule it is unconstitutional and out of order. If it is the intention of this rule that in the absence of any regular elected delegates or alternates that the state delegation shall then have the right to fill the vacancy as stated I am in favor of the rule.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair holds that this proposed rule does not contravene the rule of any state organization; but leaves it to each delegation to follow the rules of its own state or to use its discretion in the absence of such a rule.

DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.): I move to strike out Rule 13.

The motion was duly seconded. On vote it was declared lost.

Rule 13 as read was then adopted.

#### RULE 14.

"Such members of the National Executive Committee who are not delegates, and the National Secretary, shall have a voice and no vote in the convention. This provision also applies to members of the Women's National Committee."

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection? There is none. The rule is adopted.

## RULE 15.

"Neither contesting nor contested delegates shall vote upon any question in relation to their rights to be seated."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection. There is none. The rule is adopted.

## RULE 16.

"The nomination for candidates for President and Vice-President shall be by at least a majority of all the votes cast."

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I move to amend the rule by making it read "A majority of all votes entitled to a seat in this convention."

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): Some of the delegates may be going home.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment offered by Delegate Solomon of New York is that it shall require for the nomination of presidential and vice-presidential candidates not a majority of the delegates present and voting, but a majority of all delegates entitled to be seated in the convention.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I want to speak in favor of that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Slobodin has the floor.

DEL. SLOBODIN: The Socialist Party ought to be the most democratic party in the world. We can not have our candidates for President and Vice President nominated by a minority of the convention. We cannot have a minority candidate. It would not look good. It would not represent properly the spirit and practice of the Socialist Party. If delegates should want to leave they will take into consideration the fact that there are still the nominations of candidates for President and Vice President to be made, and they will probably stay until such candidates are named. I urge that we vote for the amendment offered by Comrade Solomon.

DEL. FLOATEN (Col.): I wish to oppose a rule that requires a majority of all the votes of the people elected as delegates here to decide any question before us. We have this question which is causing a factional fight in the state of Colorado where one organization of its own motion has taken the position that you shall not decide anything, nominate anybody, elect an official of the party, or amend the constitution unless you have a majority of all the members, at least all the members who are dues paying members in the party. This is exactly on the same line. Those people already have three counties in our state, under their control, an entirely factional division, entirely opposed to the body of the Socialist Party of Colorado. Suppose now that there are 200 members here. A time is set when we shall nominate our candidates for President and Vice President. Assume now that 90 out of those go away. That leaves 110 of us. It is possible that only 60 of those will vote for any one candidate. It might be impossible to get 100 out of the 110 to vote for one candidate. We should have a majority of the 110 that are left but not a majority of all the delegates entitled to seats in the convention. I do hope that you will not adopt any such rule compelling them to be here. They are in duty bound to be here and if they are not here the organization that they represent will lose all right to complain.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): There is very little difference between the two contending views. We expect that most of the delegates will stay here at least until we

nominate for President and Vice President on the Socialist ticket. We expect that. There are about 300 delegates here and a majority of the 300 will be at least 160. However, as to the comparison with the old parties if the Republican party would be more democratic because it requires a majority of all the delegates, well, then the Democratic party would be still more democratic because they require two-thirds of all the delegates. We use the word democracy too much, in a vague, foolish way. So far as I am concerned I am just as well satisfied with Solomon's amendment—so long as we don't lose too much time, because at the rate we are going we won't do very much in two weeks.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I move that this rule be tabled, and that this convention instruct the National Secretary to issue a referendum call for nominations to the political offices of President and Vice President and that the names so received be sent out to a referendum vote of the membership in the regular manner.

THE CHAIRMAN: All of which is exceedingly interesting but entirely out of order.

The previous question was called for and ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will please read the amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment of Solomon of New York is: "Nominations for President and Vice President shall be made by a majority vote of all delegates entitled to a vote in this convention."

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of this amendment will say "aye." The chair is in doubt.

(Cries of "division.")

A DELEGATE: On the previous question there is a chance to speak on both sides.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not after the vote is under way. All in favor of the amendment requiring a majority of delegates entitled to be seated for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President will please rise and stand until counted.

On a division the amendment was defeated by a vote of 81 ayes and 159 noes.

Rule 16 as read was then adopted.

## RULE 17.

"A roll call shall be had when demanded by at least 50 delegates."

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I move that the number be reduced to 15.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex.): If we have a roll call every time fifteen members demand it we shall consume half of the time of the convention in roll calls. I therefore move to amend that it require forty delegates.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): It is our custom I believe to have a roll call on the request of about one-sixth. Fifteen is simply ridiculous. We should do nothing but call the roll here.

(Cries of "previous question.")

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I have a reason for making this motion or I would not have made it. I believe if fifteen members want the delegates to go on record on a particular proposition they should go on record as voting for or against. I think if a question comes up of importance to our constituents and we believe that those constituents should know how the delegates vote. We have a right to require that. That is what they are sending us here for. We are sent here to take certain action, and any delegate who is afraid of the

roll call should not be entrusted with the duty of voting.

DEL. ONEAL (Ind.): I want to say that if a delegation desires to make a note of how its individual members vote they can keep a record of that vote and report it back to their state.

(The previous question was then ordered.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that it requires fifty members to demand a roll call. The amendment is that it require fifteen and the second amendment is that it require forty. We are now voting upon the question of whether a roll call shall be had at the request of forty delegates.

A division having been called for the amendment to make the number necessary for a roll call forty delegates was lost by a vote of 86 ayes and 131 noes.

The amendment fixing the number at fifteen delegates was then put and declared lost.

The original rule requiring fifty delegates as reported to the convention was then adopted.

#### RULE 18.

"On Friday, May 17th, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon all business of the convention shall be suspended and the convention shall proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States."

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): I move to amend the rule by substituting the word Wednesday, May 15th, instead of Friday, May 17th.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I desire to offer this amendment: "Provided that the national platform shall at that time have been adopted."

The amendment of Delegate Hogan was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is that we nominate on that day provided the platform shall have been adopted at that time.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): We made it Friday in order to give the Committee on Platform a chance to report. It would not be the proper thing for a Socialist convention to nominate a President and a Vice President before we had adopted a platform. For that reason we made it Friday. We also put it off as late as possible in order to hold the members in Indianapolis. Moreover, if you are to discuss everything as you discuss the rules today, how are you going to get to the platform even on Friday? I hope you will accept the proposition as laid down in this rule and make it Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

DEL. BURKE (N. H.): I have always had the idea that Socialists were sensible people. Now, the idea seems to be to get all our names in the minutes. Let's get down to business. I am in favor of Friday.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): I thought I knew something about the Socialist movement. I have had ten or twelve years of experience. My understanding is that you cannot conceive of a candidate that you will nominate for these offices who will refuse to run on any platform that you adopt at any time. You nominate your candidate and the man nominated for that public position must stand on the platform as enunciated by the convention no matter whether it is enunciated before or after. You don't have to consult your candidate or his wishes in the matter. We are here to tell him where he gets off, and if he doesn't get off as we tell him we may accelerate his getting off.

Del. Solomon (N. Y.) moved the previous question.

The previous question was then ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question having been ordered one speaker will be recognized on each side of the discussion.

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I speak against the proposition.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): As mover of the amendment I claim the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us see whether the comrade is against you. If he is, you can speak, otherwise not.

DEL. SLAYTON: I am opposed to the amendment setting the nominations for Wednesday, for the reason that Comrade Berger stated, but in addition I know enough to know that after the candidates are nominated the average delegate loses interest; the big thing is done, and he goes home. Now, don't jump up all over the floor and say it doesn't mean you. We are all apt to feel that it means not us, but them. Still it happens nine times out of ten. You can do the business better if you nominate the candidates after the important business is done. Let us do our important business and then make the nominations for President and Vice President the last business before us. It should be our last business. Your candidates are human vehicles to carry out the conclusions that you reach here, to do the things that you direct to be done here. If we make that the first order of business it looks as though we thought that they were more important than all of the rest of the convention put together, which I deny.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any delegate wishing to advocate the claims of Wednesday?

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): The big thing in this convention is the nomination of these candidates—that is Comrade Slayton—

DEL. SLAYTON: No.

DEL. WHEELER: I misunderstood him. Very well. We decide that the majority of those here shall nominate the candidates. If we put it off until Friday a number will go home. Some will go because they are unable to pay the price for staying here. In Pennsylvania we nominated our candidates very early in our convention; afterwards we adopted our platform. Well, nobody in Pennsylvania was of the opinion that our candidates were less able or efficient because we nominated them that way, or that they won't stand for the platform because we did it that way. The proposition back of this amendment is: That more of the delegates will be here Wednesday; all who are here Wednesday will be voting on that. We are not deferring any of the important business. We are not putting any important business aside if we do that Wednesday. The platform that will be adopted will not be altered any. The candidates' position will not be altered. Some of us who may have to go later will be here Wednesday. My point is that if we nominate Wednesday the greater part of the men and women who have come here to nominate the candidates will be able to join in naming them. I do not contend that the naming of candidates can be of the utmost importance in a Socialist convention. We can just as well name them now as later. I think that since we have decided that it requires only a majority of those who are present when the nominations are made this amendment is important, as it gives the greatest possible attendance.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The vote is now in order. The Secretary will now read the original rule, the amendment and the amendment to the amendment.

**DEL. HOGAN (Ark.):** I claim my right to speak.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The main question is between Friday and Wednesday.

**THE SECRETARY:** The original rule is No. 18 as printed, that we nominate Friday, May 17th, at 3 o'clock. The amendment of Wheeler is that it be made Wednesday, May 15th, instead. The amendment of Del. Hogan is that we add: "Provided that the platform shall have been adopted at that time."

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The question comes on the adoption of the amendment to the amendment provided that we shall adopt the platform before nominating candidates for President and Vice President.

A division having been called for the amendment to the amendment was lost by a vote of 90 Aye and 134 No.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The vote now occurs on the substitution of Wednesday for Friday.

The amendment was defeated.

Rule 18 as reported by the committee was then adopted.

#### RULE 19.

"The convention shall adjourn not later than Saturday, May 18th, at midnight."

**DEL. RINGLER (Pa.):** I move to amend by making it Friday night.

The motion was duly seconded.

An amendment that no time be fixed for adjournment was made and seconded.

**DEL. SOLOMON:** I move to table the whole matter.

The motion was duly seconded.

Cries of "Question."

**DELEGATES:** What is the motion?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Some delegates do not understand the motion, or say so. The motion is that the rule proposed and all amendments be tabled. That would mean that we have no rule as to the time of adjournment.

On division on the motion to table there was a tie vote of 112 for and 112 against.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** There being a tie vote the chair will decide against the motion to table.

The previous question was then called for.

**DEL. BERGER (Wis.):** Most of us have neither time nor money to stay here indefinitely. We rented this hall for one week only. So if you extend the business of the convention beyond Saturday night we shall have to hire another hall. I believe we can do the work of the party, all the work before this convention in the time suggested if we use a little common sense. Please help us to do the work of the party and don't take up unnecessary time with points of order and points of information and unnecessary discussion of unimportant matters.

**DEL. SOLOMON:** I proposed the motion to table. If we fix a definite time for the adjournment then the tendency will be to drag along until that time, whether we need to do so or not. It will prevent us getting through perhaps on Thursday evening. If we find that we can conclude our business by Thursday or Friday evening, then we should adjourn then. I see no reason for fixing a definite time for adjournment. I know in many of our state conventions we do not waste time by setting a definite limit for the adjournment. There we always adjourn six hours earlier than we expected.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The motion is to adopt rule 19. The amendment offered by Ringler is that we adjourn Friday. The amendment to the amendment by Killingbeck is that no time be fixed for adjournment.

**DEL. KILLINGBECK (N. J.):** My motion was that this convention adjourn when it has concluded its business.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The amendment to the amendment is that this convention adjourn when it has concluded or completed its business.

A division being called for the amendment to the amendment was lost by a vote of Aye 55, No 145.

The amendment to the amendment was defeated by a vote of 55 to 145.

The amendment to substitute Friday for Saturday was put to a vote and lost.

The original motion, to adjourn not later than Saturday midnight, was then carried.

Rule 20 was then read by the Secretary.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Any opposition or objection?

**DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.):** When are we permanently organized?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I suppose permanently organized means when we have elected a permanent chairman.

**DEL. SOLOMON:** I move an amendment that all speeches of welcome be postponed till after the election of committees.

**DEL. SPARGO:** I move as an amendment to the amendment that we hear speeches of welcome this day at 5 P. M. (Seconded.)

**DEL. JACOBS (Wis.):** Mr. Chairman, is it necessary, when a motion is offered, to always offer an amendment and then an amendment to an amendment, and then vote those down and then adopt the original proposition? Is it necessary to do that on every question? It seems to me we are wasting time. I want to get the information.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The information of the chair is that so far it has been necessary. Whether it will be necessary in the future, God knows. (Laughter.)

**DEL. SPARGO:** I desire to state briefly, the reason for making my proposition. The local comrades, I understand, have arranged for a demonstration for tonight, and it would seem particularly inappropriate, after we have held a public demonstration under their auspices, to be then welcomed in their behalf. I think we ought to have that much courtesy.

A vote was then taken on the amendment to hear the speeches of welcome at 5 o'clock this afternoon, and it was carried.

Rule 21 was then read and adopted without objection.

Rule 22 was also adopted without objection.

The Secretary then read rule 23.

**DEL. WHEELER (Pa.):** The Pennsylvania delegates think that four hours each should be allowed for the debate on the questions of immigration and agriculture, each side to choose a manager to divide the speeches and give notice in writing of the assignments of speakers, and all votes shall be taken without further debate. I move the adoption of the following amendment:

"That four hours each shall be allowed for debates on Industrialism, Immigration and Agriculture. Each side shall choose a manager of time, to whom all who desire to speak shall give notice and shall receive an equal division of the time. When all have spoken on the questions the vote shall be taken without further debate." (Seconded.)

**DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.):** I move to amend that by inserting instead of the

question of Industrialism, the report of the Committee on Labor Organizations and Their Relations to the Socialist Party.' (Seconded.)

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): The delegates who were present at recent conventions of the Socialist Party will remember that on every question that came before those bodies for discussion there were not simply two sides discussed, but many sides discussed. Those of you who remember the prolonged discussion, lasting for nearly two whole days, on the subject of Immigration at the last congress which met in Chicago, will remember that we did not have only a majority report and a minority report, but we had a substitute motion, and then we had delegates from all over America giving their views on the subject of immigration, that could not be related either pro or con, either directly or indirectly, against or for one of these propositions. That may seem almost impossible, but it is a fact; and I say, Mr. Chairman, that when these great questions come up before us in this assemblage every delegate on this floor ought to have a right to express himself on the subject involved. (Applause.) It is not simply two naked propositions that will be before us, or an amendment and an amendment to the amendment. It will be an effort on the part of the delegates here to express their views, and they may not be able to say exactly whether they are for or against any other particular person's views, but they ought to have a right to express their views. I think, Mr. Chairman, that this kind of a division of time will be contrary to the best interests of the delegations. (Applause.) I think that it will be important for us to leave this matter of discussion of these questions open to the chair and to the delegations, and if, at the conclusion of any great and serious debate, it comes finally down to the accepting of a majority or minority report, then we have made provisions in the rules by which that debate may be closed, and we may extend that if we choose to two or three persons on conflicting sides. But on the main questions that shall arise before us here, at least seven or eight of these questions, there should be no limit to who stands where when he rises to speak. As near as we can, let us leave that to the care of the chair and to the honor of the delegates. I hope this management of time, dividing it into so-called two sides, will be voted entirely down. (Applause.)

DEL. O'REILLY (Ill.): There is another point to be considered. I recognize the importance of the questions named, but if we give twelve hours to those questions at five hours a day we will find ourselves allotting two days and two-fifths to the discussion of those three questions. Now, they are all questions which have been thoroughly discussed in previous conventions and in papers and magazines, and which will be thoroughly discussed outside of the convention. I think almost every delegate has his views on this subject pretty well crystallized; and if he is working for the best interests of the delegation and working for the speedy business of the delegation, as some of the delegates have been doing today, I think he will be willing to have the views which he has crystallized on these questions voiced by one member's explanation of the views which he holds. I do not believe we should, at the beginning of our convention, pledge ourselves to spend two days and two-fifths of the time of our convention in considering three questions, and tie ourselves to any such pledge. (Applause.)

DEL. DAVIS (Pa.): If, after receiving the reports of the various committees, and if after the various reports are printed in the Socialist papers, the delegates come here undecided, all the speechmaking that you orators here can make will not change your view one iota. I have studied this subject, and I know how I am going to vote, because I have tried to inform myself before coming here. I am positively opposed to putting that much of the time of the convention into the hands of any two men or any five men. When it comes to the action of this convention on the question of Immigration or the question of Industrialism, I represent a branch that has over 800 members; I know their sentiments and I know my sentiments, and I want a voice as well as a vote on this question, and I am unalterably opposed to limiting this question to any one, two or half a dozen men. I want every Socialist here to express himself on this question and to have the courage of his convictions to vote them.

DEL. PEACH (Conn.): This motion now occupying the attention of the delegates on these questions is in conflict with the rule already adopted which governs the mode of procedure. After reports are made, each delegate is, by these rules that have been adopted, assigned a certain time. Therefore, it is out of order.

The Chairman held the point of order not well taken.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I understand these three questions named are to be the most important that will come before this convention. When this work is done, when we have determined the policy of the Socialist Party of America with respect to these three questions, we shall have accomplished the major part of our work. Now, I understand that in the congress of two years ago, which I had not the honor of attending, over two days were spent in the discussion of this question of Immigration. Now, if it was necessary then, if it was a large question then, it must necessarily be as large now. Men who have read the report of the congress and have gone out and given the subject more than the ordinary attention since that time, have something to say here that I want to hear; and I am sure that when this convention passes upon this most important matter it ought to be as a result of our deliberations. And I hope, with Com. Wilson of California, that you will not limit the discussion here. You have already limited the day. You have already said how many minutes a speaker may give to a subject. You have already in the rules hedged about a discussion of this character. Now, let us not leave a subject till we have thrashed it out completely. Let us not hamper ourselves in this sort of way. Let it be left to the judgment of the Chairman and the judgment of the delegates, who, I am sure, are here for the purpose of acquiring the largest information before they vote.

The previous question was then ordered.

The Secretary read the pending questions and amendments.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): I rise to speak in favor of the amendment. I do not think Com. Wilson's objection can be maintained, for we must recognize that even though there are a great many variations in opinion on these three subjects, yet they can be divided into two general "sides." We find two well-defined situations. I am sure you all agree with that. There may be expressions of opinion that are at variance, but in the main one or the other side is going to be maintained. The proposition

here is plain to all those who understand the question. I doubt whether there are many here who do not understand where they are standing on these three questions, and I agree with the comrade over here that we could take a vote on these two and not take much time in the debate, and arrive at the same conclusion you would after spending five hours. The position of Com. Wilson, that there are so many opinions on the subject, I do not think can be maintained if both sides are given an opportunity to present and consider the line of argument they want to present. Let us not decide on four hours. That is 48 periods of 5 minutes each. I doubt whether there are 48 persons in the convention who wish to speak. That is too long a time. I am perfectly willing to allot less time, except on the Agricultural question. I do not believe these objections are well founded. We are trying to promote expedition and accomplish the most possible and obtain the best judgment on these three questions. Now, some may think we are trying to kick somebody. I hardly think that is just, because here are 48 opportunities on each side. I am sure that is absolutely liberal enough. Therefore, I cannot see how we can do better. Com. Berger may testify from his experience as a parliamentarian that you cannot handle a question of such magnitude without you in some way control the time. Now, consider that you are allotting plenty of time to everybody who cares to give notice to the person selected by each side to manage the time. No person who desires to speak can be excluded up to 48, and I am sure we will be well within that number. Therefore, I think the amendment is a sane proposition.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Now we have heard one on a limitation of the time. Is there anyone who wants to speak for unlimited time in these debates?

**DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio):** I take that position. I take the position for an unlimited opportunity for every delegate in this convention to express his views on this question. I will tell you why. When this discussion on any of these propositions gets on the floor, sometimes some of the delegates are not ready to talk, but after hearing the question discussed for a few minutes they arise, and they are able, even though they are humble followers of Marx—I am not an alleged intellectual—they may possibly be able to advise those who think they understand the subject thoroughly. Now, for myself, on one of these propositions, if you would appoint me a committee of one and refer it to me, I would report in three minutes and settle the whole song and dance right there.

The pending motion and amendment were again read by the Secretary.

The amendment to allow four hours to each side, under the management of a leader to divide the time, was defeated.

The original motion was then carried.

The next rule, Number 24, was adopted without objection.

Rule 25 was read.

**Del. Floaten (Colo.)** moved to strike out "two-thirds" and insert "majority."

The amendment was lost and the original rule adopted.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Additional rules are now in order.

**DEL. KRAFFT (N. J.):** I move that all committees selected by this convention shall be in session for one day, and that the business of the convention shall be suspended during that period. (Seconded.) Now, we wish to expedite matters. It may horrify you to say that we should suspend

the convention for one day. I would give you to understand that these committees would thereby have a good chance to air their views and allow those members of the convention who are not on the committees to give their views also. Suppose we have 14 committees elected: We will then do in one day 14 committees' work. That is plain. The committees will then bring their findings in complete form after all the gas has been exploded before the convention, and it will save us considerable time. Another thing, comrades; when these committees, composed of 150 men, are in session, one-half of this convention carries on the work of the convention. I wish to be present, and I hope many others do also. Work can be done in this convention that will be contrary to the wishes of the 150 who are in session on the committees. Therefore, I hope that you will adopt this rule.

**DEL. MILLER (Nev.):** I am against this proposition. I can state my reason in two words: Forget it.

The amendment offered by Del. Krafft was lost.

**DEL. CAREY (Mass.):** I wish to offer an amendment to the rules. I move that no nominating speeches be made. That is to be inserted in, I believe, Rule 17.

The amendment was carried by a vote of 162 to 36.

**DEL. HOGAN (Ark.):** I move that the rules be adopted as a whole, and that they be printed immediately and that all delegates be supplied with copies.

**DEL. BERGER:** No, there is an order of business that comes next, and must be accepted. It belongs with the rules.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** That is right. We will complete it and have it in type.

**DEL. LOWE (Ill.):** I move a reconsideration of Rule 14, in which you say that the National Secretary and National Executive Committee shall have a voice but no vote.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Did you vote in favor of it?

**DEL. LOWE:** Yes. I want to amend it and to include the Woman's National Committee to have a voice and no vote.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Then you do not need a reconsideration. You move to amend?

**DEL. LOWE:** Yes.

The amendment was carried.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The order of business will now be read as submitted by the Committee on Rules.

The Secretary read the first nine rules.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Any objection to this order of business?

**DEL. BERGER:** Yes, I just want to add that the original printed draft did not contain the provision for a vice-chairman. The National Executive Committee added a vice-chairman; however, the Secretary seems to have forgotten it. I move that a provision for the election of a vice-chairman every day be added to the rules.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Com. Berger moves that a vice-chairman be elected every day, together with the chairman for the day. Is there any objection? None. The Secretary will please add the vice-chairman. Is there any objection to the order of business as read? As there is no objection, the order of business will be adopted.

A delegate moved that at the close of the last session of the convention the record of that day be read and approved before adjournment.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** In other words, that the minutes of the last day be read at the close of that day's session?

**THE DELEGATE:** Exactly.



**THE CHAIRMAN:** Any objection? The Secretary will please make a note of it.

**DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.):** I move that no question shall require more than a majority of those voting. In some cases Robert's Rules require two-thirds.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Com. Edwards moves that no question shall require more than a simple majority of those voting, as modifying Robert's Rules of Order, which requires two-thirds in some cases. Any objection?

**DEL. BERGER:** Excepting for the suspension of the rules. For this we have made our own rule.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Excepting suspension of the rules specifically provided for. With that understanding there is no objection.

**DEL. MENG (Ark.):** I think we should have a two-thirds vote on the previous question. We don't want any kick. The previous question requires two-thirds according to Robert's Rules of Order.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Yes.  
The motion of Del. Edwards was then carried.

**DEL. HOGAN (Ark.):** I move that the rules and order of business as read be now adopted as a whole as amended, and that they be printed immediately and that the delegates be furnished with copies thereof.\*

Motion seconded and carried.

On motion of Del. White (Mass.) the temporary officers were made the permanent officers of the day.

James Reilly of New Jersey was then elected permanent secretary of the convention.

Elizabeth Goldstein of Massachusetts and John Russell of New York were elected permanent assistant secretaries.

The convention then proceeded to the election of a vice-chairman for the day. The following nominations were made:

Malley (Wash.). Declined.

Rickett (Ark.). Declined.

Miller (Nev.). Declined.

Berlyn (Ill.). Declined.

Ramp (Ore.).

Del. Ramp was elected vice-chairman.

The chairman called for nominations for four permanent tellers and two judges.

Del. Clark (Conn.) moved that the four temporary tellers be declared the permanent tellers of the convention. (Seconded.)

Of the four temporary tellers Del. Strebel of New York declined to be a candidate for permanent teller, leaving the acceptances for permanent tellers as follows: Oneal (Ind.), Rodriguez (Ill.), Floaten (Colo.)

Del. Scott (Mont.), Bruce (Pa.) and Meitzen (Tex.) were placed in nomination.

Delegates Scott and Bruce accepted, and Meitzen and Oneal declined. Thereupon Delegates Scott, Bruce, Floaten and Rodriguez were elected permanent tellers.

For two permanent judges the following nominations were made:

Burt (Utah).

F. Sadler (Wash.)

Furman (N. Y.)

McCartan (Ohio).

Burke (N. H.).

Delegates Furman, McCartan and Burke declined, and Delegates Burt of Utah and S. Sadler of Washington were elected permanent judges.

Del. Branstetter announced that the Oklahoma delegation had selected Ernest O. Schilling alternate in place of Del. Fifer.

#### SPEECH OF WELCOME.

Comrade Ott of Local Marion County then welcomed the convention to Indianapolis.

He was greeted with loud applause and cries of "Where are the overalls?"

**COMRADE OTT:** The call for the overalls is made by some who were disappointed. Others are disappointed because the overalls have not put in an appearance. But the overalls made their appearance at this hall this morning. I had them here. They are not here now.

Marion County Local has instructed me to address the convention, and to welcome the convention and the delegates to Indianapolis; and I do so with great pride, from the very fact that there have only been two events of great importance in this city of Indianapolis; one occurred in July, 1901, when the Unity Convention was assembled in this city; and the other is this convention assembled here in the year 1912. (Cheers.)

Comrades, the statement was made from the floor of this very hall that in the year 1912 the great issue would be Socialism and the Socialists. That statement was made in this hall by that friend of labor, Mark Hanna. That was his prophecy, and his prophecy is being fulfilled. We are in this convention, the largest convention that has ever assembled from the working class as a class-conscious political organization.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Indianapolis papers and the Indianapolis reporters are surprised to see you. Because they have got it into their heads that as a rule Socialists are not very intelligent people. They are, no doubt, surprised to see the high order of intelligence of the delegates here; and also to see how orderly they are. In Chicago, four years ago, it was necessary for the Republicans to post all about their convention hall such notices as "Leave your valuables at the hotel. There are pickpockets in the crowd." I have no reason to doubt that there may be a local detective here; but I positively know that their services are not required; and their space is more valuable to the Socialist movement than their presence.

Therefore, comrades, in conclusion, I extend the welcome of the Marion County Local; and I wish to say that if the organization of Local Marion County can be of service to any of the delegates, we are at your service. Our headquarters are open to you for anything that will be of benefit or comfort to the delegates. We are here to serve you. I thank you, comrade chairman.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** On behalf of the convention we accept the key to the city of Indianapolis which you have placed in our hands. We wish to thank Local Marion County, represented by you, very heartily for the hospitality that you have extended, and that is to be extended and enjoyed and to be enjoyed by us all.

Comrades, Branch 175 of the Workmen's Circle has asked for the privilege of making us welcome on behalf of that local. We are ready to be welcomed by anyone representing the Workmen's Circle, and if he is here he will be heard.

We shall now proceed with the nominations of the various committees. If we get through with them today we shall save a whole day. We can have the ballots printed over night.

At this point a body of workmen, representing Workmen's Circle, Branch 175, came into the hall. Comrade J. Goodman, representing the Circle, was given the platform.

\*The complete Rules and Order of Business as adopted will be found in Appendix A.

\*Referring to an alleged motion by Local Marion County, instructing Comrade Ott to wear overalls.—[Ed.]

**COMRADE GOODMAN:** I am here from Workmen's Circle 175. It is an organization that extends all over the United States, and has 40,000 members. I am here to welcome you on behalf of our organization because our organization does not accept members who do not pledge themselves not to vote for candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties; and that they will not be scabs. While it is organized for the immediate material benefit of its members, it is also an organization that is doing all it can for the Socialist Party. I am here to welcome you to Indianapolis, because you are the people who are to bring peace and happiness to all the people of the United States. The people of the country cannot expect anything from the Republican and Democratic parties because they are organized for the benefit of a few. But you delegates here are representing all the men and women that work, the men and women who produce everything. Therefore, I welcome you in the name of my organization. I thank you.

Nominations for committees were then made as follows:

#### NOMINATIONS FOR PLATFORM COMMITTEE

Wilson (Cal.), Geffs (Colo.), Ghent (Washington, D. C.), Hogan (Ark.), Coonrod (Ida.), Henry (Ind.), Lanfersick (Ky.), Spargo (Vt.), Ricker (Kan.), Rosett (Md.), Carey (Mass.), McMaster (Mich.), Kaplan (Minn.), Vierling (Mo.), Duncan (Mont.), Lee (N. Y.), Russell (N. Y.), Kelso (N. D.), Zitt (Ohio), Nagle (Okla.), Moore (Pa.), Alexander (Tex.), Berger (Wis.).

#### NOMINATIONS FOR CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

Richardson (Cal.), Floaten (Colo.), Peach (Conn.), Allen (Fla.), Motley (Ida.), Berlyn (Ill.), Oneal (Ind.), Jacobsen (Iowa), Brewer (Kan.), Latimer (Minn.), Garver (Mo.), Stedman (Ill.), Jacobs (Wis.), Cassidy (N. Y.), Goebel (N. J.), Hillquit (N. Y.), Bowen (N. D.), Ruthenberg (Ohio), Branstetter (Okla.), Bostrom (Wash.), Wheeler (Pa.), Williams (Pa.), Smith (Tex.), Burt (Utah), Barnes (Pa.), Waynick (Wash.), Hogan (Ark.), Carlson (Wyo.).

**A DELEGATE:** A point of information. Can a state nominate more than one member of a committee?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The delegates from any state can make as many nominations as they wish, but when it comes to election only one from each state can be elected.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Slayton (Pa.), Williams (Cal.), Collins (Colo.), Cohen (Pa.), Slobodin (N. Y.), Spargo (Vt.), Thompson (Wis.), Maley (Wash.), Taylor (Ill.), Rower (Mass.), Morgan (Minn.), O'Dam (Mo.), McCrillis (Ia.), Rodriguez (Ill.), Killingbeck (N. J.), Farrell (Ohio), Wills (Okla.), Dorfman (Ore.), Lowe (Ill.), Reed (R. I.), Rhodes (Tex.), Meitzen (Tex.), Wilson (Kan.), Tiller (N. C.), Duncan (Mont.), Wells (Cal.), Thomas (Wis.), Paulsen (Wyo.).

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Callery (Ark.), Reguin (Cal.), Troxel (Colo.), Brown (Iowa), Burke (N. H.), Miller (Nev.), Watkins (Minn.), Stewart (Ida.), Clifford (Ohio), Gozliou (Pa.), Jones (N. J.), Spargo (Vt.), Endres (N. Y.), Hayes (Ohio), Irvin (Okla.), Bacon (Pa.), LeSeur (N. D.), Thompson (Tex.), Cupples (Wash.), Aaltonen (Mich.).

At this point it was moved and seconded that the rules for the convention be suspended, and that the delegates remain in session until all the nominations for the committees have been completed.

The motion was carried.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF NATIONAL OFFICERS

Simons (Kan.), Wattles (Ind.), Stallard (Kan.), England (Me.), Grant (Minn.), Prevey (Ohio), Miller (Nev.), Duffy (N. Y.), Storck (Ohio), Sherman (Ore.), Young (Pa.), Anna Cohen (Pa.), Ricker (Kan.).

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**DEL. GAYLORD:** What is the meaning of this committee?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The chair assumes that that committee reports on the progress of the Socialist Party abroad and our relations with the party abroad.

The following delegates were then nominated for the Committee on International Relations:

Twining\* (—), Hillquit (N. Y.), Haemer (Ill.), Simons (Kan.), Spargo (Vt.), London (N. Y.), Russell (N. Y.), Solomon (N. Y.), Bessemer (Ohio), Strickland (Ohio), Laukki (Minn.), Berger (Conn.), Wanhope (N. Y.), Reynolds (Ind.), Bennets (N. Y.), Barnes (Pa.).

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON PARTY PRESS

The following delegates were nominated for the Committee on Party Press.

Maynard (Cal.), Reynolds (Ind.), Reilly (Ill.), Korngold\* (—), Beardsley (Conn.), Harriman (Cal.), Sheffer (Ind.), Hickey (Tex.), Ingalls (Minn.), Wesley (Utah), Owen (Okla.), Maley (Wash.), Kraft (N. J.), Kennedy (Ill.), Malkiel (N. Y.), London (N. Y.), Bachmann (Ohio), Lord (Ohio), Ramp (Ore.), Erwin (Pa.), Spargo (Vt.), Wilson (Kan.), Lowe (Ill.), Morrow (Pa.), Rosett (Md.), Bentall (Ill.), Cupples (Wash.), Barnes (Pa.), Jacobs (Wis.), Brewer (Kan.).

#### NOMINATIONS FOR PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

Frank W. Wolf. Accepted.  
E. P. Clark. Accepted.  
Oyler (Neb.). Declined.  
Ricker (Kan.). Declined.  
C. J. Wright. Accepted.  
Theimer (N. J.). Accepted.  
Slayton (Pa.). Declined.  
Hogan (Ark.). Declined.  
Oneal (Ind.). Declined.  
W. J. Ghent. Declined.  
May Wood Simons. Declined.  
John Spargo. Declined.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR AUDITING COMMITTEE

Latimer (Minn.). Accepted.  
Garrison (Ind.). Accepted.  
White (Mass.). Declined.  
Reynolds (Ind.). Declined.  
J. A. Smith (Utah). Accepted.  
Meitzen (Tex.). Declined.  
Solomon (N. Y.). Declined.  
Bostrom (Wash.). Declined.  
Thompson (Wis.). Declined.  
Fritz (Miss.). Accepted.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN-SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS

Carolyn Lowe. Accepted.  
Burckle (N. Y.). Accepted.

\*Not a delegate.

Ameringer (Okla.). Declined.  
 Coleman (Mass.). Accepted.  
 Aaltonen (Mic.). Accepted.  
 Barnes (Pa.). Declined.  
 Goazlou. Accepted.  
 Laukki. Declined.  
 Malkiel (N. Y.). Declined.  
 Devold (Minn.). Accepted.  
 Jacobson (Minn.). Declined.  
 McCartan (Ohio). Accepted.  
 London (N. Y.). Declined.  
 Petrich (So. Slov.). Accepted.  
 J. E. Cohen (Pa.). Accepted.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE SOCIAL- IST PARTY.

Merrick (Pa.). Accepted.  
 Harriman (Cal.). Accepted.  
 Troxell (Colo.). Accepted.  
 McLevy (Conn.). Accepted.  
 London (N. Y.). Declined.  
 Williams (Pa.). Accepted.  
 Richardson (Cal.). Declined.  
 Goebel (N. J.). Declined.  
 Rodriguez (Ill.). Accepted.  
 J. H. Maurer (Pa.). Accepted.  
 Strickland (Ohio). Accepted.  
 J. J. Jacobsen (Iowa). Declined.  
 Stallard (Kan.). Accepted.  
 Foley (Pa.). Declined.  
 Staub (Md.). Accepted.  
 White (Mass.). Accepted.  
 J. A. C. Menton (Mich.). Accepted.  
 Dempsey (S. D.). Accepted.  
 Branstetter (Okla.). Declined.  
 Behrens (Mo.). Accepted.  
 Smith (Mont.). Accepted.  
 Hickey (Tex.). Accepted.  
 Lewis (Ore.). Accepted.  
 Lee (N. Y.). Accepted.  
 VanLear. Absent.  
 Clifford (Ohio). Accepted.  
 Cosgrove (N. J.). Accepted.  
 Max Hayes (Ohio). Not arrived.  
 Reguin (Cal.). Declined.  
 Lawrance (Mass.). Accepted.  
 Ameringer (Okla.). Accepted.  
 Reid (R. I.). Accepted.  
 Spargo (Vt.). Declined.  
 Edwards (Tex.). Accepted.  
 Goebel (N. J.). Accepted.  
 Barth (Wash.). Declined.  
 Hillman (Minn.). Accepted.  
 Moore (Pa.). Declined.  
 Minklein. Accepted.  
 Barnes (Pa.). Declined.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVES.

Lang (Iowa). Accepted.

Blase (Kan.). Declined.  
 Byrd (Tex.). Declined.  
 Sjodin (Ill.). Accepted.  
 Kaplan (Minn.). Declined.  
 Bruce (Pa.). Accepted.  
 Wright (Neb.). Declined.  
 Cory (Wash.). Accepted.  
 Lipscomb (Mo.). Accepted.  
 Stanley (Fla.). Declined.  
 Powell (Ohio). Accepted.  
 Lindgren (N. Y.). Accepted.  
 Kopp (N. J.). Declined.  
 Gaylord (Wis.). Accepted.  
 Cumbie (Okla.). Accepted.  
 Wells (Cal.). Accepted.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

Simmmons (N. Y.). Accepted.  
 May Wood Simons. Declined.  
 Williams (Tex.). Accepted.  
 Lanfersiek (Ky.). Accepted.  
 Rhodes (Tex.). Declined.  
 McCrillis (Iowa). Accepted.  
 Noble (Tex.). Accepted.  
 Kennedy (Ill.). Accepted.  
 Jacobson (Minn.). Declined.  
 LeSueur (N. D.). Declined.  
 Grant (N. D.). Accepted.  
 Thompson (Wis.). Accepted.  
 Seidel (Wis.). Not present.  
 Kopp (N. J.). Accepted.  
 Dooley (Okla.). Accepted.  
 Berger (Conn.). Accepted.  
 Lockwood (Mich.). Absent.  
 Anna Maley (Wash.). Accepted.  
 Houck (Del.). Accepted.  
 Maatala (Minn.). Accepted.  
 E. J. Brown (Wash.). Accepted.  
 Hoogerhyde (Mich.). Accepted.  
 Prevey (Ohio). Accepted.  
 Todd (Colo.). Accepted.  
 Downing (Cal.). Accepted.  
 Duncan (Mont.). Declined.  
 Parker (Pa.). Declined.

It was moved and seconded that the committees nominated be printed on the ballot and be distributed to the delegates, and when voted upon that the requisite number of each committee receiving the highest number of votes be declared elected, that the candidate receiving the highest number of votes be the chairman of the committee, and that when there are more than one candidate from a given state the candidate receiving the highest vote be chosen as a member of the committee.

The motion was seconded and carried.  
 The convention then adjourned until Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

## SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by Chairman Hillquit.

The following delegates were nominated for the Chairman of the day.

J. Mahlon Barnes (Pa.), James F. Carey (Mass.), James A. Schmidt (Utah), Sam Beardsley (Conn.), George Goebel (N. J.), G. H. Lockwood (Mich.), E. A. Greene (Tex.), Morris Hillquit (N. Y.), Charles T. Peach (Conn.), Arthur LeSueur (N. D.), J. Stitt Wilson (Cal.).

All of the above delegates declined the nomination excepting Barnes of Pennsylvania and Schmidt of Utah.

Upon the vote being taken it resulted, Barnes, 166; Schmidt, 50. Thereupon J. Mahlon Barnes of Pennsylvania was declared elected as the Chairman of the day.

The next order of business was the election of a Vice-Chairman.

DEL. MALKIEL: I move that the second name on the list for Chairman be chosen as the Vice-Chairman for the day.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to speak briefly against the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will Comrade Schmidt accept the nomination?

DEL. SCHMIDT: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations for Vice-Chairman are now in order.

The following delegates were then nominated for the office of Vice-Chairman.

J. G. Strickland (Ohio), George Goebel (N. J.), J. C. Edwards (Tex.), Anna Maley (Wash.), N. A. Richardson (Cal.), John Troxell (Colo.).

All the above nominees having declined the nomination, excepting Delegate Edwards, the latter was declared elected Vice-Chairman by acclamation.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): We cannot hear the proceedings at these side tables, and I move that the delegates seated under the balconies be allowed to remove their tables forthwith to the center of the room.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I wish to amend the motion that the National Secretary, or whoever has the convention arrangements in charge, be instructed to secure another hall in which we can all be heard. It is a matter of impossibility for us to hear under the balconies.

A DELEGATE: We can all hear over here.

DEL. HUNT (Pa.): I believe if the conversation in the hall were conducted in a whisper, and if curtains were put down around the galleries we could all hear.

DEL. HOGAN: We could see the gestures of the lady who has just been addressing us, but not a word, not a syllable, could we understand.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me suggest that we are wasting a lot of time by this discussion. Let us take action upon this matter. The motion is that the delegates under the balconies move their seats back in the center and rear. The amendment is that a new hall be procured. As many as are

in favor of the amendment that another hall be procured will say aye. Those opposed no. The noes have it. The amendment is lost.

The original motion is that the delegates located under the balconies be permitted to move to the center of the hall in the rear. Is there a sergeant-at-arms?

A DELEGATE: There has been none elected.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I move that the Chairman appoint six temporary sergeants-at-arms until we elect them regularly.

DEL. HOGAN: The election of sergeants-at-arms is in order now. Why not proceed with that?

The motion that the Chair appoint six temporary sergeants-at-arms was carried. The following delegates were appointed as temporary sergeants-at-arms: Comrades Newman, Hogan, Greene, White and Branstetter.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order is the roll call of delegates unless dispensed with.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I move the roll call be dispensed with.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): I suggest that while we may dispense with the roll call, that any delegates who were not here yesterday, and were not recorded, be given an opportunity to have their names recorded today.

The motion to dispense with the roll call was carried.

The following additional delegates were then reported present: Kruse, Strickland, Lantz, Zitt (Ohio), Ameringer (Okla.), Beery (Ohio), Harold (Tenn.), Foley (Pa.), Prosser (Pa.), Huston (W. Va.), Seidel (Wis.), Maxwell (Ill.), Ohsol (Mass.), Baxter (Ia.), Cox (Ala.), Krahll (Ill.), Frank Prevey (Ohio), Hayes (Ohio).

On motion the reading of the minutes of the preceding day be postponed until the unfinished business is reached.

It was moved and seconded that the minutes of each day be printed and placed upon the desk of each delegate on the morning of the following day, and if any delegate finds anything objectionable in the minutes he can raise the objection. If no minutes are objected to they will stand adopted as printed.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion having been adopted, the proper arrangements will be made by authority of this convention to have the minutes so printed and distributed.

THE SECRETARY: That means, of course, that the minutes of yesterday's session will be here tomorrow because we had to arrange all these committees alphabetically and it was an awful job.

THE CHAIRMAN: The minutes of today's session will also be here tomorrow. The next order of business will be the report of the Committee on Credentials. There are no additional reports. The next

order is the unfinished business of yesterday.

COMRADE A. B. BAKER: There is a certain human element in getting printing done. We decided at yesterday's session to have the printed list of the nominations here; the copy was sent to the printer last night in plenty of time and the ballots will not be here for an hour. That is the best we can do.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): A matter of personal privilege. We have come from all over the nation and there is an important question of railroad fares. The slips have been handed out and we don't know how to fill them out. Are we to be allowed our sleeper fares in coming to this convention? To bring the matter properly before the meeting, I move that regular sleeper fares be considered a part of the railway fare.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): I move that the matter be referred to the National Executive Committee for consideration and report; otherwise we shall repeat the performance of 1904 and have four hours' discussion of this matter.

The amendment of Delegate Spargo was duly seconded.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): There are delegates here who come from the Pacific Coast who ought to know whether they are going to receive the Pullman car fares.

THE SECRETARY: Does that motion mean that the committee shall report tomorrow?

THE CHAIRMAN: That they report to this convention, I suggest.

DEL. LOCKWOOD: We are here for business.

The motion to refer to the National Executive Committee was carried on a division, 128 voting aye and 56 no.

DEL. REILLY: There is a matter on the election of committees. On one committee on which there were five members to be elected and we had only five nominees. The rule provides that there shall not be more than one member on a committee from any one state. I found that we had only five nominees on that committee and two of them were from the state of New Jersey. Therefore, I didn't send the copy for that ballot to the printers. I was included on the committee. Some comrade made a motion that the Secretary should act, and that made the five. Now there was another nominee from my state. I thought likely it would be possible to fill that publicity committee by a motion on the floor of the convention. So I take my name off the committee and we have the names of Clark, Thelmer, Wolf and Hayden.

THE CHAIRMAN: Shall we fill the committee by nominating one additional nominee?

The suggestion of the Chair was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations are in order.

DEL. MARGARET PREVEY (Ohio): I nominate Max Hayes of Ohio.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there are no further nominations the nominations will close.

On motion the five nominees were declared the Committee on Publicity.

#### COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications and telegrams conveying greetings to the convention were received from the following organizations:

New York Young People's Socialist Federation.

Executive Committee Russian Branches  
Socialist Party of the Northwestern States.  
Schenectady Italian Socialist Branch.  
Children of the Southeast Socialist Sunday Schools, Cleveland, Ohio.  
Third Ward Branch, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.

Atlantic County Local, New Jersey.  
Branch San Diego, California.  
Jewish Daily Forward.  
Socialist Agitation Bureau, New York.  
United Hebrew Trades of New York.  
Locals Grafton and Simpson, Taylor County, West Virginia.  
Labor League of Boston, Mass.  
Poplar Bluff Local, Missouri.  
Socialist Sunday School, Cleveland, Ohio.  
Jewish Socialist Territorialists, Philadelphia.

Jewish Socialist Party Conference, Chicago.

Naturalization League, Newark, N. J.  
Central Committee Jewish Socialist Territorialist Labor Party of America.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation.  
United Hungarian Socialist Federation of America.

Newark Young People's Socialist Federation.

Branch 434, Workmen's Circle, New Haven, Conn.

Branch 127, Workmen's Circle, Chicago, Ill.

Local Kings County, Socialist Party, New York.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are a number of letters which need reference to the committee which will be read and referred to the proper committees when elected.

National Executive Committee, Independent Workmen's Circle, Incorporated, Boston, Mass.

Referred to the Committee on Immigration.

Wichita Falls, Local 1149.

Referred to Committee on Immigration.

Communications from Swedish Local, West Concord, N. H., and from Slovak Socialist Section, Socialist Party of America.

Referred to the Resolutions Committee.

Communication from the Polish Section of the Socialist Party.

Referred to the Committee on Platform.

At the conclusion of the reading of the communication from the Swedish Local, West Concord, N. H., the following occurred:

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I have an idea that we are wasting time. That last communication is not a greeting. I think it is an attempt to influence the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Berlyn is right. The Chair announced that there were some congratulatory telegrams and letters, and that there were some others that would be referred to the committee. But there are only two more.

At the conclusion of the reading of letters and telegrams, Comrade Haywood addressed the convention as follows:

COM. HAYWOOD: I have a telegram from San Diego, Cal., that I would like to have read by the Secretary of the Convention.

A DELEGATE: I would like to know whether it refers to a branch of the Socialist Party or some other organization.

(Cries of "Read it.")

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the Secretary will read it.

The Secretary then read the telegram referred to as follows:

"William D. Haywood,

"Socialist Convention, Indianapolis.

"Am sending dispatch to Indianapolis, registered. Bring it up on floor of convention. Conditions critical here. Secure an appropriation from national organization to aid us. Present fight against anti-picketing ordinance, which also prevents all public meetings. Object suppression of Socialist and industrialist agitation. All radicals being deported. Employers seek to establish precedent which will allow deportation of all strikers in future. American Federation of Labor must take firm stand with us. Over 150 men still in jail; 100 I. W. W. and trade unionists deported Wednesday. Trade union officials arrested and assaulted by vigilantes and police. Attempt made to force them to leave city. Chief of police personally attacks trade unionist, crippling him. Gigantic funeral demonstration Los Angeles; killed by police in raid on I. W. W. Hall. Unable to hold funeral here on account of police antagonism. Two men arrested while arranging funeral. Vigilantes patrolling county roads. Six men arrested. Socialist organizer held charged with conspiracy to murder. Grew out of shooting during raid on hall. Socialist and union headquarters raided. Property taken."

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I move that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee for immediate action.

DEL. WANHOPE (N. Y.): I second the motion.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I move to amend that they report here as soon as possible.

DEL. CAREY: Certainly.

DEL. FURMAN: I move to amend that they report not later than Wednesday at 3 o'clock.

The amendment was duly seconded.

The motion, as amended, that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee for immediate action, with instructions to report to the convention as soon as possible, and not later than Wednesday at 3 o'clock, was carried.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I move that from now on that this mass of daily and weekly literature of the party be kept off the delegates' tables. We are utterly smothered by this literature, and are too busy to read it. Take it out and give it to the heathen on the street where it will do some good.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that no more literature be laid upon the delegates' tables.

On motion duly seconded, the motion of Delegate Furman was laid on the table.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): If we have no other business before the house it seems it would be well to take up the regular reports from committees elected by the last National Congress of the party. There we have business ready for us and we need not waste any time.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the motion that the convention take up the consideration of the reports of the permanent committees.

DEL. MALKIEL (N. Y.): I move as an amendment that when the ballots come we take a recess from the matter then under consideration and proceed to the election of the various committees so that those committees may be able to go to work.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I accept the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is understood then that when the ballots arrive the then order of business shall be set aside and we proceed to elect the committees. It is moved that we now take up the reports of standing committees.

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I move to amend that the report of the Committee on Immigration be taken up first.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): On behalf of my comrades of the minority of the Committee on Immigration I ask the delegates that they will not carry this motion. We have held one meeting and it would be necessary for us to have still another.

DEL. SLAYTON: In view of the statement of Delegate Spargo I will withdraw my motion if my second is willing.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): This is the same committee that has been standing for two years; and it is not ready yet.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not the point under discussion. The question is shall we take up this subject now.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): I move that we now take up the report of the Committee on Farmers' Programme.

COM. SIMONS: That committee is in the same position as the Committee on Immigration. We are not quite ready to report.

THE SECRETARY: The Committee on Vocational Education is the next.

DEL. STREBEL: They are in a similar position. They have a report but only one of the committee is in this convention. The report, however, is here and can be read and acted upon.

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall then take up the report of the Committee on Education, Comrade Strebel, reporting.

DEL. LANFERSECK (Ky.): I move that the reading of this report be dispensed with.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that the reading be dispensed with. I might suggest that it does not follow that every report will be read because we read this one. We are competent from time to time to decide that matter.

DEL. GAYLORD: There is no good reason for taking the time of the convention in reading printed reports. The comrades are assumed to have had the time to read them. There is occasion for the discussion of the recommendations of a committee, or the report of the committee. You will find the printed recommendations in the printed report. I suggest that Comrade Strebel read the recommendations; and then the matter can be brought definitely before us by a motion for their adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you make that motion?

DEL. GAYLORD: There is a motion now that the reading of the report be dispensed with. I move to amend that the recommendations only be read at this time.

DEL. HILQUIT: I am opposed to the motion to dispense with the reading of this report. It is true that the printed reports have been sent out. It is not equally true, I venture to say, that every delegate has read all the reports attentively. Also the comrade reporting for a committee may desire to change parts of the report, or to elucidate the report as he reads it. I want to warn this convention against the practice of acting upon printed reports upon the assumption that they have been read and that their contents are known and understood by the delegates. That leads to that vicious practice that prevails in our legislative bodies where things are not disposed of intelligently, where things are read and done or assumed to be read and done, without intelligent thought as to what action they are taking. These reports are printed and distributed for the purpose of giving the delegates if they desire the opportunity to consider

them, but not for the purpose of eliminating the reading from the floor.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Ia.): A point of order. Under our rules adopted yesterday each chairman of a committee has twenty minutes in which to report. The chairman of a committee may employ his time in any way that he chooses. He can read the report or he can read the recommendations, or he can give the synopsis of the report. That is my point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken because the convention is always competent to decide whether it will have a report read or not; and that is what the convention is now doing. The motion is that the report be not read. The amendment is that the recommendations only be read. As many as are in favor of having the recommendations only read will say aye.

The amendment to read the recommendations only was declared lost.

The motion to dispense with the reading of the report was then defeated.

DEL. STREBEL: At the congress of the Socialist Party at Chicago, two years ago, the question was raised that all over the United States an agitation was in progress for the adoption of the vocational school system; that in different states different attitudes were taken by different locals; some favoring, some opposing the adoption of vocational schools. As this was a matter of great importance to the party it was brought before the Congress and this committee appointed, and the supposition was that this committee would be constituted of those who were capable of analyzing this subject, giving a thorough analysis to the vocational school, and the ideas upon which the theories in support of such schools were founded. But as to the report that is before you we never had a meeting; we never got together; and I am frank to say that this report may not be the very best that the convention or the party should have. Personally I should like to see it go back for further consideration. The report is here. As such I was willing to sign it to get the matter before this convention so that some further action could be taken on this important matter. I will read the report as we have it as written by the chairman of the committee.\*

DELEGATE STREBEL: I move the adoption of the report. (Seconded.)

DEL. M. W. SIMONS (Kas.): While I am thoroughly in accord with all the recommendations that have been made by this committee on vocational education, I think that several of the recommendations should have been much stronger; because as education is a matter of public service I think we should lay great emphasis on the statement that all education should come through the public schools. I think that we should say that instead of stating it as it is stated by the committee. Perhaps those who have not been about the country so as to know the real situation do not realize how tremendously important this question is becoming since we have been electing members of school boards in different parts of the United States. In Kansas we have men elected and in control of school boards. Two years ago the Woman's National Committee appointed a committee on this question and that committee has reported to the Woman's National Committee, and we are ready to bring in certain recommendations which we believe are a little more specific, especially

upon the industrial education of girls. That has not been touched upon here; and it is very general in its import.

We have also some recommendations to bring in that we believe to be very specific upon the manner of handling this question of education as a whole. This committee dealt only with vocational education. We believe that the scope of such a committee should be enlarged. I would like very much, as we do not wish to have our recommendations brought in at this time, I would like the delegates to remember in any discussion upon this matter that there is a second report coming in.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you offer an amendment. The motion has been made to adopt the report.

DEL. M. W. SIMONS: I offer this amendment: That the convention defer action upon this report of the Committee on Vocational Education until this committee from the Woman's National Committee has reported.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. OHSOL (Mass.): I am opposed to these recommendations, No. 5 and No. 9. No. 5 demands that we oppose all legislation giving work to children which does not create social wealth. What do we mean by this lame statement. What is social wealth; what is economic wealth? Who is going to determine which work of children creates wealth and which creates economic wealth, which is industrial and which is social? It will be decided by the capitalist bodies that are in control and they will determine that any work done by children between five and fourteen years of age creates social wealth. Now, what you are dealing with here is education. Education should not be made work at all. So long as the capitalists decide what is social wealth this is detrimental to the working class. For that reason I move to strike out the fifth recommendation.

Now, as to the ninth recommendation, that is also vague. It says that we should insist upon emphasis being laid upon citizenship, manhood and womanhood. Those words have become really absurd. What does the committee mean by citizenship, by manhood and womanhood. We should improve on those words. What do you mean by good citizenship? If they mean that citizenship shall be determined by the Y. M. C. A. that is entirely opposed to our idea of citizenship. We cannot trust the present state or any private organization to define our ideas of citizenship. We are the organization that must direct the young thinkers of the working class what our conception of true citizenship is; what we mean by good citizenship. But if we simply say that we insist that the public schools shall teach manhood and womanhood the capitalist controlling bodies will interpret it as their courts interpret what the word conspiracy means, or what violence is, or what accessory means in murder. We should instruct this committee to revise this recommendation and bring in one that will be very plain in its terms. I therefore move to strike out this recommendation 9.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. BOEHM (O.): I move that action on the recommendation of this committee be deferred until we receive the report of the special committee from the Woman's National Committee on vocational education.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): I didn't know that we had a woman's committee on education.

\*The report is printed in full as Appendix B.—Editor.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Perhaps I misunderstood the motion.

**DEL. GOEBEL:** No. What has the woman's committee to do with this question of education? They are butting into something that we had a special committee appointed to consider.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I will ask Comrade Simons to give me the exact name of that committee.

**DEL. M. W. SIMONS:** The National Woman's Committee appointed a special committee to inquire into the question of industrial education for girls. Two years ago a committee was appointed to investigate that subject and report to the Woman's Committee; and we have their recommendations to bring before this convention, as a part of the recommendations of the National Woman's Committee.

**DEL. GOEBEL:** I am opposed to waiting for the report of the Woman's National Committee before acting upon this matter. I do not believe that this comes properly within the province of the Woman's Committee. Anything relating to Socialist Sunday Schools might. In my judgment this other matter does not. I have brought this up at this time because I believe that the Woman's National Committee are attempting to handle many things that do not come properly within their province. They have a special work to do and I think they should stick to it. We have a matter here which has been reported by another committee. Let us discuss it and dispose of it. Let us settle it. And don't let us wait for the suggestions of another committee upon a matter that may be remotely connected with the subject before us.

**DEL. STALLARD (Okla.):** So far as the right of the Woman's National Committee to handle that question is concerned, I think the work of the Woman's National Committee covers all things that pertain to women generally. And so far as it is a fact that women and girls do enter into the industrial field, and are to be educated in those schools, I think that it comes within their province, and I believe we should not settle this question rightly until we have heard from the Woman's Committee; and therefore I am in favor of deferring action until their report is received.

**DEL. GEFFS (Colo.):** If education does not come properly before the Woman's National Committee I should like to know what does. I should like to know who there is in all this broad land who has a better right to handle the question of the education of our young people, and especially our young girls, than this same Woman's Committee? I should like to know where you would draw the line on that committee in regard to anything that concerns the interest of the young girls of the land? I object most strenuously to this matter being disposed of at this time. I object most strenuously to this report being adopted until after the Woman's National Committee has an opportunity to be heard. I am not a member of that committee but they have a right to be heard. It will only mean a little time, and they are entitled to this courtesy. It is our right to demand; and you have no right to refuse it.

**DEL. MALKIEL (N. Y.):** It is not a question of whether this committee or that committee should be the one to handle this question. It is a matter of this convention having before it all the information it can gather before it decides. Before you decide you want to know all you can on this subject. It is only a matter of

a day or two. It makes no difference whether you decide this matter now. The fear here seems to be that the Woman's Committee will sway this convention. Don't fear. If you wait you simply get more information. Therefore I hope you will defer action on this.

**DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.):** You will remember that when Comrade Strebel read the report he stated that he would like to have the matter referred back for further consideration. Now the report that we are to have from the Woman's Committee may have just the information that Comrade Strebel's committee lacked; and thus enable us to take decisive and intelligent action. I add that as an additional point. With all possible information before us the whole convention will be benefited.

**DEL. LEE (N. Y.):** Will you please tell me the status of the matter at the present time?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It has been moved and seconded that the recommendations of this committee be approved. It has been moved as an amendment that action upon this matter be deferred until we receive the report of the Woman's National Committee. The discussion now is on the motion to defer action.

**DEL. LEE:** I hear cries from various parts of the hall for the previous question. I think that when we were discussing mere questions of rules of procedure it was very wise to adopt the previous question early in the discussion. But here we have the report of a committee of this body. That committee has considered this matter for two years. They have presented what seems to be a rather carefully worked out report. You have had it read here. Many of you have not listened; and most of you I venture to say have not read the printed report. I did not listen to all of it because I had read the printed report. But most of you have done neither. Then a comrade rises here and says there is another committee that has important information on the matter before us; and there are very good reasons why that committee should have important matter on that question to present; and then some comrade rises and moves the previous question; thus saying that the Woman's Committee should have nothing to do with this; we are going to vote upon it now. My point is that if you vote now to defer you cut off the opportunity to discuss this matter when we have nothing else before us and a good opportunity to discuss the matter.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The motion for the previous question has not been made yet.

**DEL. LEE:** The previous question would carry with it the whole matter.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** No; only the motion to defer.

**DEL. LEE:** If that is your ruling I am willing to have the vote.

**DEL. PEACH (Conn.):** Had I been given the opportunity I would have accepted the suggestion offered by Comrade Simons. I realize the great importance of this question of education. We have it facing us in our state and it is a very important question. We have it in a form where it has been submitted by the Board of Education, and adopted in the law, that the schools shall be conducted part of the time and the children attend them; and that the other part of the day they shall spend in factories. We believe the recommendation of the committee on such a point as that is very important and should receive the earnest consideration of this convention. We from Connecticut believe that everything relating to education should re-



ceive the fullest consideration; because it is a practical thing actually confronting us. And I want to say that the question of the industrial education of women and girls is of just as much importance as the education of boys; and therefore I hope that the convention will accede to the request of Comrade Simons, so that we may get all the light possible on the matters contained in this report.

DEL. CASSIDY (N. Y.): It seems to me that the report of Comrade Simons if agreed to will lead to a lot of confusion. The Committee on Education deals specifically with this question. They have considered the question; and have dealt with it in their report. During their deliberations the National Woman's Committee as well as any one else in the Socialist Party had the opportunity to present to that committee all the information they had or could gather on this question. To take up the consideration of the matter on two different reports seems to me to lead to loss of time and confusion. What subject are women more interested in than the education of children, and especially the industrial education of girls? That is absolutely true. But it is no reason why we should have two committees reporting. It is said that the women are very much interested in the report of our Committee on Immigration. That is absolutely true. But that is no reason for separate reports. Then there is the Committee on the Relationship of the Party to the Labor Unions. They may bring in a separate report on that. Now for the sake of logical and orderly procedure let us keep consistently and logically to one question so that it may be disposed of. I hope that the motion to defer action until the women report will be defeated.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex.) moved the previous question. (Seconded.)

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I am in favor of almost all of the recommendations of this committee. I do not favor the method by which they arrive at their conclusions. If we vote down this motion to defer and take no action on this report, we shall be taking action on something which contains some statements which I do not see how we could approve, unless we can have presented here the data concerning these things. In the report of the committee here are a lot of things that up to date do not believe can be established to be true. There are positions taken also that no one who has studied industrial education deeply knows are hardly tenable. It is too great a question; it contains too much of moment for it to be disposed of off-hand here in a few minutes.

Another thing: The women of the Socialist Party by all means should have something to say on this question. I am speaking as one with experience in this line, and I know that when it comes to the question of education in the public schools the women have the first and last word. They have it by right. They have been the main educators of America, and the foremost educator in this country today is a woman. By all means this matter should be deferred and all possible information brought in here. If we pass upon this now I want to say that there are even things in this report that the Socialist Party cannot stand for; unless they can be established by the proof to be brought in here. We ought to have more information. We ought to have everything that the women can give us; as I said before they have the right to what it is. I

hope that we shall vote to defer the matter until the Woman's Committee shall be heard.

DEL. GAYLORD: What is the status of this matter now?

THE CHAIRMAN: One speech in opposition to the motion to defer.

DEL. GAYLORD: I favor deferring.

DEL. GOEBEL: I am opposed to deferring.

A DELEGATE: Has not Comrade Goebel spoken already?

DEL. GOEBEL: I was the original one to object to waiting. And whether I speak twice or not I think we all agree that parliamentary usage would give me the right to conclude.

Now I want to say to the women of this convention and to the women of the Socialist Party—I want to say right here and now—that I refuse to allow the women to claim the children of this country any more than I claim them as a man. (Applause and laughter.) Let us understand each other about this. We have certain definite committees. We have the National Committee, we have the National Executive Committee; and then we have separate standing and special committees. They have each some duty to perform. The moment they begin to infringe on the duties of other committees that moment we have loss of time, loss of money and confusion. That is the proposition here. Not whether we shall favor this report. Not whether we shall defer further action until we hear from the Woman's Committee. There is a good reason for my objection. I understand that the women are bringing in a recommendation on a party owned press. Doubtless they will bring in separate reports on other matters that are of general interest. We have a committee to deal with education. That is their special function. Special propaganda work among the women and children would be a different matter. Let us understand each other. I am not fighting the Woman's Committee. I want the national committee to do its business; I want the National Woman's Committee to do its business; I want the Committees on Immigration and on Farmers' Program to do their business. That is the only way in which we can have business done on a business basis.

DEL. BOEHM (O.): I should like to ask when the Woman's Committee will be ready to report.

DEL. M. W. Simons: Our recommendations are ready. They will be here at the beginning of the next session. We shall submit it as a part of our report.

The motion to defer action until after the report of the Woman's National Committee had been received was then voted upon and declared carried.

CHAIRMAN BARNES: One word, for the benefit of our soap boxers who are going to distribute our philosophy. It is significant that here in this Socialist convention the first subject discussed before the convention is the question of education. It is a remarkable contrast to the subjects discussed in the republican and democratic conventions.

ALLOWANCE FOR SLEEPING CARS TO DELEGATES.

DEL. SPARGO: On behalf of the National Executive Committee I am ready to report on the question of Pullman car allowances to delegates.

The National Executive Committee has considered the matter of the payment of Pullman car fares of the delegates to the convention of the party referred to it by the convention. The National Executive

Committee having considered the matter from the standpoint of principle and the party's finances unanimously recommends to the convention that payment of traveling expenses be interpreted to include not only the bare railroad fare but the necessary convenience of a sleeper for traveling considerable distances. On behalf of the National Executive Committee I desire to state very briefly our reasons for that decision. In the first place I have no doubt at all that with very few exceptions, by an overwhelming majority of this convention, those of us who have traveled very long distances have come by way of a sleeper car. We have done this not merely for our own convenience, our desire for luxury, but we have come in that way in order that we might be efficient and fit to do the work imposed upon us. Now, comrades, there is always the proposition of the man who says that as a working class party we should in all externals represent that working class. I don't care whether that point of view is represented by imagining that all delegates should come with the tools and clothing of their craft, or whether it is expressed in the notion that we ought to come in day coaches or on the bumpers underneath the cars, if we possibly can do so. The fact is that is not the working class point of view at all. As a working class convention we first of all recognize that our supreme business is to build up an effective fighting machine of the working class, and men who come to the convention tired and outworn and weary are not

in a position to make the best resistance to the forces of capitalism which can be made.

In the second place, I believe there was a time in this party when it was necessary for us to endure hardships; when our membership was small. There was a time in the history of this party when opposition to our position would have had a considerable basis of reason. But that time is, happily, passed forever.

Finally, comrades, this the twentieth century. And we of the working class demand for ourselves and our class all the advantages of the twentieth century.

Moved and seconded that the report of the National Executive Committee be adopted.

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): I move to amend that wherever it is possible that they travel in tourist or second class sleepers, because the sleeping is just as good and costs just half as much.

The amendment was not seconded.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I believe that those have the best right to ride in sleeping cars who build the sleeping cars.

The report of the National Executive Committee in regard to payment of Pullman car fares to delegates was then declared adopted.

The Chairman announced that the local committee had made arrangements for a group picture of the convention to be taken in front of the court house immediately after the adjournment.

The convention then adjourned.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Barnes called the convention to order at 2:30 p. m.

### LETTISH ORGANIZATIONS.

THE CHAIRMAN: Most of the foreign organizations have submitted in print copies of reports of their respective activities. The Executive Committee of the National Lettish Organization of the S. P. has submitted a report with sundry recommendations, and they ask that it be made part of the record and included in minutes.\*

On motion of Del. Goaziou it was so ordered.

### COMMITTEE NOMINATIONS.

The roll of states was called for corrections in the printed list of nominations for the various committees. Several corrections and withdrawals were announced, and the delegates were requested to correct their copies of the ballot accordingly.

In consequence of declarations and absences, certain committees were left without enough nominees to equal the numbers prescribed by the rules, and the subject of nominations was reopened.

It was moved that the election of the Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations be postponed until the other committees have been elected.

An amendment was offered that the election of the Auditing Committee take the same course.

An amendment to the amendment was offered, that the convention proceed to complete the nominations for all committees and elect.

The amendment to the amendment was carried.

Del. Dobbs (Ky.) moved that the ballot with the corrections be referred back to the proper committee and reprinted and

placed on the desks of the delegates. Motion lost.

National Secretary Work announced the presence of A. F. Casselbury as an alternate from Georgia.

The Chairman called for additional nominations on committees, and the following were made:

### AUDITING COMMITTEE.

Former nominations:

Fritz (Miss.).

Garrison (Ind.).

Ward (Mo.).

Additional nominations:

Blase (Kans.).

Benents (N. Y.).

### COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF NATIONAL OFFICERS.

Del. Young (Pa.) withdrew his name there being two nominees from Pennsylvania, and he nominated H. W. Houston of West Va.

### COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Additional nomination:

John Ohsol (Mass.).

Del. Duncan moved that inasmuch as a sufficient number of nominations have been made for the Committee on International Relations, that the nominees constitute the committee. Seconded and carried.

### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS.

Del. Strebel (N. Y.) stated that the Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations, under the rules, should consist of nine members, while only seven delegates had been nominated, and he moved to complete the nominations.

So ordered.

\*See Appendix O.—Editor.

The following additional nominations were made:

Reynolds (Ind.)—declined.

Russel (N. Y.)—declined.

Maxwell (Ill.)—declined.

On motion of Del. Bessemer (Pa.) the rules were suspended and the seven nominees elected as the committee.

#### ELECTION OF COMMITTEES.

It was moved that the respective state delegations tabulate their vote for committees and present the report to the tellers, accompanied by the individual ballots.

An amendment was offered to strike out the words "accompanied by the individual ballots." The amendment was lost.

The original motion was then carried by a vote of 117 for, 110 against.

A recess was taken in order to permit delegates to prepare their ballots.

The hour of five o'clock, the time for receiving resolutions, having arrived before votes were tabulated, it was moved and carried that the rules be suspended during the tabulation of the votes and that the resolutions be received at the close of the session.

#### COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications were read from the following:

Pittsburgh Young People's Socialist League. Referred to Resolutions Committee.

From Carl M. Sandberg, Chicago, relating to a plank in the platform. Referred to Platform Committee.

Resolution adopted by the 25th Ward Branch, Chicago, recommending a plank for the platform. Referred to the Platform Committee.

Resolution signed by Mrs. Charles Keefe, Secretary, in reference to Party press and its conduct. Referred to Press Committee.

Communication from Norfolk, Va., on the subject of party papers. Referred to Press Committee.

Communication from National Lettish Organization in reference to foreign speaking organizations. Referred to Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a telegram of a controversial nature, assailing the right of a member of this convention to have a voice herein, signed by a branch. Is it the pleasure of the delegates that the communication be read?

The reading of the telegram was called for by several delegates.

The Secretary began to read. "Denver, Colo., May 12—"

THE CHAIRMAN: I stated that there is a telegram of a controversial nature attacking the rights of a member on the floor, and asked whether you desired it read or not.

A delegate moved that it be read. Seconded.

Another delegate suggested that there ought to be a consultation with the state delegation to which the attacked member belongs before the communication is read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Com. Floaten says with authority that it comes from his state.

A DELEGATE: Is this letter from a state convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; from a local branch.

A DELEGATE: What right have we to recognize this communication? These delegates are elected by the party.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): This would be establishing a precedent. I do not want to establish such a precedent. There are

5,000 locals, and if one should address this convention it would take up all the time.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is but fair to give you the further information that it assails the rights of one who is not a delegate, but one who by courtesy has been given a voice in this convention. I refer to a member of the National Executive Committee. He is not a delegate.

A delegate moved to refer to the Committee on Contested Seats.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no such committee. The motion is that the communication be read.

DEL. MILLER (Nev.): I move as a substitute for the motion that the communication be referred to the delegation from Colorado, to report. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: That would come in the form of an amendment.

DEL. MILLER: All right.

DEL. SPARGO: I move to lay that communication on the table. (Seconded.)

The question was put on the motion to lay on the table.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): A point of order on the taking of this vote. You have no right to table this communication till you know what your are tabling.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no point of order.

The motion to table was then carried by a vote of 128 for, 50 against.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were then presented and read and referred as respectively noted.

From William H. Prosser, Delegate from Pennsylvania on the liquor traffic. Referred to Platform Committee.

From C. L. Furman, Albert Pulay and E. Lindgren, on behalf of Local Kings County, New York, on using the national machinery of the party to promote private views on party tactics. Referred to the Committee on Constitution.

From Indiana delegation on propaganda among the army, navy, etc. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by Del. Theimer of New Jersey on the subject of systematic propaganda. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

From U. Solomon, delegate from N. Y., on the defense of Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannetti. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution on industrial unionism, submitted by R. J. Wheeler, of Pennsylvania. Referred to Committee on Labor Organizations and Their Relations to the Socialist Party.

Resolution submitted by Del. Walter Lanfersiek, of Kentucky, on extending financial aid to the party in the southern states.

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

DEL. SPARGO: I move that the resolution be referred to the National Executive Committee. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. It is the property of this convention. We have a committee handling that subject, the Ways and Means Committee. This is a financial proposition. That is the reference of the chair, unless there is a motion made to some other purpose.

DEL. SPARGO: I have so moved, Com. Chairman, that it be referred to the National Executive Committee. I claim that it is not within the province or scope of the work of the Committee on Ways and Means. The functions of the Committee on Ways and Means is to devise ways and

means to finance the party. The function of the National Executive Committee is to administer the finances on hand. This is a request for a specific sum of money for a specific purpose, and ought to be referred to the committee.

DEL. MAHONEY (Mass.): A point of order. We have a Resolution Committee. What is the function of the Resolution Committee unless to pass on just such matters as that. Or is that a point of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. The rules provide that the chair shall make reference without discussion being had as to the subject matter, but the convention is entitled to make reference as it sees fit.

DEL. MAHONEY: Then I move that it be referred to the Resolution Committee.

DEL. PATTERSON (O.): A point of order. Resolution coming before this body must be referred to the proper committees without discussion, and cannot be acted on by this convention till after they are reported back to the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the judgment of the chair. But a motion is in order to make a reference other than that decided upon by the chair.

DEL. PATTERSON: You hold that a motion is out of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: I hold that your point of order is not well taken. It is within the province of the body to make a motion to refer in opposition to the judgment of the chair. The chair's judgment is that it belongs to the Ways and Means Committee.

DEL. PATTERSON: I appeal from the decision of the chair.

Appeal seconded, and vice chairman Edwards assumed the chair.

DEL. PATTERSON: The reason I take this position is that this convention has adopted rules to govern the convention, and to allow a motion to be made that sets aside all rules without consideration is not fair to the convention. That is one of the reasons. And further, that the Executive Committee is not a committee of this convention, and the resolution coming before the convention is the property of the convention and not the property of any standing committees or officers of the Socialist Party. The referring of the communication or the resolution to the Executive Committee takes it out of the hands of the convention and leaves it subject to the discretion of the Executive Committee whether they will report back here, whether they will give you a voice in the matter or not. It simply means the pigeonholing of any communications or resolutions that the Executive Committee shall see fit.

A vote was taken on appeal, and the chair was sustained.

THE CHAIRMAN (Del. Barnes): Action recurs upon the motion of Del. Spargo, that this subject be referred to the National Executive Committee.

DEL. MAHONEY: I made an amendment to the motion, that it be referred to the Resolution Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Was that motion seconded, Com. Mahoney's motion to refer to the Resolution Committee?

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Action recurs on Spargo's motion to refer to the National Executive Committee.

DEL. REID (R. I.): I want to say here that I think it is the duty of this convention to refer this resolution as the chairman decides, to the Ways and Means Committee of this convention. If they

should see fit to refer it further to the National Executive Committee, they should do it. But this convention should refer it to the Ways and Means Committee of this convention, to let them report on it.

DEL. CLIFFORD (O.): As an amendment to the motion proposed by Com. Spargo, I move that this resolution be referred to the Ways and Means Committee. (Seconded.)

The amendment was carried.

Secretary next read a resolution submitted by the Oregon delegation, Delegates Dorfman, Hayden, Sherman, Lewis and Ramp, warning workers to stay away from the Pacific Coast. Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution to provide a special committee to investigate and report on the subject of establishing a moving picture exchange. Referred to Committee on Ways and Means.

Resolution submitted by Mary L. Geffs of Colorado, favoring the abolition of capital punishment. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by Montana delegation, containing declaration on the subject of industrial democracy. Referred to Platform Committee.

Resolution adopted by Missouri state convention protesting against the Root amendment to the Immigration Law now pending in Congress. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposed amendment to Article II, Section 2, of the national constitution, making ineligible to membership any person whose principal source of income is derived from rent, interest or profit. Submitted by Delegates Bostrom, Kate Sadler, Samuel Sadler and A. H. Barth, delegates from Washington. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution on Socialist agitation among trade unions and other labor organizations. Submitted by Robert Lawrence of Massachusetts. Referred to Committee on Labor Organizations.

Resolution submitted by Del. J. P. Reid of Rhode Island to provide each member of the party with a Monthly Bulletin. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution submitted by D. M. Caldwell, of Pennsylvania, warning members to beware of all persons who advise violence. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Speech by Oscar Ameringer.

While waiting for the announcement of the vote on committees, Del. Oscar Ameringer of Oklahoma, was called to the platform and spoke as follows:

DEL. AMERINGER: Friends and comrades, I am very sorry that we did not have an opportunity to see you in Oklahoma City instead of this town here for a great many reasons. In the first place, we have an excellent hall down there where you can hear and can see things. Up here we are somewhat in a very peculiar place. It reminds me somewhat of an experience I had coming up from Biloxi, Miss., to New Orleans one Sunday night. A little fellow got on the train with me and sat down in the seat next to me. He said, "Some people surely got bad luck." I said, "That is right, that is right." He said, "Some people surely got a hard time." I said, "That is so," being there myself. He said, "Some people surely don't know what a hard time other people have." I said, "That is so. What is the trouble?" "Oh," he says, "we have a man down here in Biloxi who has surely got bad luck. He was born deaf and dumb and couldn't hear and couldn't talk." "Well," I said, "that is

hard luck." He said, "Yes, and some time ago he broke his leg, and we fixed it up as good as we knew how, and it was all right, so that they took him up to New Orleans and sawed his leg off. Now he is deaf and dumb, can't hear, can't talk, and only has one leg, and yesterday they brought him home, and he got blind drunk and is crazier than hell now."

Now, friends, we are somewhat in the same kind of predicament in this hall here. We can't hear, we can't see, we can't talk and everybody is hollering until the blood goes up in the head, and I am afraid we will be—well, not crazier than that other place, but it will be bad enough after awhile.

In the meantime, comrades, just put on smiling countenances. There is absolutely no reason in God's creation why some of you Socialist delegates should have faces that long (illustrating). You make awful faces, very bitter faces. Are you aware of the fact that the whole Socialist movement is nothing but a movement for joy, for happiness, for health, for laughter, for flowers, and for the good things of earth in general? (Applause.)

Now, I don't want you to take yourselves too doggoned serious. Because, remember that this world rolled on for a couple of years before you were born, and it is going to roll on for a few years after you are gone. Remember that the whole Socialist movement at this critical time does not rest on your shoulders exclusively. (Laughter.) Aye, friends, even Karl Marx died, and the Socialist movement went on. And if some of you don't get exactly what you want, you most likely don't get it because it is not coming to you. (Laughter.) And if the majority seems to have a different idea than you have, and although you are thoroughly convinced that you are the only second infallible person in creation, remember that the majority may be right after all, and just take things easy and take it with a smile on your face.

My particular mission in the Socialist movement for the last couple of years has been to get sufficient activity in your faces so you could crack a smile once in awhile. Sometimes our friends, our Socialists even, are very unsocial Socialists. We come to a meeting like this, and instead of being happy that there are so many of us, instead of being happy that they are having 140,000 party members and going to have 1,200,000 votes, instead of being happy after we have carried town after town and city after city, why, do you know what you talk about? About slavery and feudalism and capitalism. You live in the past instead of living today. This is the best world I ever got into, in spite of the fact that it is run by the capitalist class. I am satisfied that the capitalist has been a darned sight better to us than the feudal lord has been or the slave owner. (Laughter.) And the further back you go the worse it gets. Now, here we are, working people, most of us stopping at pretty fair hotels, aren't we, and you are eating good grub. Why, 50,000 years ago, instead of eating we would have furnished a meal. (Laughter.)

So you see, friends, considerable progress has been made. The further back you go the worse it gets, and the further on you go the better it gets. Therefore, smile; let that face broaden. I want to give you a little advice to a great many of you Socialists here; the advice that I have come to the conclusion that the only salvation of our movement is to eat more, and drink more and get fatter. (Applause.)

One of the reasons why our first Congressman has made such a howling success as a Congressman was because he had the necessary weight of gray matter and other matter.

Keep your eyes on the future. There are many days of fighting ahead of us, and it is the fight itself that gives the great pleasure, understand. It is the struggle itself, the class struggle, that can be fought in such a manner as will repay us for all our trouble. As soon as the working class fights with a smiling face, as soon as we are in a position where we can laugh at all opposition, as soon as that time comes we are a power, and not before. (Applause.)

Take it easy, boys, take it easy. Don't think that if the working class is not organized according to a certain way it will ruin everything. It is not going to. Don't think that if this or that resolution is killed the labor movement is killed. No; remember we are the child of necessity. We are the child of the capitalist system, and that system is better than anything we had, and we are going to be better than that. We are the child of necessity. The Socialist movement has its foundation in a very simple thing, and that is the desire of the working people to live as good as the people who don't work. (Applause.) It is so fundamental, it is so elementary. What we want is to live better, to live happier, to enjoy life. I want to say to some of you doggoned Socialists, don't make such sour faces and spoil the milk that way. (Laughter.) You are not going to catch flies with vinegar, and if you want to catch bear use honey or molasses. You don't take fish hooks or vinegar, do you. Now, friends, be cheerful about the thing, and don't quarrel much, and when you do quarrel put on a smiling face. It don't hurt. And the more you smile the fatter you get. Look at me. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. SPARGO: Com. Chairman, there was an order made at the time of the election of the International Committee we would proceed with the reception of the fraternal delegates. I see that one of the fraternal delegates is in the hall, Com. Pettigrew of the Canadian Socialist Party. I think we should hear from Com. Pettigrew.

#### ADDRESS OF GEORGE PETTIGREW.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade George Pettigrew, of the Canadian Socialist Party is with us. In accordance with the expression of the delegates and the arrangement on the program, I bid him welcome in behalf of the Socialist Party, and give him an opportunity to present his message at this time. (Applause.)

Comrade George Pettigrew then addressed the convention.

COMRADE PETTIGREW: Mr. Chairman and comrades, in coming from the other side of the line, it is rather unfortunate that we of the Canadian Social-Democratic Party had not a convention in time to appoint a representative to speak here. However, I have been here doing business as an executive member of the United Mine Workers of America and I have been asked to speak to the Socialists here on behalf of the comrades on the Canadian side.

Unfortunately, on the Canadian side we have not been able to show the same progress as is shown here at this convention. We have had our difficulties over there, but I am pleased to say to the comrades here that for the first time in history we have now got on the right lines of a real

Social-Democratic party. (Applause.) The Socialist party of Canada for ten or twelve years has been the dominant party. They have been pretty much a disruptive party rather than a party who have meant to build up the organization, and because of the methods employed by that party two other existing organizations were formed two years ago, but by the referendum vote six months ago the Social-Democratic Party and the Canadian Socialist Federation went together, and consequently we find that since that time thousands have joined the organization. (Applause.)

We as a Social-Democratic party in Canada realize that if progress is to be made by the Socialist movement it must embrace every other organization which has as its object the emancipation of the working class. And we are pleased to say that this new movement which has been established in Canada has made up its mind to work hand in hand with our fellow workers in the organizations which are engaged on the industrial field. We recognize today that even though the political issue is one of the issues for the emancipation of the workers, that the workers themselves must take the position that if we can do something with the right hand, if we can do something with the left, that both must be used alike, because we recognize that the capitalist class are organized on the industrial and on the political field, and they sometimes use force against the workers. We do not advocate force in any way, but the position that we take over there is that whatever weapon the capitalist class are prepared to use to defeat the workers, the workers must use the same weapon in order to defeat the capitalist class. (Applause.)

However, I do not know that I can talk much on the history of the party. As I say, I am pleased to be here, to stand on this platform at the convention of the American Socialist Party. It is only two years since I left Great Britain and came to the American continent, and I am more familiar with the organization on the other side of the Atlantic than with the organizations on this side, but I am pleased to say that since I have come to this hall I have met the second comrade whom I heard lecture on Socialism. That was in far away Scotland, in the year 1895. I refer to Comrade Spargo. (Applause.)

Comrades, if you care, I should like to say something relative to the British movement rather than the Canadian, since I have spent the greater part of my lifetime working in that movement. We are beginning to recognize now that in all countries in the world where the workers are beginning to organize they are beginning to come all together, whether it be on the industrial or on the political field. We are beginning to recognize over in that country now that we have millions of unemployed men and thousands upon thousands of starving children. We are beginning to recognize on the American continent here that because of those unemployed men and because of those starving children that men like myself are compelled to seek a new land. I had no desire to leave the country I was born in, but because of economic conditions, like many more, I was compelled to come to the American continent. And what do we find? We find the capitalist class, both on the Canadian side and on the United States side, throwing out every possible inducement they can at the present time to the workers in Great Britain, to the workers in the European countries, telling them of the splendid and glorious advantages to be gained on the American and Canadian

continent. But what do we find? We find that many of those people who would not listen to the question of Socialism when we were propagating Socialism on the other side of the ocean, when they have once been brought to either Canada or the United States, when once they have been brought face to face with the issue of capitalism and found that the capitalist class is just as merciless on this side as on the other side, then they are compelled to vote, then they are compelled to act, then they are compelled to advocate industrial organization and join the Socialist Party; and because of those results we find the movement on both sides, on the Canadian side and the United States side, growing by leaps and bounds at the present time. (Applause.)

But, fellow workers, we are pleased to see when we look at any part of the world that the movement is also growing there. When we look at Great Britain and see and examine the conditions that have confronted the people and the action that the workers have taken in order to defeat the capitalist class during the past twelve months, to me, at least, they are signs that it will not be many years till the workers of all countries will take the same action as has been taken in Britain during the past twelve months, and as I have said many times, I believe that if I live ten years more I will live to see the workers under a Socialistic regime. (Applause.)

Only some twenty years ago, in Britain, we did not find the workers organized as they are now. We found them with their small craft organizations. We found that when men came to contest a political seat on behalf of the workers they were not regarded in any way. But, because of the fact that the capitalist class, with the wealth which they have wrung from the workers, are continually improving machinery, the improved machinery means greater production of commodities, which on the other hand, means more poverty for the workers. But the workers have learned some lessons over there. They have begun to recognize that those little strikes have ceased to be of any use whatever; they are now beginning to recognize that it is no use for men connected with one part of an industry to strike while some men connected with another part of that same industry remain at work. Only ten years ago over there when we first began to talk of this it was said to be useless. We began to see how it worked in the building trades, for example. When the masons came out on strike the carpenters, plumbers, painters and other workers remained at work, and the masons would lose their strike. Then the other crafts were likewise attacked. This went on until we have come to the point where the workers there are ready for the vote.

But because of those lessons that have been learned, what do we find at the present time? We find that those crafts have linked up into one organization. In place of the ship building trades having eighteen separate organizations as they had five years ago, we find that they have now one organization. (Applause.) In place of the men in the building trades having thirteen separate organizations, we find the same thing applies; one building organization and when the employers fight that they have the one organization to fight. We find that because of the gigantic struggle that have taken place during the past twelve months, when the dock men and the railway men and the miners have been

out, when the military was brought out as usual to beat the workers down, we found something more in the month of March of last year when the military was sent into South Wales. We found that for the first time in history one man who wore the uniform of the King refused to shoot his fellow workers. (Applause.) This young man, who refused to shoot his fellow workers at the command of his commanding officer, was placed under arrest. After he was arrested he made up his mind that he would desert, and he did desert. He was gone for ten days. He walked from South Wales into the city of Glasgow, but after he had got to his home in the city of Glasgow, a detachment of the military arrested him. There were two charges against him. One charge was refusing to obey the command of his superior officer when asked to shoot men belonging to the railway brotherhood. The second charge against him was that he had deserted from his regiment. The Socialist party began to take up the question, and what was the result? After they had taken up the matter and began to accumulate funds in order to see that this young man got a fair trial, the authorities were so cowardly because they were afraid of the effect on the military in other parts of the country that they dropped the first charge and tried him on the second and gave him seven days' imprisonment. (Applause.) A few days ago Comrade Tom Mann asked the military not to use their arms against the workers during the miners' strike, and for that he has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Personally, I believe that Mann is proud that he is in prison because he asked the military to refuse to shoot. And what is more, every Socialist is proud of the fact because the military is beginning to recognize that it has been hunger that compelled them to go into the ranks of the army.

We begin to recognize all the forces which are at work, and more especially when we recognize that in the month of November last year, after the municipal elections came on, then we found another phase of the situation. Those people who had been starving and fighting during the early part of the year, those people who had had policemen's clubs beaten on their heads, what did we find them doing? We found they had not only begun to act together on the industrial field, but we found that in place of the Labor Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Clarion Scouts and other organizations fighting separately as they had been doing before, they had come together and formed what is now known as the British Socialist Party. (Applause.) And when the British Socialist Party was in its formation, what did we find? At the municipal elections no less than 137 candidates were put in the field, and out of the 137 there were 85 returned to the municipal chambers. (Applause.) Once we find the working class beginning to organize and fight on the industrial field as they have been doing; once we begin to see them learning the lessons of the capitalist class; once those people begin to see that with all the powers they possess nothing can defeat the working class when a strike does take place; when we see those workers linking up into one organization as they are doing; and when as a result of the linking up in industrial organizations we see them linking up on the political field, then, fellow workers, there is hope. (Applause.)

I say, in conclusion, fellow workers, I only hope that you at this convention at the present time will carry through your deliberations without any quarrels; that

you will have no quarrels on the question of physical or industrial action; that you will show to the capitalist class—and after all the whole capitalist class in the world has its eyes on this small body at the present time—that you will do your business and show them that the party is going to be the power of the future; that even now we can teach them lessons; and that within the next six months, as a result of this splendid convention, we will poll two or three million votes on the American continent. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Vice-Chairman Edwards will respond.

#### RESPONSE BY VICE-CHAIRMAN EDWARDS.

VICE-CHAIRMAN EDWARDS: Comrades, by request of the chairman of the convention, I greet Comrade Pettigrew in your behalf and in doing so show that our brother from Canada has a welcome not only from the central part of the United States where we are now meeting, but from the uttermost ends of the country. Not only as your representative, but especially as a delegate from the Socialist Party of Texas, do I greet him. I wish to extend greetings of fraternity from our southern delegates to our northern comrade. And the feeling of pleasure, as suggested by Comrade Ameringer, should exist for several reasons. One is that the committee engaged in tabulating the votes will soon report and we will be able to go home to supper. The other is that we have seen from the remarks of our comrade from the Mine Workers of Canada that all over the world the workers are joining hands to put an end to war. And when an Englishman becomes an advocate of peace, and his hand is joined by a democrat from Texas, or an ex-democrat from Texas, in an advocacy of peace, surely, I believe it is an augury of the world peace that is sure to come. (Applause.) We should feel also an element of satisfaction, for Comrade Pettigrew is not only a representative of the Socialist Party, but a representative also of one union that has known thoroughly how to attend to its own business on the industrial field; and I believe that the tremendous success of that organization is due to the fact that it attended to its own business on the industrial field. (Applause.) The Mine Workers have given us a practical illustration that industrial unionism, when it comes, will come from the workers themselves without much advice from outsiders. And so, again, I believe that I express the feeling of the whole Socialist Party, and certainly of the Socialist Party of Texas, when we express our welcome and our gratification at having our comrade here present with us. (Applause.)

Del. Reynolds of Indiana moved that we now hear Comrade De Larra of Mexico. (Seconded.)

Del. Spargo moved to amend that we set the first order of business tomorrow morning for hearing Comrade De Larra in order to give him more time to deliver his message.

(Seconded.)

The amendment was carried.

#### ELECTION OF COMMITTEES.

The tellers then reported the vote on the various committees, as follows:

Committee on Co-operatives, seven members:

W. L. Gaylord, Wis.	192
Emma D. Cory, Wash.	172
E. I. Lindgren, N. Y.	162

Caleb Lipscomb, Mo.....	158
J. T. Cumble Okla.....	149
L. W. Lang, Iowa.....	143
E. E. Powell, Ohio.....	142
Committee on State and Municipal Program, nine members:	
Carl D. Thomson.....	213
Anna A. Maley.....	209
John C. Kennedy.....	176
Margaret L. Prevey.....	170
Roscoe E. Dooley.....	147
Ernest Berger.....	142
Edwin J. Brown.....	123
George W. Downing.....	123
Thomas M. Todd.....	120
W. W. Farmer.....	83
Committee on Party Press, nine members:	
Mary O'Reilly.....	207
R. A. Maynard.....	169
W. A. Jacobs.....	165
J. L. Bachman.....	162
Meyer London.....	158
Theresa Malkiel.....	157
William M. Wesley.....	155
C. E. Owen.....	154
S. E. Beardsley.....	149
Fred Krafft.....	117
Delegates London and Malkiel being from the same state, Delegate Malkiel's name was dropped and Delegate Krafft was made the ninth member of the Committee.	
The chairman stated that two of the candidates for Committee on State and Municipal Program, Delegates Maley and Brown, being from the state of Washington, under the rules, Delegate Brown having the smaller vote, would be dropped from the committee, and W. W. Farmer would constitute the ninth member.	
The vote reported by the tellers on the Committee on Resolutions, nine members, was as follows:	
Joseph E. Cohen.....	176
John Spargo.....	175
George E. Roewer.....	168
Ben Wilson.....	153
E. H. Thomas.....	151
Henry L. Slobodin.....	148
W. P. Collins.....	138
E. R. Meitzen.....	111
John G. Wills, Okla.....	107

#### Committee on Ways and Means, nine members:

Arthur Le Sueur.....	190
Max Boehm.....	181
O. S. Watkins.....	173
George N. Bacon.....	177
E. S. Reagan.....	173
Margaret D. Brown.....	166
L. B. Irvin.....	156
Isaac F. Stewart.....	151
Miles C. Jones.....	148

#### Committee on Platform, nine members:

Charles Edward Russell.....	219
Victor L. Berger.....	204
James F. Carey.....	180
J. Stitt Wilson.....	177
William J. Ghent.....	164
L. J. Duncan.....	139
Dan Hogan.....	126
Charles Dobbs.....	126
A. W. Ricker.....	118

#### Committee on Labor Organizations and Their Relations to the Socialist Party, nine members:

Oscar Ameringer.....	177
James H. Maurer.....	172
Dan White.....	164
Algernon Lee.....	153
William E. Rodriguez.....	141
Job Harriman.....	126
Robert Lawrance.....	112
Thomas Clifford.....	109
Fred Merrick.....	107
T. J. Lewis.....	98
T. A. Hickey.....	97

Of the candidates for this committee, it appearing that White and Lawrance were both from Massachusetts and that Maurer and Merrick were both from Pennsylvania, the Chairman stated that under the rules Lawrance and Merrick having respectively the smaller number of votes, would be dropped, and Lewis and Hickey were included in the list to complete the committee.

The Chairman declared that the delegates reported by the tellers would constitute the respective committees of the convention.

The convention then adjourned until 10 o'clock Tuesday morning.



## THIRD DAY'S SESSION.

Del. Barnes, Chairman of yesterday, called the convention to order at 10 o'clock A. M., and called for nominations for Chairman of the day. The following delegates were nominated:

O. Branstetter (Okla.). Accepted.  
Beardsley (Conn.). Accepted.  
Slayton (Pa.). Accepted.  
Goebel (N. J.). Accepted.  
Strickland (Ohio). Declined.  
Richardson (Cal.). Declined.  
Thompson (Wis.). Declined.  
The vote resulted as follows: Branstetter, 105; Beardsley, 13; Slayton, 56; Goebel, 29. Delegate Branstetter was declared elected Chairman of the day.

For Vice-Chairman the following nominations were made:

Anna Maley (Wash.). Declined.  
Harold Houston (W. Va.). Absent.  
May Wood Simons (Kan.). Declined.  
There being no acceptances, Del. Killingbeck (N. J.) moved that the candidate receiving the next highest vote for Chairman be Vice-Chairman. Motion seconded.

Del. Hillquit spoke against the motion. The motion was lost by a vote of sixty-four to eighty-one. Nominations for Vice-Chairman were then resumed, and the following delegates were nominated:

Slayton (Pa.). Declined.  
Cassidy (N. Y.). Declined.  
Conrod (Ida.). Declined.  
Zitt (Ohio). Declined.  
Maley (Wash.). Accepted.  
Goebel (N. J.). Declined.  
Prevey (Ohio). Declined.

Del. Anna A. Maley of Washington, being the only candidate, was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman for the day.

Del. Kate Sadler (Wash.) moved that only delegates and reporters for the press be admitted to the floor of the convention.

The motion was opposed by several delegates, and was lost.

Del. Bessemer (Ohio) moved that all persons be excluded from the floor of the convention except delegates and their wives, or husbands and reporters for the press.

On motion of Del. Young (Pa.) the motion was laid on the table.

Del. Richardson (Cal.) moved to dispense with the reading of the minutes of yesterday.

Del. Strebel (N. Y.) moved that all amendments or corrections of the minutes be taken up and made at the close of the day's session, and to be made a special order at that time.

Del. Slobodin (N. Y.) moved to amend that delegates desiring to make corrections or amendments to the minutes hand them in in writing to the Secretary at the close of the session.

Del. Strebel accepted the amendment, and the motion as amended was carried.

ADDRESS OF GUTTERREZ DE LARRA OF MEXICO.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first order of business this morning is to hear the fraternal delegate from Mexico, Comrade De Larra.

Comrade De Larra took the platform amid great enthusiasm and spoke as follows:

COMRADE DE LARRA: Comrade Chairman and comrades, I come here to this convention as a fraternal delegate of the Socialist Party in Mexico. I have a mission in coming to this convention. Our comrades in Mexico have endorsed the principles of the revolution. I would better say they have endorsed the revolution since the beginning. Why? Nearly half of our comrades there who are class-conscious Socialists are in the revolution, fighting. They called on me to come here and explain to you about our revolution, and to ask you to pass some energetic resolutions in regard to the revolution.

Comrades, the revolution in Mexico is a fight of the past hundred years. It is the fight of the farmers, the tillers of the soil, who became the owners of the lands that they are tilling. A hundred years ago the revolution in Spain was carried out by the tillers of the soil to get the lands from the big land owners in Mexico at that time. The big land owners were the church and the aristocracy. After ten years of revolution independence was recognized. But the revolutionists were not wise enough to carry out the revolution in a practical way. They were tender and satisfied to have an independent country and a flag. But soon they realized that they had not been fighting for such a small question as to call themselves citizens of Mexico and to have a flag. So they went ahead with the revolution, and about fifteen years later, that is, in the year 1834, the revolutionists were very nearly in a condition to take away the land from the church and give it to the common people. If they have not accomplished this, why have they not? Because the church was not only the big land owner in Mexico, but also controlled the conscience in that country, and you know how hard it is for the agitator to take away from a man the idea of his wealth in heaven and his poverty on earth. (Applause.)

But in the year 1832 or 1833 the Mexican people were able to elect a president, whose work was to decree that the Mexican people had no government that could compel them to pay taxes to the church. This revolutionary decree of that revolutionary president aroused to the highest degree the indignation of the church, and then the church went to work and was able to bring as president a man that came to enforce the rights of the church and those of the aristocracy. But this man found that he was unable to enforce those rights destroying the rights of the revolutionists, and found that the people had a higher passion in their hearts, and that passion was patriotism, and the patriotism was aroused in the Mexican people to become an American nation.

In the meantime in the United States the slave holders, who needed to increase the

power of slavery, tried to arouse the patriotism of the American people by an international war. There was a common understanding between the slave owners in the United States and the land owners in Mexico that an international war would make the common people of Mexico forget the issue of the ownership of the Mexican lands and make the American people forget the issue of the emancipation of the slave. (Applause.) The people in both countries were to be induced to go and fight and destroy each other like wild beasts in order to satisfy in Mexico the great ambition of the aristocracy and the church, and in order to satisfy in the United States the great ambition of the slave holders.

After the war was over, the Mexican people, defeated, were unable to carry on the revolutionary issue of the ownership of the land by the toilers of the soil. Why? The American people were Tories. They were Tories because the fight with Mexico was only for the purpose of enforcing slavery. That was the kind of victory that was gained by the American people. After the big victory was decided, the American people of the South fought with the American people of the North over the issue of freeing the negro slaves. But, after the negro slaves had been freed there remained necessary another fight in this country in order to free you slaves. (Applause.)

So, after the war was over, another revolution started in Mexico. The platform of that revolution, which was in 1851-2, was that the Mexican people needed another constitution, because the old constitution proclaimed in the first years of independence was a constitution in which were recognized the rights and privileges of the church and of the aristocracy, and this new revolution of the fifties was for the purpose of giving up this old constitution and framing a new constitution that would embody the necessities and the aspirations of the common people in Mexico. That new constitution, which is the constitution of today, was proclaimed on the fifth of February, 1857, and that constitution gave to us all the freedom that we needed; free speech, free press and free compulsory education. But the great point in this constitution was that it took away the land from the church, proclaiming that the church, being a divine institution, had not the right to own anything else. So about two and a half to three millions of toilers of the soil thus became owners of independent lands.

Immediately on the adoption of this constitution, the wealthy class of Mexico, the church and the aristocracy, found that a tremendous blow had been struck against them. The church and aristocracy claimed the army in Mexico in those years. The army in Mexico, as everywhere in the world, has been the most dangerous foe of the emancipation of the people. The church and aristocracy claimed the army, and the army started a series of military riots in order to be prepared to destroy the lives of three million toilers of the soil who were now free and independent men. There was a civil war of three years between the church and army and the common people, and after three years of civil war the common people were able to entirely defeat the church and the aristocracy. When the church and aristocracy surrendered, then they sent delegates to Europe to ask help in order that the European powers might send their armies to Mexico for the purpose of restoring the lands to the church and to the aristocracy.

In the year 1861, England, France and Spain agreed to send their armies to Mex-

ico, and those armies were sent. But as soon as England and Spain realized their mistake and the trouble they were likely to have on their hands, they withdrew their armies. But France, ruled by Napoleon III—the Teddy Roosevelt of those years in France (applause)—France invaded Mexico and placed Emperor Maximilian in power. This invasion was nothing else but a tool used by the Mexican church and Mexican aristocracy, and a tool also used by the Pope of Rome and the Emperor of France in order that they might come and, in the name of some farcical laws, take away the lands from the common people and restore them to the church and aristocracy. (Applause.)

This international war lasted about nine years, and you who read Mexican history from an economic standpoint can see how by this time the Mexican people had twice been able to accomplish the fact of giving the lands to the common people. A foreign invader had come into Mexico, but had been compelled to surrender after having come to give back the lands to the church and aristocracy. That has been the only purpose of Mexican foreign wars. After the French war was over the Mexican people were entirely broken down by those nine years of war. A republic was established, and the people began to take up the question of the lands.

But after a few years the church took back the stranger and allied with the aristocracy and allied with the army and with the soldiery, who, at the time of the French war, started a series of military riots against the rule of the common people, for the purpose of gaining the ownership of the lands of the common people. After a while they succeeded and gained power, but they were foxy enough to understand that by this time the church was not in condition to become the owner of the land, and then they took this land from the common people and gave it back to the favorites. That was the only cause of the despotism maintained by Diaz during the thirty years in which he carried on his military despotic autocracy.

Comrades, a year and a half ago another revolution started, with the same old question, the lands for the common people. That was the only purpose of the revolution, and will be the only purpose of any revolution in Mexico. Mr. Madero, today's president of Mexico, came to the revolutionary movement at the last moment of the revolution. This has been the case with other revolutionists in Mexico. We, the old revolutionists, the pioneers of the revolution, know that Madero will be unwilling and unable to accomplish a solution of the question of the ownership of the lands by the common people. But the Mexican masses, who have not as much experience as we may have, were unwilling to have Madero as president to stop the revolutionary movement without taking away the lands by force from the common people, and to see if Madero could settle the question of the lands. But, fortunately, the common people in Mexico were quick to realize that this question of the lands cannot be settled by one individual, that it had to be settled by themselves, and nobody but themselves. (Applause.) And they went ahead with the revolution, and that is the purpose of the present revolution in Mexico.

Madero belonged to a very wealthy family of multimillionaires. They owned immense tracts of land in Mexico; and does anybody suppose that Mr. Madero and his

father and grandfather and children and grandchildren and his nephews and cousins and relatives are going to give up graciously their lands to the common people? They are not. So the revolution is now in a critical moment. Right now our comrades are fighting in Mexico, and in a few days more they will succeed in this revolution and will give the lands to the common people. (Applause.) Yes, the revolutionists have agreed among themselves to give the lands to the common people as soon as they take De la Torre. Rabago has got to a place right now where he is divided in the northern part of Mexico. As soon as they take this place they will begin to confiscate the lands. That means they will recognize the right of the tiller of the soil to be the owner of the land that he is tilling. (Applause.)

In Mexico the big land owners used to give to every peon a small patch of land. The peon had to use this patch of land and give half of the crop to his master. And, besides that, there is another big patch of land reserved by the owner of the land on which the peon, besides giving half of the crop from his patch of land, worked for 25 cents a day for his lord and master. But since the beginning of the revolution, one year and a half ago, there have been a great many peons that are peons no more. They consider themselves the owners of the patch of land, and they have been raising the crops on those patches and taking the crops for themselves, because the masters have no more policemen or soldiers to compel them to give the half crop to the masters. (Applause.)

Comrades, the revolution is going to succeed. In the next two or three months there will be a beginning, at least, in the division of the lands, and before the revolution is ended the division of the lands will be accomplished. After that, under this agreement of the leaders of the revolution, will come a government, elected, of course, by these small land owners, and this government will legalize this part of the revolution that has been accomplished. It is not a question that the government is going to divide the lands. The lands are going to be taken by the men themselves, and the government after that will legalize what has been done. That is the scheme; that is the plan of the revolution.

About two weeks ago a man came to Chihuahua and called himself provisional president of Chihuahua, of Mexico. The revolutionists told him, "We do not need any more provisional presidents. We are not fighting for provisional presidents; we are fighting for the lands, and so you get out of here." (Applause.) The man was already indicted by the American government, and so he chose to be a marker on Mexican soil, and right now he is a political prisoner. You see how the revolution can make political prisoners, too. It is a much better way than political prisoners are made in the United States.

Well, in this revolution, comrades, there will be no one man, there will be no individuals. Right now you know about that man Orozco, who appears as a leader of the revolutionists; and certainly Orozco is nothing else but one of the many revolutionists, and if Orozco tries some time in the future to impose his will against the purpose of the revolution Orozco will not last a day before he will be hanged by the revolution. (Applause.)

So the issue is very clear now. The division of the lands will be accomplished. The revolution will be successful, but there is the threat of the old times, the American

government doing everything possible to interfere in Mexico, with the only purpose to compel the Mexican workers to serve their masters and to protect the property of American citizens. They say that the intervention of the American government will be only for the purpose of protecting American life and American property in Mexico, but it will be with the purpose of carrying on the issue so that it is well understood by the master class, and that issue is that the class-conscious master class in the United States feel the necessity of helping their brothers, the master class of Mexico. (Applause.)

Comrades, I recognize that American life in Mexico is very well protected. The only thing endangering American life in Mexico is the American government, by its foolishness and its stupidity, telling the Americans in Mexico to go back to the United States; while in fact there are lots of Americans in Mexico who have as much business there and who are equal entirely to the Mexicans, and who are showing how the American government with its talk of intervention is arousing the ire of the Mexican people, and they see that they will be the first victims of the stupidity of the American government. You can see from the press dispatches that the Americans do not want to be saved by the American government, and they will remain in Mexico. About three weeks ago my wife and myself were on the battlefields, and there was an American woman there running a small boarding house. My wife asked her, "Don't you feel that your life is in danger? Don't you feel that you would like to go to the United States?" And the woman said, "What business have I to go to the United States? I have no business there. Even if it sometimes happens that I will go to the United States, I will have to carry my Mexican coffee, because in the United States there is no good coffee for me, and I stay here. Of course, business is not good, but I stay here." In the meantime, about ten feet away from her house, the revolutionists were riding on horseback and making themselves ready for the next battle. That woman will be as safe in Mexico as she can be in the United States. (Applause.)

So, comrades, I feel that this question of intervention, from the standpoint of the Socialist Party, may be one of the most serious questions covered by your resolutions. You can see how, three times in the last thirty years, France and Germany have been very near to having an international war, and how the French Socialists and German Socialists have taken a very energetic attitude against their governments in order to prevent international war, and how the comrades in Germany have gone so far as to threaten Emperor William with civil war if German soldiers crossed the border line to France. (Applause.) They understand very well the issue, and we know, too, that when the American soldier crosses the boundary line into Mexico the money to support him comes from your pockets. The American soldier belongs to your class, and when American soldiers are sent to Mexico the government is sending men of your class to go to Mexico to compel Mexican workmen to starve to death or suffer their lives to be destroyed. I feel that this is just the time for the Socialist Party of the United States to take the most energetic stand against this question of international war. This is the time for the Socialist Party of the United States to stand together and pass the most energetic resolutions against this monkey business of the American government. (Applause.)

I have been in the Congress in Mexico. They told me to bring this message to you. I have been in Washington talking to some of the bourgeois politicians. They recognize that the American people—which means Wall Street and the middle class—will do a very bad business with intervention in Mexico. Most of those men say to me, "We have no business to interfere in Mexico. Let the Mexicans fight their own fights and do what they please with their lands." So you see that, at least, the middle class take that position on this question. If you take an energetic stand against this intervention there will be no intervention in Mexico. And, there being no intervention in Mexico, we are going to have at least four millions of men free and intelligent men, because they will be the owners of the means of production in the agricultural way. Besides that, we have about a million industrial workers who are starting right now a splendid, glorious organization, in order to fight the battles of the class-conscious proletariat all over the world today. (Applause.) And these, our splendid prospects, can be carried on if you comrades, acting in response to the appeal of the American comrades, take a stand against this intervention of the United States so that we may have in the future in Mexico a free nation and a glorious battlefield for the battles to come of the working class. (Applause.)

DEL. STALLARD (Kan.): I move that the request of Comrade DeLara be referred to the Committee on International Relations, with instructions to draft a strong resolution covering his request, and insisting that the workers of the United States have no quarrel with the workers of Mexico, and we demand that the United States does not intervene in the Mexican revolution.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the request of Comrade DeLara be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, with instructions to that committee to draft a strong resolution against American intervention in Mexico.

The motion of Del. Stallard was carried unanimously.

COMRADE HAYWOOD: I rise to a matter of personal privilege. At yesterday's session there was received by this convention a telegram from Denver, Colo. It purported to contain charges—

DEL. SPARGO: A point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point of order.

DEL. SPARGO: That communication was tabled yesterday. It remains tabled.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point is not well taken. Comrade Haywood, state your question of personal privilege.

COMRADE HAYWOOD: I wanted to point out that the action of the convention was to table that telegram. By consent of Chairman Barnes, who acted yesterday, the contents of that telegram were given to the press and it appears in the Indianapolis Star this morning.

Now, I would ask that that telegram be read to the convention. That it be read into the records of the convention; and from now on all communications, in my opinion, should be read into the minutes before they are read into the press. (Cheers.)

In connection with the charges in that telegram, I want to say that they are not the charges of Denver, but they are charges that were brought against me in Local Bridgeport and sent from Bridgeport to Denver, where they were taken up by an

individual enemy of mine. Now, the committee that has been investigating these charges has recommended to Local Denver that they be dropped.

This telegram, then, has been sent at the instigation of this individual, who is a member of Branch 10.

Now, the charges, comrades, are these:

That I organized, or helped to organize, a dual union of machinists. The truth of the matter is that I spoke under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Machinists. That is a rival organization to the International Association of Machinists. Comrade Robert A. Lecky of New York City is the secretary of the Brotherhood of Machinists. I felt perfectly justified in speaking against an organization that is officered, as the International Association of Machinists is officered, by members of the Militia of Christ and the Civic Federation.

A NUMBER OF DELEGATES: Point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: State the point of order.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: I contend that Comrade Haywood is not talking on a matter of personal privilege, but, as usual, is simply denouncing everything that he does not agree with. I want it understood that I have no objection to Comrade Haywood speaking to a question of personal privilege in a proper way.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have heard your point of order. While a comrade should not take advantage of a question of personal privilege as an opportunity to express his individual views, or to attack anyone with whom he disagrees, the chair rules that Comrade Haywood has not wandered very far from his rights. Comrade Haywood will please bear in mind that he should not take advantage of this privilege.

COM. HAYWOOD: I appreciate that; I am going to take but a very few minutes more.

I have disposed of the question of having organized a dual union.

It is alleged in the charges, and I am likewise charged with organizing a dual Socialist local. I want to say in connection with this that I was invited by a committee known as the Lawrence Strikers' Aid Committee to go to Bridgeport and deliver a speech in behalf of the Lawrence strikers. Local Bridgeport, a few days prior to that meeting, sent me a registered letter in which they threatened that they would have charges preferred against me and threatened my expulsion if I spoke in Bridgeport under the auspices of what they were pleased to term a rebel organization. I wrote to them and urged upon them the necessity of getting together for this occasion for the purpose of supporting the Lawrence strikers. I told them that it would be impossible for me to decline, as the welfare of the Lawrence strikers was more to me than the factional fight that was going on in Bridgeport. I went to Bridgeport. Local Bridgeport held a meeting the same night, which was on Woman's Day. That meeting was held to deprive us and the Lawrence strikers of the benefit of the crowd that we would have had on that occasion. Now, we raised at that time a considerable amount of money for the Lawrence strikers.

Now, Comrade Chairman, Bridgeport Local that prefers the charges against me contributed to the Lawrence strike. They raised twelve dollars and they turned it over to John Golden, who was scabbing on us every minute.

DEL. McLEVEY (Conn.): Comrades, Comrade Haywood has stated that—

THE CHAIRMAN: In starting out on a matter of personal privilege, you must bear in mind that you cannot engage in a discussion. You can only go into the matter as it refers to you individually and personally. We cannot open this subject for a debate on the whole question. Personal privilege applies to the individual and not to the organization. It is a matter of personal privilege. If you have anything as an individual as to reflections made by Comrade Haywood on you as an individual, it is in order. If you are going to talk in defense of Local Bridgeport you have not the floor.

A DELEGATE: What right has a comrade to attack Bridgeport Local without the charges being read.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): I move that the telegram charging Haywood with these different charges be taken from the table and now read.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the telegram from Local Denver be taken from the table and read.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): I want to say that we voted solidly yesterday to have this read; we asked to have it read; and I am in favor of it now. I hope the motion will carry.

The motion to have telegram referred to read was carried, and the telegram was read as follows:

"Denver, Colo., May 13, 1912.

"Secretary Socialist Convention,

"Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, Ind.

"At a regular meeting of the Tenth Ward Branch of the Socialist Party of Denver the following resolution was adopted: 'We protest against W. D. Haywood being recognized as having any voice or vote in the convention now assembled in Indianapolis, as there are now charges against him here in Local Denver, which have never been disposed of. Said charges are now in the hands of the trial committee. The charges preferred against him are treason to the party and conduct unbecoming a Socialist. Also charges against him by Local Bridgeport, Conn., for organizing dual Socialist clubs consisting of expelled members of Bridgeport, Conn., Local. On these grounds we claim he has no right to be recognized in the convention.'

"SARAH A. LEONARD,

"Secretary of Tenth Ward Branch,

"Denver, Colo."

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): I wish to ask the Colorado delegation whether in Colorado they consider the branch or the local the unit? My reason is that this telegram comes from Branch 10 of Local Denver.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question may be answered briefly.

DEL. GEFFS (Colo.): I am a member of the same general branch to which Comrade Haywood belongs. I can answer the question that has just been asked. In Denver we have the ward form of organization. This Tenth Ward Branch is simply a branch of the general city organization. We have about 13 altogether. This comprises only a few members; it is not a strong branch in Denver. I am surprised that that branch—

THE CHAIRMAN: The question has been answered; that is all that is necessary.

DEL. GEFFS: I want to say that it does not come by authority of the central organization.

THE CHAIRMAN: That answers the question. Motions are in order.

DEL. SPARGO: I move that now that the telegram has been read it be laid on the table.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that this telegram do lie on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was carried.

DEL. WILLIAMS (Pa.): A question of personal privilege. Is it not a proper question of personal privilege if a member of this body or a comrade having a voice on this floor assails an organization of which I am a member and makes misstatements about that organization?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not necessarily.

DEL. WILLIAMS: I would like to correct a misstatement about the International Association of Machinists being officered by the Militia of Christ.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a question of personal privilege.

DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.): I have a motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nothing but the regular order of business is in order.

DEL. KATE SADLER: This is in order. I move that all communications shall be read from the platform and that nothing shall be given to the press that does not appear in our minutes.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that all communications shall be read from the platform, and that no communications or the contents thereof shall be given to the press until it has been so read to the convention.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I do not think we should place ourselves in a position where it is necessary for us to read from the platform every communication, because there may come tomfool propositions that we do not want to have read at all. We ought not to humiliate ourselves by compelling everything to be read that anybody may choose to send us. But we ought to insist on one thing; that no communication received here shall be given out to the press until given out by order of the convention. I want to divide the question. I move to amend by dividing it. I want to defeat the first part and carry the second.

DEL. SPARGO: I make the point of order. The subject is already covered by the rules of the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. We will now take up the next order of business.

DEL. BEARDSLEY (Conn.): The entire delegation of Connecticut protests against the ruling in this matter of personal privilege. If a comrade, under the guise of personal privilege, is allowed to take the floor and attack the Socialist Party of Connecticut and a particular local of Connecticut, then that local and the state organization of Connecticut ought to have the right to present their side of the matter.

#### COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications were then read by the Secretary from:

Jewish Socialist Branch, Memphis, Tenn.  
Young People's Socialist Federation, New York.

W. E. Trautman and others, in regard to the Lawrence strike.

These communications were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

It was moved and seconded that all communications from locals or others than delegates to this convention be read by synopsis only and then referred to the appropriate committees.

There being no objection the motion was carried.

A communication from Alice C. Miller on Industrial Organization was referred to the Committee on Labor Organizations.

A DELEGATE: Should these not be disposed of at 5 o'clock?

THE CHAIRMAN: They are communications and are properly disposed of in this way. Resolutions from delegates come up at 5 o'clock.

A communication was read from Joseph Brachin referring to the lack of French speakers and French Socialist literature.

The communication was referred to Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations.

THE SECRETARY: A. E. Hartig of Baltimore has reported as an alternate from the state of Maryland, and Charles Larney has reported as alternate for George Koop, Illinois.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure that these alternates be seated?

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): I think if you refer to the minutes of yesterday you will see it was decided that each state delegation should pass upon the alternates as they arrive.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I move that the question of these alternates be referred to their respective delegations.

It was so ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order of business is unfinished business of the preceding day. The report of the Committee on Education was before us and we decided to defer action until the receipt of the report of the Woman's Committee. If there is no objection we will now hear the report of the Woman's National Committee or their subcommittee on Education. Comrade May Wood Simons will report for the committee.

#### REPORT OF WOMAN'S COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Delegate May Wood Simons then presented the supplementary report of the Woman's Committee on Education.

#### RECOMMENDATION ON INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

The National Woman's Committee recommends that the technical education of girls being a public necessity, that it should be conducted at public expense as a part of the public school system.

That courses of study be so arranged that they recognize that the industrial education of girls has a double aim, namely, preparation of immediate self support, and preparation for the home and motherhood.

That while domestic training is necessary today for all girls, that when the "belated household" industry is put on a scientific basis, instruction be provided for expert cooks and chemists only.

That the vocational training of girls who must work in shops and factories be for such occupations as will not prevent development or incapacitate them for future mothers.

That every effort of school authorities toward making the industrial education of children merely a training for trades and thus disregarding the broader general education that will provide them with an intelligent understanding of the duties of good citizenship be resisted.

The National Woman's Committee recommends that the present Committee on Industrial Education be changed to an Educational Committee of seven members, all of whom are practical educators, be elected by the National Convention;

1. That the committee make a careful investigation of educational questions, in-

cluding methods, appropriations and the question of industrial education and file all material on these questions at the national office for use by the municipal bureau.

2. That this committee have in charge the preparation of lessons and the selection of other suitable material for the Socialist Educational Schools, organized for the purpose of instruction in scientific Socialism and in no way in competition with the public schools.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the further recommendations of the Woman's National Committee; these are recommendations to be added to the report of the Committee on Education. What is your pleasure as to these recommendations.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): With reference to recommendation 1, I would ask first to have the exact wording of the recommendation.

THE SECRETARY: "The Woman's National Committee recommends that the present Committee on Industrial Education be changed to an educational committee of seven members, to be elected by this convention."

DEL. LEE: I move that the National Executive Committee be instructed to elect a Committee on Education, to consist of seven members. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a substitute motion to have the National Executive Committee elect a committee of seven members.

DEL. LEE: I need not take much time in stating my reasons for my position. In the past two or three conventions we have constituted several of these standing committees. I think in all cases we have elected them by the convention. I think in the majority of cases we have found that the members of those committees, most of them, never did any work on those committees. And it is very obvious that that will be the case if this convention elects a committee of this sort to take up and study some special problem; and that we shall be very lucky if we get out of the seven thus to be elected in this case one or two who will do the work. The National Executive Committee, on the other hand, can take into consideration—it has time to do so—the members in various parts of the country who are specially qualified for this work, they can communicate with them and find out if they will undertake the serious and important work of this committee and then appoint them. I do not think that any question of real democracy is involved here. And right here I wish to call attention to this important distinction that while we should always elect committees that are in the nature of governing bodies, this committee is not to be a governing body in any sense; it will consist of a certain number of persons whom we select to study a certain question. I think for the reasons I have given selection by the National Executive Committee is very much to be preferred to election by the convention.

As for the suggestion that the Committee on Vocational Training be turned into a Committee on Education, I think Comrade Simons will quite agree with me that that phrasing is quite unnecessary. What she proposes is a new committee with larger scope, including the scope of the committee which has existed and which has reported.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I hope that the delegates here will elect such a committee. And I hope that they will not adopt this report, but refer it to such a committee with full powers to act; and not wait until the next convention to carry out the wishes and principles of the Socialist Party. This report is presented by a specialist in educa-

lon, whom I know to be a good man in his line, but he is not a specialist on industrial training. I submit to you further that a report on such a question as this is of such a nature that it cannot receive careful analysis and consideration in a convention like this. First, we have not the time necessary for it. Secondly, it is beyond most of us. It is something that calls for special knowledge. However, there is one point on which we are all clear in regard to this question of vocational training, and that is that as Socialists we are opposed to the present system of trade education. The industrial education which the Socialist desires is different from the industrial education which the capitalists desire. There is often confusion between training for a trade and scientific industrial training. How can a Socialist at this time stand for training for a trade merely? The lines of trade are being broken down. They are constantly encroaching on each other. For instance, recently Edison exhibited a new music stand; showed it to a reporter for a newspaper; I have seen the photograph of that music stand in the newspaper; and the newspaper man was asked what that stand was made of. On ocular inspection he said it was made of some hardwood, and he thought it was worth about sixty dollars. Thereupon, Edison told him it was made of cement and was worth only a few dollars. Thus you have the cement worker encroaching upon the trade of the cabinet worker. Suppose you train your child as a cabinet worker and then a process is discovered that enables all the cabinet work to be made out of cement, you have lost the time that was used in making him merely a cabinet worker. The lines of trade are being broken down gradually. I don't say that we have it already, as our industrial worker friends would have us believe. We have a strike in New York; a lockout of the sheet metal workers. There is a jurisdictional fight between the different trades as to whose business it is to hang bathroom doors. The result is there is a lockout of the sheet metal workers. You see those who advocate the education of the boy or girl for a mere trade are not advocating what we are striving for. Your boy or girl should be trained in mechanics; the knowledge of general mechanics, and the use of tools. The young man or young woman who possesses a knowledge of mechanics, and knows how to use tools can go into many trades, and can acquire a new trade very easily, and can adapt themselves to almost any trade within certain limits.

That is the first thing, then; broad industrial training, and not merely training for one trade.

The second important point is control of the vocational and industrial schools by the working class, not by the public, as our reporters want to say. I will give you an example of control by the public. We had this question up in the state of New York. It came before the Socialist Party of New York. We had to overrule the action of some of our Socialists there because in the city of Rochester the public school board had installed in the schools machines for the boys and girls to use in making goods; because that school was under the control of the public.

My point is, then, that we should not refer this to the National Executive Committee; but that we should elect a committee here to which it should be referred, and they should take into account the different kinds of industrial training; and, second, that we should insist on the control of vocational schools in the interest of the working class.

DEL. SEIDEL: I think the motion offered by Comrade Lee is decidedly timely. I do hope that you will not take any action on the recommendations that have been made here today. What would you think if I suggested that we appoint on our platform committee illiterates, men who cannot read or write. Yet that is what you do when you appoint men and women on committees that have to deal with industrial and vocational education who do not know how to read and write the language of mechanics. That is what I charge that you have done. I have been a mechanic for many years. I have been a mechanic ever since I was thirteen years old. I have learned three different trades by this time. That report of the educational committee starts out with an untruth; it states something that is not true. It is a curious mixture of truths, half truths and untruths. It is indigested. I do hope that the motion of Comrade Lee will prevail. I think, too, that what Comrade Slobodin has said is very pertinent at this point. I do hope that when we are ready to make a proposition of this kind, and that when our convention goes on record, and that what we say on this question of education for the working people will be better digested than anything so far presented to our convention. I do ask of you that you accept this motion, and that none of the reports at this time will be accepted, because so far as I have gone into them they are unripe for acceptance.

Now, with all due respect to the comrades who worked on these committees—I think they did their very best—they did as well as they knew how—yet I feel as a man who has been practical in life for many years, I feel that these reports do not give me what I have been looking for. It does not give me that; it does not give your boys and girls that.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): A word on behalf of the committee. I realize that this report is not as good as it could be. Nor does it cover all that it ought to cover. The report unfortunately was written up and came almost wholly from one committee-man, and the others of the committee had no opportunity for further discussing and digesting it. We never had a meeting of the committee. I was in hopes that the committee would be here at this convention. But I am the only member of that committee here. I believed that to get the matter properly before the convention for consideration the only thing to do was to sign the report, although I personally did not agree with everything in the report. But my idea was to bring it here in order to impress upon the delegates the importance of the matter. It was on my initiation that the matter was brought before the Congress two years ago. I hope now that the motion to recommit without adopting shall prevail; and that it will go to the Executive Committee, believing that that committee will have the common sense to elect experts so far as we can to deal with this subject. I hope you won't discuss it here at length today, and thus consume valuable time. I will admit with all who have criticized it that it is not the best that could be done; and that in its preamble there are clearly economic inconsistencies, which I would not like to see adopted by this convention. I think, therefore, the proper thing to do is to move the previous question; and send it back to a committee.

The motion for the previous question was seconded.

DEL. CLIFFORD: I desire to object to a delegate making a speech and at the end moving the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN. The previous question has been moved. I rule you out of order, Comrade Clifford.

The previous question was carried.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): I desire to speak in opposition to this entire report. I do not agree with the comrades here that this convention should go on record simply as demanding industrial education for our boys and girls. I do not wish, as a member of the Socialist Party, to go on record through our convention as favoring the training of our boys and girls merely for the purpose of making them more efficient servants to a master class. I want them to have the highest industrial education. But it is practically useless for us even to demand that until we get control of our public schools system. When we have done that we can put into operation any policy that we see fit, but in the meantime all of this matter should be simmered down to the one main demand; for the industrial education of the boys and girls of the working class and let it go at that. This report is entirely too complex. There is too much verbiage there. It sounds nice, but it does not mean much. Simmer these things down; get down to brass tacks. Get something practicable.

DEL. MAY WOOD SIMONS: The Woman's National Committee considered this question carefully of having a committee elected by the convention or appointed by the National Executive Committee. The last educational committee was appointed by the National Executive Committee. It admits that it never met. So far as the contention of Comrade Lee is concerned, it has not been shown that a committee appointed by the National Executive Committee would do any better work than a committee elected by this convention. I want to see this convention elect its own Education Committee as it elected its own Farmer's Committee. That is one objection to Comrade Lee's amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote now occurs on the motion to refer the whole matter to a committee to be appointed by the National Executive Committee.

The substitute motion to refer to a committee to be appointed by the National Executive Committee was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: That substitute being lost the vote recurs on the original motion, with which I am not familiar. The Secretary will please read the motion now before the house.

The Secretary proceeded to read the recommendation in the supplementary report of the Woman's Committee, but was interrupted by several delegates demanding a division of the substitute of Comrade Lee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there fifty delegates who demand a division?

DEL. DUFFY (N. Y.): A point of order. I believe the Chair is in error there. Whether it will make any difference in this case or not, I do not know, but a division does not require any specified number. It is a roll call that requires 50.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken, and if the division is still demanded, it will be taken.

Division was demanded, and the vote resulted 55 for the substitute and 143 against, so the substitute was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have just gone over the minutes, and it appears that there has been no previous motion. What was before the house was the recommendation in the supplementary report by the Woman's Committee, and this substitute on which we have just voted was simply moved as a substitute for the first section,

and that having been defeated this report that has been made is before you.

Del. Strickland (Ohio) moved the adoption of the report. Seconded.

Del. Slobodin (N. Y.) moved as an amendment that the report be taken up an adopted seriatim.

Amendment accepted as part of the original motion.

DEL. SPARGO: I move as an amendment that we accept the report as a whole. (Seconded.) I do so with a view to its subsequent reference to a new committee.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): A point of order. We are a little confused now. We have a motion to adopt the original report of the committee and some amendments to it. I remember Comrade Ohsol of Massachusetts made an amendment. Now, there a new report comes in and there is a motion to adopt this report.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, this is the same report, I understand.

DEL. SLOBODIN: No, there is a motion to adopt the report of the committee with amendments to it, and now there is a new report with a new motion to adopt, and seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us straighten this out. Comrade delegates on the floor state that there was a motion to adopt the original report of the Committee on Education, and there were several amendments to that, and they are pending.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): I move to amend that we elect this committee at present, and refer the report to that committee to act.

THE CHAIRMAN: That amendment is out of order. The convention has just voted on the question of appointing that committee, and voted it down.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): No, I beg your pardon.

DEL. MAY WOOD SIMONS (Kan.): I move as a substitute for the whole that we elect in this convention a committee of seven to handle the educational question.

The substitute was declared out of order.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): A point of order. You claimed that we had decided not to elect a committee. We decided that the Executive Committee should not appoint. We did not decide that the convention shall not elect a committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: I stand corrected.

DEL. BESSEMER: I move as an amendment that this convention elect a committee, a different committee to consider the question, and that that committee report. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We have before us the report of Comrade Simons, with a motion that it be adopted seriatim; with an amendment by Spargo that it be accepted as a whole; with an amendment by Bessemer of Ohio that a committee be elected by the convention, to whom shall be referred the whole matter. The last amendment, on the election of the committee by the convention, is before you.

The previous question was ordered, and the amendment offered by Del. Bessemer was carried. Nominations for the committee were called for.

DEL. DUFFY: I would like to know whether the nominations to this committee are to be confined to the delegates of this convention. As it is a committee that is to serve over a period of two years, I understand it ought not to be confined necessarily to delegates to this convention. I would like a ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule, unless a motion to the contrary is made as an original motion, that members of the



committee must be delegates in this convention.

The following nominations for the committee were made:

Strebel, New York.  
Seidel, Wisconsin.  
May Wood Simons, Kansas.  
George Clifton Edwards, Texas.  
Mary L. Geffs, Colorado.  
Morris Kaplan, Minnesota.  
Henry L. Slobodin, New York.  
Winnie E. Branstetter, Oklahoma.  
Dr. Rosette, Maryland.  
N. A. Richardson, California.  
John G. Ohsol, Massachusetts.  
J. Spargo, Vermont.  
T. Clifford, Ohio.

James A. Smith, Utah.  
John Slayton, Pennsylvania.  
Allan England, Maine.

John C. Kennedy, Illinois.  
J. Stitt Wilson, California.  
G. H. Lockwood, Michigan.  
Anna K. Storck, Ohio.

R. J. Wheeler, Pennsylvania.  
It was moved and seconded to close the nominations. Carried.

It was also moved that in reading the names of nominees for this committee the occupations of the candidates be stated.

Del. Collins moved to amend that the names be printed, together with the occupations, and placed on the desks of the delegates in the morning. The amendment was accepted by Del. Duffy, mover of the original motion, and the motion as amended was carried.

DEL. SPARGO: I wish simply to ask for information. I did not understand, in the statement of the motion, whether this is to be a committee to report at this convention, or a standing committee to report at some future convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that it is to be a standing committee. Was that the intention of the mover?

DEL. BESSEMER: Yes.

DEL. SPARGO: Then, in view of the fact that in the reply to the question of Comrade Duffy you said that unless otherwise ordered you would rule that the membership of that committee should be confined to the membership of this convention, I move that if any persons nominated for that committee, and accepting, are not delegates to this convention, provided they are members of the party, that they shall be eligible for election.

SEC. REILLY: They are all delegates who have been nominated, and I suppose all to accept will be members of the convention.

DEL. SPARGO: Then I move to reconsider. There are no such persons nominated, and the reason they have not been nominated is that we have been prevented from nominating non-delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: Make your motion. I don't discuss it.

DEL. SPARGO: I have made the motion and it has been seconded. I have a right state my reason for reconsideration. My reason for moving to reconsider is that the Chair has stated—

A Washington delegate raised a point of order that Del. Spargo should make his motion first and give his reasons afterwards.

DEL. SPARGO: I have already moved to reconsider. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded to reconsider the action of this convention, inclosing these nominations to throw them open, with the understanding that the ruling of the Chair is set aside, and that comrades, irrespective of

membership in this convention, are eligible as members in that committee.

DEL. SPARGO: Now, I will state my reason for reconsideration.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): A point of information. How did Comrade Spargo vote?

DEL. SPARGO: I voted in favor. I will state my reasons for reconsideration. With the understanding that no person could be nominated for the committee who was not a member of this convention, certain delegates here refrained from nominating certain comrades of the party whom they believed pre-eminently fitted to deal with this question. If we are to dispose of it at this convention, it is perfectly right and proper that the membership of the committee should be confined to this convention. If, however, we are to have a standing committee for two years, to report on this whole question, there is no reason under the sun why we should not go outside of this convention to select those expert members of our party to deal with the question. (Applause.) So far as I am concerned, I know that in the membership of the Socialist Party today we have some of the most expert educators in the United States of America. I know that in the conventions of the National Educational Association some of the members of our party come there with great prestige and are recognized as experts in an expert body; and if we are to have a report two years from now at our national congress, I trust we may have the privilege extended by the convention to nominate some at least who are not shoemakers or carpenters to decide upon the question of education; men and women who are expert educators. (Applause.)

DEL. LOWE (Ill.): I want to speak in favor of Comrade Spargo's motion. I would not for one moment accept a nomination on such a committee as this, because although I am a teacher, I am not prepared to act on such a committee. This committee is not for the purpose of electing certain persons to fill up the requisite number of names upon a committee. They are to do special work along this line, and it is work of importance, and we need the very best educators that we have in our movement. I want to say, comrades, by all means do not vote for a man or woman who lives in your district; vote for those who are the best educators, and I am confident that we have some in our movement that have not been nominated yet. I am in favor of Comrade Spargo's motion.

Del. Miller (Nev.) made a point of order that a motion to reconsider is not debatable. The point was sustained by the Chair.

DEL. PRIESTAP (Ohio): I want to say this: I am sorry that I am a shoemaker, but I am too old to learn anything else.

The motion to reconsider was carried by a vote of 121 to 57.

The Chairman called for further nominations, the occupations of the nominees to be stated. The following nominations were then made:

George R. Kirkpatrick, Ohio, teacher. Accepted.

Ira Tilton, Indiana, lecturer. Accepted.  
Caroline Pratt, New York, teacher on industrial education. Accepted.

Warren Atkinson, Manual Training School, Norfolk, Va. Accepted.

Frank Sanford, director Manual Training, Normal School, New York. Accepted.

Benjamin C. Gruenberg, New York, teacher. Accepted.

Mary O'Reilly, Illinois, teacher. Accepted.

Gertrude B. Hunt, Pennsylvania, lecturer. Accepted.

Meta L. Berger, Milwaukee, housewife. Absent; dropped.

Wm. L. Garver, Missouri, architect and draftsman. Accepted.

Margaret Prevey, Ohio, teacher. Declined.

Ruth Stokes Brown, California, teacher. Declined.

James F. Carey, Massachusetts, shoemaker. Declined.

Charles A. Byrd, Texas University. Declined.

Vita D. Scudder, Wellesley College. Absent; dropped.

Professor Syrjo, Minnesota, school principal. Accepted.

Gustave A. Strebel, New York, clothing cutter. Accepted.

Emil Seidel, Wisconsin, carpenter, designer, patternmaker. Accepted.

May Wood Simons, Kansas, teacher. Accepted.

George Clifton Edwards, Texas, teacher. Declined.

Mary L. Geffs, Colorado, newspaper reporter and dressmaker. Declined.

Morris Kaplan, Minnesota. Declined.

Henry L. Slobodin, New York, lawyer. Accepted.

Winnie E. Branstetter, Oklahoma. Declined.

Dr. Rosette, Maryland, physician. Accepted.

N. A. Richardson, California. Absent.

John G. Ohsol, Massachusetts, labor editor. Accepted.

T. Clifford, Ohio, printer. Declined.

James A. Smith, Utah.

Allan A. England, Maine, writer. Accepted.

John C. Kennedy, Illinois, secretary Association of Commerce of the University of Illinois. Accepted.

J. Stitt Wilson, California. Declined.

G. H. Lockwood, Michigan. Declined.

Anna K. Storck, Ohio.

R. J. Wheeler, Pennsylvania. Accepted.

Algernon Lee, New York. Declined.

Marion Hanson, Washington, teacher. Accepted.

John Slayton, Pennsylvania, carpenter. Accepted.

The convention then adjourned until 2:30 P. M.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chairman called the convention to order at 2:30 P. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to call attention to an error in the list of committees elected yesterday as printed. There are eighteen names given under the head of Committee on Constitution. Only the first nine are the ones elected to that committee. The other nine are the Committee on Labor Organizations.

DEL. BERGER (N. Y.): The Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations is omitted.

THE CHAIRMAN: If my recollection serves me right, the Committee on Foreign Relations and several other committees were elected on the floor and do not appear on the printed list. The reports of committees are now in order. The list of committees will be read and any that are ready to report may do so.

The list of committees was read by the Secretary, and Delegate Thompson of Wisconsin announced that the Committee on Commission Form of Government was ready to report.

It was moved and seconded that the convention take up the report of the Committee on the Commission Form of Government.\* Adopted.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): The report of this committee is too long to be read. You have the printed reports before you, or if not there are enough of them printed and can be secured by the delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: There was a motion adopted yesterday that all reports should be read.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex.): I move to dispense with that rule or to suspend the rule, rather, with respect to this particular report. It is very lengthy.

The motion to suspend the rules and dispense with the reading of the report was carried.

DEL. THOMPSON: There are a few things, however, that I should like to call your attention to in connection with this report.

In the first place, your committee, for the past two years, has been gathering from every possible source information on this subject, from magazine articles, pamphlets, correspondence, books, leaflets, letters from the various locals, and other material. We

had the assistance in Wisconsin of the Municipal Reference Library at Milwaukee which is always glad to help in assembling material along these lines. We also had the help of the Legislative Reference Library at Madison, Wis., which is always very willing to help in gathering materials and assembling it. In addition to this material which we gathered in these different ways, Comrade Jacobsen, the chairman of the committee, assembled the names of the secretaries of the locals in the various cities that had the commission form of government; and we sent out circular letters to all of these secretaries, asking about forty different questions bearing upon this subject; 150 letters of this kind were sent out and 76 replies were received up to the present time, and they are still coming. So that we think that we have received a pretty good proportion of replies to these letters.

Now, the report that you have on your tables is the result of that work. It is reported to you unanimously by the committee, with the exception of one member who did not come to this convention and who therefore was unable to meet with us, and we were unable to get a meeting until just before the convention assembled, when we got our committee together.

Now, I would call your attention very briefly to the features of this report. I think that will be all that will be necessary for this time. The first part of the report, beginning on page 2, is simply a discussion of the extent and the rate of growth of the commission form of government, which, as we point out, began very slowly, increased quickly, and then has rather diminished its rate of growth.

On page 3 there is a discussion of the size of the cities adopting it. We show that almost without exception it has been the smaller cities that have adopted it. Since this report was sent to the printer, word has been received that St. Paul, Minn., has adopted this form of government. That then is the largest city, having a population of 214,000.

Then follows a discussion of the essential features and the non-essential features.

\*The report is printed in full as Appendix C.—Editor.

ures; and the characteristic of this report, distinguishing it from all other studies of the commission form of government, is this: that we hold that such details as the initiative, referendum, recall, home rule, civil service, provisions for publicity, are not essential features of the commission form of government, because cities that do not have the commission form have these features, all or some of them; some cities have them, some nations have them; and some have not; showing that they are not essential to the commission form.

We did not wish to go too much into controversial matters in this report, but on page five we have taken up the consideration of the results of this commission form.

Now, reports differ. There is a mass of information on both sides outside of Socialist sources. Some of them are very much in favor and report that it has been very successful. Others report that it has not been successful. You can read it and decide for yourselves what your judgment is; what your opinion ought to be from this information.

On page 6 we mention some of the favorable and some of the unfavorable reports showing that there is a difference of opinion even among the non-Socialists.

On page 9 we report the result of our circular letters. There you will find some very peculiar things. You will find in the first place that some of the Socialist locals are very much in favor of the commission form of government. Some of them are very much opposed to it. Considerably more of the locals are opposed to it than favor it. Quite a number do not know where they stand; and in fact do not stand anywhere on the question. They are neither for it nor against it. I suppose several hundred people from locals in different parts of the country have written us during these two years asking us to tell them where they actually stood on the subject. And of course we had to assume the judicial attitude, and tell them they would have to wait until you told us where we stood before we told them where they stood. That is the purpose of this report. The result of the reports from the locals you will find on page 9.

On page 11 we take up the arguments for and against as reported by the locals; and then your committee points out three at least of the principal objections to the commission form of government. You will find beginning at the bottom of page 11 under "Objectionable features," the first one is "Extreme Concentration," the second one on page 12, the non-partisan policy; the third one on page 14, the elimination of minority representation. And then we take up some other general objections.

On page 15 we discuss some of the claims put forth by the champions of the commission form of government, and we try to show, what we believe to be true, that many of the claims put forth by the friends of the commission form are without foundation. That they are not well established. I would like to ask those of you who are following the report to strike out for us at the present time one part of a sentence at the bottom of page 15. It got in by mistake and we would like to have it out. It is the sentence that reads, "This should have given them sufficient ground for refusing to submit the matter." That sentence should be stricken out. The committee wishes to have it stricken out; and it will be stricken out in the final printed report.

There is one feature in regard to this commission form of government which it seems to us should not have been overlooked and which has been overlooked by almost all writers on this subject, and that is the experience of other countries in the effort to solve the problems of municipal government. The commission form of government we point out is an entirely new proposition. There is no precedent for it anywhere in the world. We point out that while the best governed cities in the world are beyond question the cities of Germany, and the next best governed cities from the standpoint of efficiency are the cities of England, and perhaps the next best governed the cities of France, yet the advocates of the commission form and nearly all writers have practically ignored the experience of other nations in the solution of these problems of municipal government.

On page 19 we point out certain desirable features of municipal government in their relation to the commission form. There are certain features which we almost always find in connection with the commission form of government which are very desirable. And we point out that it is important not to take an indiscriminate opposition to commission form of government, because that might seem to place us in opposition to certain features which we would all desire. The attitude that the party should take in any particular city or state should be determined by the particular form and the specific features sought to be adopted. For instance while a commission of five members may be and probably is the most efficient in small cities we do not believe so small a governing body is desirable in large cities. Home rule of course we all believe in. Every student of municipal problems knows that in this and all other countries one of the fundamental purposes of capitalistic government is to bind cities down so that they cannot adopt radical changes which would favor the working class. Every extension of the right of home rule to the municipalities is a great help in securing municipal ownership, direct employment, trades union conditions, and many other important matters.

And finally, when the committee came to the question of recommendations, the committee did not feel that it would be right to attempt to make any specific recommendations as to what any certain local or state organization should do apart from the general principles that we have discussed in the report, for the obvious reason that there are hardly any two cities or any two states that have the same form of commission government. Therefore the only thing we could say to you as a committee was this, that you would have to study the particular form of commission government that is up for discussion in your city or state and with reference to the actual situation there, with reference to the principles that we have laid down, and then locally decide what your attitude shall be. That is because of the great variation in the laws and in the charters.

However, there was one thing upon which the committee agreed as a recommendation and that was the very last sentence: "That a committee be appointed by the convention to study further the best forms of municipal government, and to submit the results of their work as a basis for a form that may be proposed as an alternative and improvement upon the commission plan." Now the thought of your committee is this: the capitalistic reform forces in this coun-

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ary seem to think that they are called upon to make a contribution to the solution of this most difficult of all American problems, that of municipal government; and their contribution is this commission form of government. That is their last, best and wisest word. Your committee feel that that is not the very wisest word; they are sure it is not the last or best word on the question of the best form of municipal government. But, comrades, your committee also felt that if we were able to say that much that we also ought to be able to answer the next question that is sure to come, namely, Well, what have you that is better? And that question can not be answered offhand. It can only be answered after an exhaustive, thorough going study of the whole problem of municipal government in all its forms, and with constant reference to the principles involved in the struggle of the working class of this country for a new civilization, for better forms of government, and for the democratic organization of all industry.

So our recommendation on that point is that this be attempted; that a committee be appointed to deal with this matter. I believe I speak for the whole committee when I say that we feel that it is up to the Socialist Party to make on this question of the best form of municipal government the same kind of constructive contribution that we have made on many other serious social problems of the day. And we want to do that.

I move the adoption of the report.

The motion for the adoption of the report was duly seconded.

DEL MORGAN (Minn.): On page 12 you say: "The elimination of parties is a seriously objectionable feature." Am I to understand you to say by this report that the commission form of government by necessity is non-partizan. If so, you are mistaken. The commission form of government, or its principle, can be added to any kind of government, the federal form, or the county form, or any other. If you mean that then it is not true: it is not the fact. Do I understand the committee to mean that if a community adopts the commission form of government that they of necessity must have a non-partizan form?

DEL THOMPSON: We do not mean to say that. If you had read the report entirely you would see that on another page we analyze the various state and city laws and show just what proportion requires a non-partizan election and what proportion does not. There are a little more than half of the state and city laws that require a non-partizan election. All we mean to say on page 12 is that where the non-partizan idea is made a part of the commission form there is failure. We do not believe in non-partizan elections.

DEL MORGAN: As I come from the largest city that has adopted this commission form of government, and it will not go into effect for two years, and it is very evident that it is an experiment all over the country I very thoroughly stand in favor of the recommendation that a committee be appointed to still consider this problem and to present something if possible that would be better for the government of our great cities. It does work well in small cities; it has been in effect in some small cities for over a hundred years; but not under the name of the commission form. Some small cities elect three councilmen and a mayor; others two and a mayor. They have the whole government of a little village or town in their hands; that is virtually the commission form of

government. That seems to work well. I has been adopted in many small towns. I has evidently recommended itself and its use is rapidly increasing. The question however, is now coming up to the large cities, and Saint Paul is the largest city that has yet adopted it, and there it can not take effect until 1914. Therefore I think it would be well to consider this question more, because the important point made by Comrade Thompson is this: 1. Socialists object to the commission form of government—our local objected to the non-partizan feature, but it was carried by an overwhelming majority, with the privilege of amending it—the question is put up to us whenever we oppose this form of government, what have you to offer that is better for a great city like this? This is a great question before us and it needs earnest and intelligent consideration. I hope this convention will not go off half cocked, and show our ignorance of the problem. I think we better wait patiently for two years; let this investigation go on with our ablest men engaged in it, and see if we cannot come finally to some scientific solution of this one of our greatest problems, because American cities are the most disgracefully misgoverned cities in the world. We know that German and English cities come nearer to efficient government. Glasgow is almost governed by the commission form; they center the power in three or four or five. It is one of the best governed cities in the world.

I hope this will carry and for the next two years an efficient committee will thoroughly investigate the whole matter.

DEL LE SEUER (N. D.): In connection with this discussion I wish just to offer a few remarks before you act upon it. I wish to give you a few facts. We have gone through the commission form of government mill, and we have had experience with it in office and out of office and we happen to know something more about its actual operation than some of you comrades who have not had the experience. I refer to Minot, N. D. I want to call your attention to some of the statements made in this report, not to criticize but to elucidate. I want to say now that there are objections in this report to the commission form of government that are not well founded, if they are taken literally. Remember that is not a reflection upon the fairness of the committee. I have no doubt that they have done the best that could be done with the information at hand; and they are entitled to the thanks of the Socialist Party for the results obtained. But there are some objections in this report to the commission form of government that are not well taken or well founded. One of them for instance is that the commission form does away with minority representation. Nothing could be further from the truth. Take the council form of government where you elect by wards, and there you have 51 per cent in each ward represented and the other 49 per cent unrepresented. If there are three tickets 35 per cent may elect and the other 65 be unrepresented. But when the commission form is adopted there is a provision in the law in our state that does give you real minority representation. It is provided for by the cumulative system of voting which is not commented upon here. The committee seems to have had no information on the cumulative system of voting in many commission cities. That provides for minority representation. That is to say if three or four commissioners are to be elected, the voter has the right to cast one vote for each commissioner who

is to be elected; but the voter may if he choose, cast all his votes for one candidate, and that gives you real, practical, democratic minority representation. Now you all ought to know that.

Again, with reference to the non-partizan feature. It has been our experience in our city—and we have a few Socialists there—we are numerous enough even at this stage of the game to have brought about the issuance of a license fee, a regular marriage ceremony for the two old parties—it has been our experience in our town that the Socialist Party organization is the only party organization that can maintain its efficiency and its integrity and hold its party together without the party name on the ballot. We have demonstrated that at least in North Dakota the Socialists can do that and can survive and flourish in the face of a non-partizan ballot. It is not merely a non-partizan ballot. It means in effect an educational qualification; they must know who they are voting for without having some scab politician tell them to vote the ticket straight.

Again, as to the fact that in foreign countries there are so far as the committee knows no commission governed cities. So far as that is concerned I want to say that the commission form of government is not a cut and dried affair; and of all the parties in American today the Socialist Party ought to be the very last party to side step a thing merely because it is new.

This report makes practically no recommendations at all, and I think it ought to. Remember, comrades, this it not offered by way of criticism; but by way of suggestion. The last sentence of the report reads as follows: "One thing, however, your committee would recommend, viz., that a committee be appointed by the convention to study further the best forms of municipal government and to submit the results of their work as a basis for a form that may be proposed as an alternative and improvement upon the commission plan." Now, that is right. We have today in this country hundreds of cities that are in the condition that Saint Paul was a couple of weeks ago, debating the question of adopting this form of government. Now this convention owes it to the Socialist Party all over the country after the National Executive Committee has circulated literature blindly and ignorantly condemning the commission form of government, without knowing what it was, to state something specific on this question.

Therefore move that the report be amended as follows: That the matter of endorsing the commission form of government is one which must be settled by the state organizations owing to the great variations in the laws concerning that form of government.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the report be amended so the effect that each state shall decide the attitude of that state on the commission form of government, owing to the varying state of the laws and the different kinds of commission government.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move an amendment to the amendment that this report be referred to a committee of nine to be elected by the National Committee, that committee to report its findings and recommendation to the National Committee for action.

The amendment of Delegate Slobodin was duly seconded.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I want to say that this

convention cannot adopt a book containing matters of policy which may be controverted; we cannot adopt an essay. We do not adopt theses or essays. We adopt recommendations of policy, or for action. We must adopt resolutions here for the guidance of comrades who have written to the committee to know where they stand. That committee now appeals to us for information where they stand. What do we say here? We adopt a question without an answer. We are not in a position to give the answer because the committee did not answer any questions. Therefore we ought to refer them to a committee for action; but not to wait for another convention. Let that committee be elected by the National Committee. That committee is as representative as we are. They should elect a committee; and that committee should act at once and report to the National Committee its recommendations for that committee to adopt or reject as they see fit.

In New York state we have gone on record as opposing the commission form of government. Perhaps we are wrong. But I am not going to discuss that matter now. That is not the immediate issue. It is as important a question, however, as will ever come before this convention, the question of the government of the cities of this country, because that is where Socialism bobs up in control of the government. Now we may be wrong; the Socialist Party by giving certain guiding resolutions to the locals of the party may be wrong, but it is better to be wrong and find it out than to take no action whatever. I want this party to take some stand on this question. Is it in favor of the commission form of government or is it opposed to it. It would not do to say we leave it to the state. It does not do for New York to oppose the commission form of government and New Jersey to favor it. When we come to exchange speakers how can our speakers be consistent. The Socialist Party should take some stand upon this question.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I think that one of the most unfortunate things that has happened in our ranks since the last congress was the action that was taken on the question of the commission form of government. I speak to you as one having some experience with the commission form of government. The city of Berkeley is so administered. The new charter has been in effect now for four years; and we are now working under that charter. And with the experience that we have had in the city of Berkeley and the other cities of California where the commission form of government is established I wish to say that from my experience and observation that I am profoundly convinced that the commission form of government is superior for our purposes as Socialists to any other previous form of city organization.

A DELEGATE: Provided Socialists are in power.

DEL. WILSON: I will take up that point in a minute. I am now giving you my experience. In the first place we found this: that in every city in the state of California where we were conducting a campaign with the non-partizan ballot, the short ballot and the non-partizan ballot—that we were the only organization that could hold its strength through the campaign; that the only political organization that could hold its strength through the campaign, both primary and final was the Socialist organization. That is the fact. In Alameda, in Vallejo, in Modesto, in Santa Cruz, in Los

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Angeles, in all these cities in the state of California in every one without exception, we had all sorts of parties struggling for a place on the ballot and we stood of course united and alone. In almost every case we came out at least second on the ballot, with the others disintegrated and only one ahead of us. Now you can see the reason of that. The others were divided on candidates, on principles; we were united on our principles and our candidates; we had our organization; and we forged to the front in every city; and a little better co-operation between our party and the trades unions would have put us in the saddle in half a dozen cities in the state of California. After the primary election comes the final election. We succeeded in getting second place in many divided, and in antagonism as the result of the preceding primary election; while we were just in fighting shape. We had fought as a unit and continued as a unit.

In the next place when we come to the question of administration. If we elect our candidates to office under the commission form of government that form of government is much more compact and a more adequate instrument for the administration of city affairs than the old ward system, or any other system of city organization that we have yet had in this country. The mayor and councilmen meet every day to discuss and conduct the affairs of the municipality; they take up the matters at their hand and proceed to attend to them. That is impossible under the old methods.

Now, these various forms of commission government vary. They vary in the form of organization. But the one principle is there; and what we need to do according to my experience is this: not oppose the commission form of government but improve the city charters in the various cities. We want to perfect the form of administration. We must perfect the operation of the initiative, referendum and recall. We must see that they are inserted in every city charter. We want to perfect the operation of those elements that give power to the city council so that they can deal with the public service corporations, and with municipal administration; that is to say, increase and extend the powers of the council for reaching out over and taking hold of everything that we Socialists stand for. That is what we need to do.

I might have added one other item that I may bring in now. In every city in the state of California where we had the commission form of government, when our candidates were nominated that it lined up our Socialist forces as nothing had ever done before, in those cities. That is the fact. I believe that is entirely undisputed in the state of California. Therefore what I think should be done, although I make no motion in regard to it, is this: that instead of Socialists flooding the country with anti-commission form of government literature, a mere negation, without any constructive proposition whatever; that it is our business to get to the root of this question, perfect a proposition for the commission form of government, go to it, take hold of it, and perfect it, and make it an instrument for successful city government, an instrument for Socialist success, instead of blindly and unintelligently attacking it.

DELL BYRD (Tex.): I wish to say to the comrades that the commission form of government was instituted in the city of Galveston after the father of the universe had become enraged at the wickedness of that city; for the democrats of Texas got so scared that he would send the balance of

them to hell; and the state legislature also said, "The Lord is mad at us," and they gave them the commission form of government. And for a few years while they remained scared of the Lord they gave the people a fairly honest government. But the scare finally wore off; and so the fact remains that we cannot have any really good form of government anywhere until we take complete charge of the government at Washington. We can never be successful in our own struggle either until we have gained the throne of power and recognized our mothers, wives and sisters as one-half of the human family and given them a voice in the affairs of government.

Now I agree with Comrade Wilson from California. We should thank this committee for their work, and not go to the expense of scattering literature opposed to this commission form of government all over the United States; but as he said, put out the scientific principles of Socialism and go after them until we capture the whole thing. Let us get a governor that represents the working class; elect a president that represents the working class. And when the right time comes I want to have the pleasure of nominating a man to be the next president of this country, Mayor Seidel of Milwaukee, who will always represent the working class.

DEL. WHEELER (Cal.): I have no presidential candidate to nominate. But I do wish to speak upon this motion in favor of the committee's report, and in favor of the amendment which is practically the same as the committee's report offered by Le Seuer, and against the amendment offered by the comrade over here and for this reason: We should not attack the report of this committee; it is tentative; they make no positive recommendations. By adopting this report we can circulate it merely as matter of information among the locals, and the comrades throughout the country. At the present time I am on a committee of fifteen in the city of Los Angeles where I want to know all I can of this commission form of government. After reading a great deal about the commission form of government and listening to addresses from those who were familiar with it I became a convert to its cause. I will say that we were the first city to inaugurate the initiative, referendum and recall which we have used. I will say to you that the freeholders committee of Los Angeles now in session and of which I am a member, is controlled by our people, the right people; and we are getting up the most progressive city charter that there is in America today.

One or two other points: How will this be against us? I can imagine how for a short time the commission form of government may work to our disadvantage as a party organization, but I am firmly convinced that after two years—or four at the outside—in any community that it will be to the advantage of the Socialist movement, this commission form of government. Not only that; it is a step forward, a step toward the ultimate and final goal that we are all working for; and we as Socialists cannot afford to stand in the way of a real progressive movement until we have something better to offer. In the meantime while this report contains no specific recommendations we can take it simply as the findings on the facts of the case at their disposal. And then we add that while we are neither endorsing nor opposing the commission form of government, we appoint this committee of nine or whatever it may be to still further investigate and report two years hence, or at some other time. I favor the original motion; and I am cer-

only against the amendment last offered. DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): I favor the motion to adopt the report and continue the committee. I am also strongly in favor of the recommendation made by Comrade Williams, namely, that we should not carry on what we have been doing in this country an anti-commission form propaganda; and so we place the national party on that side of the question at this time. I believe the commission form of government is as inevitable in politics as is the trust in industry. I believe that the opposition to the commission form of government per se is just as insensible in the realm of politics as is the opposition to the trust in the realm of industrial development. I desire to say that when our good friend and comrade from Germany, Dr. Sudekim, was in this country studying the commission form of government, he told me that as the result of his study from the Socialist point of view, he believed it would tend to work to the advantage of the Socialist Party; and that we ought to support it.

DELEGATE: A point of order. The whole question of commission government not under discussion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. Comrade Spargo is speaking to the motion and amendment before the house.

DEL. SPARGO: I spent some time in the city of Spokane, where they have the commission form of government in its most advanced and perfected form. I attended several sessions of the municipal administrative body, and I say to you that after my experience and having in mind my experience with municipal government elsewhere, it seemed to me it was working only more efficiently as an administrative machine, but that it was capable of doing more service to the working class than the ordinary ward politician, huckster-tricky style of administration found under the common form of political administration.

I do want to ask the comrades in this convention not to go on record against the commission form of government; and to prevent this anti-commission propaganda agitation. Leave it to the comrades in their respective localities to decide their attitude toward the specific form of commission government that is proposed for our community. In that respect I believe that the report of our committee as before us is a model of wisdom, and that it will be copied by all other committees that are elected or appointed here.

DEL. MCCRILLIS (Ia.): I am a resident of Des Moines. I am familiar with the celebrated Des Moines plan; I have observed its workings for about four years. I want to speak against the amendment. Comrade Slobodin, that this convention should express itself one way or the other. I am very well convinced that this convention should not express itself against the commission form of government. But whether or not it should express itself in any depends upon the information of the convention. I am a little in doubt whether it should.

As to the non-partizan features, and its setting upon the Socialist movement I will say this: we have just passed through a municipal campaign in Des Moines. It is that we were compelled to drop our party name when we went on the ticket. We were not compelled to lose our identity. When we went into the primary campaign there is where we won our fight. We did not expect to get through the primary and I will say that we did

secure a larger and better hearing than we ever did before in the city of Des Moines and a larger and better hearing than I believe it was possible to have secured under the ward system. Or under the party lines. Why? Because on the old lines we would have had to form our own meetings; the Socialists would have held Socialist meetings; the democrats would have held democratic meetings; and the republicans would have called republican meetings; and we would not have had a hearing before either the republican or democratic meetings. But under the non-partizan plan we got a hearing before the people in general. And we had this advantage. Our candidates like all others went individually before the people. But we went as a solid compact body backed by our organization; and we carried on our campaign by constructive methods. One of our candidates at one meeting would present one phase of a subject; another could take it up where he left off, and present another phase; and this gave us an advantage over all the other candidates and it was a little amusing to find all the other candidates talking Socialism before the campaign was over. That was one of the advantages. But there was a disadvantage, too. I remember that just a day or two before the campaign closed there were men who came to our committee and wanted to know who the Socialist candidates were. That is a disadvantage. We lost our identity as Socialists. Then the question is this: So far as I am concerned, is the advantage that we get from the greater and better hearing overbalanced by the disadvantage of losing our identity when we go on the official ballot? I don't believe it is. I want to supplement and emphasize if I can the remarks of the comrade from North Dakota and the comrade from California when they say that the Socialist Party is the only organization that can hold its identity under the commission form of government.

But there is one thing that has not been touched upon here; and that is that the commission form of government in the municipalities is but an entering wedge on the part of the bourgeois class I believe, to introduce the same principle into our state and national governments and there I believe is a danger that we must look out for.

DEL. PATTERSON (O.): I am opposed to the commission form of government for several reasons. One reason is that this is a reform movement; a substitute for Socialism; especially adapted for advantageous use by the capitalist class in a community where there is no reform movement outside of the Socialist Party. Then they build that up as one. The thing that the Socialist wants is class lines clearly drawn. They cannot be drawn by obliterating party lines.

I want to say further that some of the delegates who are on the floor of this convention today as representatives of the Socialist party in this convention, I had the honor of listening to when they were speaking for Mayor Jones, the non-partizan candidate for mayor of Toledo. We have no commission form of government in Toledo. We don't need it. They took the precaution soon enough, and they adopted the non-partizan lines. They wiped out the identity of the Socialist candidates or tried to.

Some of the delegates say that it makes everybody talk Socialism. They believe in Socialism without a party; Christianity without a Christ. That is what the com-

mission form of government means. This form of government is a good thing for the reformer. It is a very poor thing for Socialists. As a Socialist I don't want any substitute for Socialism. I don't want to support any candidate who promises simply to give us a "good government" or a "clean government" or a "business administration" or any of these other immediate demands. I want the capitalist vote opposed by a clean cut class conscious Socialist vote.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): From my point of view there has been a confusion of ideas in this discussion. There has been an unnecessary separation in some cases because two ideas have been confused. As the commission form of government has been presented to us it has been associated with two very distinct things. One is the non-partizan majority election. That is not an essential part of commission government at all. You could just as well elect a commission form of government with regular party ballot, and with your candidates regularly placed on party tickets. Let that be clearly grasped.

The other idea is the election of a small group of administrative officers, with the responsible charge of the affairs of the municipality concentrated in a few hands. That is the commission form of government. That is its essential principle. These few men hold in their hands all the powers of the city government. Including all those usually given to the mayor, those usually exercised by the department of public works, by the treasurer, the city clerk, and all the rest of them, the chief of police included; and this smaller group of men also hold the powers usually held by the city council, all these powers, legislative, administrative, and semi-judicial. All of these are in the hands of the commission. They act as one body. They do not act as checks and balances at all. It is all in one hand so to speak—all the powers of municipal government.

Now so far as the non-partizan feature is concerned no socialist group in any city could be non-partizan if they were Socialists. Any political action that is intelligent is only the expression in political form of the interests of some social or economic group or class. When that is confused the political action is not intelligent. We have said that so many different ways in Milwaukee that they are beginning to see the truth of it there. Even the legislature came very near to admitting it at the last special session. They have tried to persuade us in Wisconsin, in Milwaukee, that it is not necessary to designate the principles of a candidate for municipal office; that it is entirely a matter of the man; entirely a matter of the intelligence of the voters in picking out the man. We pointed out that they were trying to obscure the great principles, the great issues of principle, which are not merely municipal principles, but which run from top to bottom of the Socialist political structure. And finally in a special session recently they did enact a non-partizan, municipal, majority election law for cities in Wisconsin; and they did make some progress over the previous session; where they proposed and insisted, but did not succeed—that there must be no designation of principles—and they passed a bill for the designation of principles. And they confine that designation of principles to five words. They must be words not used in the designation on the ballot, nomination paper, or election notice, for any state or national office. We have got to get different

words and we have thought of putting the ballot these five words: "Workers the world unite" for non-partizan occasion this non-partizan election. This makes clear I trust that this tinkering with election machinery for cities is not a necessary part of the commission form of government. That is the very thing that has been most of all insisted upon by the woozy friends up there in Milwaukee, the non-partizans,—we call them the "woozies."

That disposes, it seems to me, of the non-partizan, majority election feature. We are not opposed to the majority election. That part of it does bring out the class line. We are not opposing that, unless it does this: the majority election may possibly result if it be in a place where there is not a normal majority—it may result in a most unwholesome combination of the most undesirable elements on one end and the equally undesirable googoes at the other. Then you get a most horrible mess. I was in Los Angeles and the googoes ran one end of the campaign and the saloons and the dives ran the other. In Milwaukee we had the same thing. A combination of the red light district and the googoes and all that sort that come between. That is what you get when you force an abnormal majority where there is not a normal majority of those properly related to each other by economic connection. The class line is there, however, and sooner or later there must come intelligent action along the lines fixed by economic interests, but for the time being it is liable to confuse the situation terribly.

As to the commission form of government increasing economy and efficiency, you do not have to have the commission form of government in order to have efficiency. I will refer you to all sorts of men, authorities on that subject, who will say that the administration of Milwaukee—I am not going to make any nominating speech—the Milwaukee style of government, mayor, the old style council, chief of police, and a lot of that—nevertheless it furnished what I concede to be if not the most efficient, certainly ranked among the most efficient forms of city government in this country. We made good. We showed what could be done in two years. But the commission form of government does make it more convenient for those to whom the power is given to do the things which they wish to do. No doubt about that. It simplifies matters. You don't have to have all the folderol, the red tape, the hocuspocus of council action with resolutions laid over, and a minority held in check by all that sort of thing. You get a simplified, more direct action—that is what you want. But we have the notion in Milwaukee at the present time that the representative the city something to say through their special representative in the common council; and gives them a chance to talk it over with the different elements, and with the different kind of folks there represented it seems to us that that has proved to be passably effective when intelligence enough is applied to that method. But I also want to say that it could—no, I won't be so indiscreet as to say that I could—but my Comrade Hoan, city attorney of Milwaukee, who is a lawyer, could draft such a form of commission government as would be utterly obnoxious to the googoes and the so-called reformers. And he could draft one that would be satisfactory to every socialist. The commission form of government can be anything you please. That is the point I wish to make about the commission form of government. Now in settling what shall be



particular form of commission government the state in each case settles that you will have to change the whole form of government in these United States before you can change that. And, comrades, I don't propose to wait until we get the whole United States constitution fixed to suit us before we begin on the job of fixing the municipal government to suit us.

DEL. MALKIEL (N. Y.): What are we Socialists in this convention doing? We were the ones that said William Howard Taft was not fit to be president of the United States because he did not know what he was going to do. I say that our committees are not fit to be committees if after two years' study of this subject they are not ready to make any recommendations. What is this convention doing here? Why can't we take some intelligent action? Why can't we make some recommendations as to what we should do about it? We have spent two and a half days here; two committees have reported so far; and neither one has brought in anything by which we could arrive at some decision. How in the world could we accept this report? What is it for us to accept? What more do we know than we knew before? We come here to decide these things for ourselves. What are we going to do? Two years ago we elected a committee; now we are going to spend days against electing committees; then two years from now they will come in and tell us the same thing over again. As far as the non-partizan commission form of government is concerned I have had the experiences that are not as favorable as those of the comrades who spoke awhile ago. I have been in cities where the people were sick and tired of the graft of a democratic mayor. For years the democratic mayor fooled them and exploited them. When they elected a republican mayor and did likewise. The ball kept rolling from side to side. So the people were tired of this; they did not want any more republican or democratic mayors; but they wanted some solution of the problem that was facing them; finally the solution came in the commission form of government; and they gladly adopted it. They proposed a non-partizan ticket. The working class were delighted. At last the day of salvation had come. But let me tell you what happened. When the republicans had been in office the democrats had stood outside and told the people what the republicans were doing. When the democrats were in office the republicans likewise told the people what the democrats were doing. In that way the people had some little idea that they were being robbed. Then finally came the commission form of government; then the democrats and the republicans made a contract together; they co-operated; they put up a non-partizan ticket; democrats and two republicans and they were elected; and then there was peace both the thieves were within; and the people did not know what was going on. It is where the people got the worst of

we have not studied this subject very much; I do not know very much about it; I say that we elect committees to give information; I say for God's sake let them come here and give us something definite to work upon instead of wasting our time. We can do better work than to sit and here.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): It seems to me that we as Socialists as reasonable men and women should be able to see the inevitable. The commission form of government is here; it is steadily growing wheth-

er we want it or not. It is coming in recognition of this fact: there is no longer in our municipalities a line upon which the two old parties can divide. The commission form of government is a business proposition. It is a business administration of the business of the municipality, in which all the people, though they be republicans, though they be democrats, though they be Socialists, all the people are interested. A comrade over here decries the idea of bettering the condition of the municipality where he lives. As for me I desire to see every city in the land cleaner; every city in the land better; its affairs better administered in the interest of economy; in the interest of public health; in the interest of all of the people; and every one ought to see that in these things the working man is of all the most interested. The point I want to make is this: that no matter how we may decry the commission form of government, it is the next step in municipal government; it is inevitable; we cannot escape it; and we have to meet the issue as it is, and say that we will do all that we can to make it perfect. That is all.

DEL. BREWER (Kas.): There is certainly some confusion here this afternoon on this question of the commission form of government. I know in my recent travels through the state of California that in many of the localities there was the same confusion among the comrades that is found here upon the floor of this convention. I have found the same true in almost every community that I have been during the past four or five months. Socialists everywhere are asking the same questions that are asked by the majority of the delegates here. Is the commission form of government a good thing or not? Now so far as I am personally concerned I can only speak from the point of view of Girard, which has the commission form of government. In a recent election in that little city where the class lines were certainly distinctly drawn, we Socialists did not lose our identity. The fact is the good government candidates of the republican and democratic tickets combined; that the street walkers and dive keepers, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Catholics, the whole of the representatives of capitalism, went to the ballot box on election day and voted for the "good government" candidates, as against the working class candidates nominated by the Socialists, and endorsed and supported by the working class generally in that community. Following the election of the good government candidate of course the church bells were rung, bonfires were lighted on the street corners and there was a tremendous jollification. To my mind there is one point in the commission form of government that is of vital importance. In Kansas we have a law that requires in cities of the first class a certain percentage of the voters to sign a recall; that in cities of the second class there shall be a larger percentage; and in cities of the third class it is almost impossible for us to get the recall. Now these questions should all be considered; they should be analyzed. Socialists have to meet these questions in every state in the Union. You should discuss them; you should be ready to advise the comrades intelligently. It seems to me very clear that where you have a proper right of recall that this commission form of government is not so bad a thing as some of the comrades seem to think. Now for my part I feel that the committee has absolutely failed to perform its duties as

specified and understood by this convention. They have dillydallied for two years and evidently did not have their report prepared when we came to this convention. They evidently prepared it afterwards. It looks to me as if they need more time or else we need a new committee to handle the matter, to conduct a general investigation of the subject on behalf of all the delegates and all the membership.

DEL. HICKEY (Tex.): I wish at the very outset to correct a statement made by another delegate. God Almighty had absolutely nothing to do with the Galveston flood or the commission form of government. The fact of the matter is that Galveston would not be where it is except for a bunch of speculators. The hurricane arose and the waves came in from the ocean and the terrific catastrophe occurred, and then there was \$10,000,000 needed to build a gigantic stone wall to keep out the waves of the Atlantic. It is a fact that just before the storm the most corrupt administration in any city of its size in America was in power in Galveston, and so that they might not swipe the \$10,000,000 and keep the wall from being built, the capitalists of Galveston formed the first commission form of government. That is how it happened. Since that time we have had a lot of experience with the commission form of government, which has spread over the state that I represent. Houston has a commission form of government. We have heard of efficiency. The efficiency of heavenly Houston is so tremendous in its scope, so far reaching in every detail, that the powers that be on the commission have even decided the brands of beer that shall be sold by the prostitutes in the red light district. Dallas has the commission form of government, and the planters of the city of Dallas, in a five cornered fight last year, ran a ticket that was successful. The city government is non-partizan to the extent that the First National Bank and the Standard Oil Bank are at the same time the government in Dallas, Texas. If you go along the line you will find that the Marxian position is absolutely correct, and that government under capitalism is the executive committee of the ruling class. (Applause.) Consequently, all this talk of good administrations, nice administrations, is so much leather and prunell, so much poppycock, so much idiocy. The commission form of government enables the capitalist class to purchase five commissioners instead of fifty aldermen (applause), and from the standpoint of the ruling class, of course they are efficient, the most efficient thing that you can possibly imagine. But these five can order the police to club the strikers to death just as quick and just as efficiently as under the old plan. I am going to close by making this point, which is fundamental, and I want to see more of it. It is this: That this national convention has absolutely nothing to do with the commission form of government. (Applause.) We are not dealing with states, and we have no time, I believe, for abstract discussion. We can get all this information within the states on that point. Senator Gaylord was absolutely correct. Why should you bother about your city form of government? We are dealing with national affairs in this national convention, and in the cities we will pick that efficiency form of government to pieces.

The previous question was then ordered by a vote of 136 to 63.

It was moved by Del. Goebel (N. J.) that the rules be suspended and that on the

original motion and each of the amendments five minutes be allowed to a speaker on each side. The motion to suspend the rules was lost.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): The discussion here has been of great interest. The socialist party is organized for the purpose of helping the working class to get public power in their own hands. Socialist party is organized to gather the working class together to emancipate itself from the rule of the capitalist class. The capitalist class see the "handwritten on the wall" and at once they come masquerade and say that in this country all we want is good government; we want the best men in office; the best men, then everything will be hallelujah. No partizanship? Why, we are the very essence of partizanship. We have got to be; we must; we can't help it. The necessities of the class which they represent and of which we are part demand it, we cannot do otherwise. And the capitalists play this game: You dare not designate yourself; and some comrade here from Iowa has found great beauty in that. The great joke of it is what I heard him say, to my amazement, that they had been all talking Socialism before the campaign was over. That didn't tickle me. Were they all talking about the abolition of the wage system? I am an initiative and referendum man, subordinate to the main principle of the abolition of capitalism. I am an immediate demander as a means to the realization of our main principle. But other fellows can steal all the planks of immediate demands and still they will be talking Socialism; understand that. (Applause.) Good government, good administration? I wish some of you boys could have read one of the last letters that Friedrich Engels wrote, showing how the capitalists would do this very thing that embodied in the very idea of the commission form of government, on account of the expense of running the capitalist machine. For the business committee to conduct their business will become expensive and they will have to reduce the cost. Look here; I am not a young chicken; they can fool me with this. I remember in New York City before the Civil War we had a mayor and a board of aldermen. They were pretty good. There were sixteen aldermen and twenty-four councilmen. Notice the number. They were known as the "Forty Thieves." (Laughter.) That was the designation, "Forty Thieves," and later on we had the Tweed ring, and there were only four. They got there just the same. And the commission form of government with its concentrated power represents the interests of the capitalist class, to serve the Master, and the servant will demand his pay. We working people, whenever they desire to hamper us by their legislation, we cannot stop them. All vituperation against or for the commission form of government won't help it one way or the other. What we want is to gather the working people together, to do like they did in Milwaukee. Milwaukee has more glory today in its hour of momentary oppression than ever it had. It made clear the class struggle, clearer than it ever was before, and they understood it. Senator Gaylord made that clear to you. I can stand anything the capitalists will. Remember, when the capitalist legislature enacts the commission form of government it is not in the interest of the working class. It is in the interest of the propertied class, and the propertied class will take care of their interests. We have

use whatever they present to us. We have to fight through city government as it is; we have to fight through the commission form of government, and they can use a most potent weapon when they start with their non-partizanship, bringing together the man who has his labor to sell and the other man who exploits him. Just think of it. It is a joke. (Applause.)

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I think very few of those who have spoken have done the committee the honor to read carefully the report. That would be natural, because there has not been a day in which to do it. Many of the arguments that have been presented here have been gone over carefully by that report. If there was no other reason for continuing the discussion than this, that it would give you all a chance to go over that document, which represents the careful and persistent work of the committee during our busy lives for two years, it would be justified. I think we ought to resent the implication coming from two or three of the speakers, that this committee has done nothing or said nothing. Read that report. (Applause.) Now, I want to say that of course there is no time now to discuss the questions and the arguments that are brought up, but I just want to make one or two things clear before we have to vote. First, the committee, I believe, does not favor the amendment to the amendment offered by Comrade Slobodin to have another committee elected by the national committee. Let us take care of that thing right here, if we decide to have the committee continue. Second, the committee, I am sure, would approve and would accept the amendment that was offered by some one over here, because the amendment is exactly our position. Furthermore, the committee have just had a little talk with Comrade Wilson. Comrade Wilson's position, that he tried hard and had ten minutes to get over to you, is exactly the position the committee takes, and it is this: Here is the position. Here is the question regarding municipal government. It is an intricate question. It appears in different forms in different states and cities in the country. You cannot grasp it and just without it, and or but, say, "We are against or for it." You have got to discriminate in your judgment. And, comrades, what we want is this: We do not want the convention—we do not want as members of the convention, the few of us that are here—to thrust the party into a position against the commission form of government, or for it, until the party as well as ourselves have had an opportunity to study and digest the facts, all of them that bear on this subject. (Applause.) I want to remind you that in a former convention—I think it was four years ago—you thrust the party into a certain position on a question, and inside of three months the referendum reversed you. Now, what we want and what the committee urges upon the convention, and what Comrade Wilson was trying to get across to you, and what the comrade over here has in mind, all agreeing with us, is this: That here is a subject that we want to give thorough study to in order that we may forge on to the type of commission form of government, if there is such a type, which the Socialist movement can approve, adopt and stand for, and one that will be for the working class. (Applause.) Now, that is about all that we want, and I believe we can perhaps come to an agreement on that position. That is what we want.

A vote was then taken on the amendment to the amendment that the matter be referred to a committee of nine to report to the National Committee their action. The amendment to the amendment was lost.

The question was then put on the amendment, that the matter of endorsing the commission form of government be left to the states. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 134 to 64.

The motion as amended was then carried.

DEL. STITT WILSON (Cal.): This is the ablest study of any subject that has ever been presented to a Socialist convention in America, and I move that the committee who have so ably presented this discussion of the commission form of government be continued, to bring in a report to the next national convention or congress of the Socialist party on the commission form of government. (Seconded.)

DEL. SMITH (Utah): Will this pamphlet that has been issued on this subject be published in good shape to be distributed in the various states if they want it?

DEL. THOMPSON: Yes.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. The convention has just now decided that the question of commission form of government is a state matter. Therefore, let us not meddle with it. You cannot blow hot and cold. You cannot decide that it is a state matter and then publish literature on the subject nationally.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair does not know how to rule on that point, but I take it that the will of the convention will be expressed in the vote on the continuance of the committee. The vote is on the continuance of the committee. All in favor of continuing—

DEL. SLOBODIN: I move to amend that a committee of nine be elected by this convention to take up that subject.

A delegate seconded the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair will entertain the amendment and we will have discussion upon it.

DEL. SLOBODIN. Just as I was saying, we have presented a report with one recommendation from the committee and then it comes out that there is in that report an endorsement of the commission form of government. Comrade Thompson wishes to continue the matter, and that is also the position of the other delegates. Then comes an amendment that the commission form of government is a state matter. I want to speak against that, and I want to speak against this form of government. I am not in favor of continuing the committee for that reason. The comrade who made the amendment gave away the entire issue. The commission form of government means that any municipality may have an appointive executive committee that shall have the right of legislating and also certain other powers. I do not want the convention to elect a committee to do something which I am opposed to. Now, the thing to do would be to elect a state commission, and that is what they want to do on the short ballot. They hope to have a state committee instead of having a national committee. They should have one commission for the purpose of giving the state an appointive executive and judicial officers also, and having legislative powers. The third step would be to have a national commission for the same purpose. Now, that is against the position of the International Socialists and against the position that ought to be taken by Socialists all

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over the world. That may be wrong but this convention ought not to go on record and do something hastily. We have always held and the position of the Socialists is that the proper powers of legislation should be vested in the legislature, and the legislature should have the right to appoint executive and judicial officers. The commission form of government means that the proper powers of the people should be vested in an executive that shall have legislative powers. That is contrary to the general position that the Socialists have taken heretofore, and therefore I am opposed to the appointment of a committee in favor of that, and I am in favor of a committee that is opposed to it.

The previous question was ordered.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I wish to say that two years ago this subject of the commission form of government came up in our national congress, and the discussion was intense and acute, but we were in a sense at sea on the subject of commission form of government. We have had no adequate study made of the question. The four comrades that were named on this committee, and whose names appear on this report, were named without any consideration as to whether they were for or against the commission form of government. They are not committed to the commission form of government now. Not one of them. Not Thompson or McLevy or Jacobson or Branstetter; they are not in favor of the commission form of government. The report does not commit them or commit us to be in favor of the commission form of government. My only desire in making this motion is this: This committee has worked two years faithfully on this question. Their report shows it. I have had some knowledge of the work which they have performed. They have gathered voluminous matter from various sources upon this subject and have it in their possession for a still more complete study of the question. Since they are not committed to the commission form of government, and since we are not committed by the action we have just taken, would it not be the part of wisdom to reappoint or re-elect the same committee to continue their study and report to us their findings in a succeeding congress of this party? If they had done nothing, if they had proved incompetent students of the question, if they had proved negligent to their duty, we might have dismissed them and decided to appoint a committee from this body. Against Comrade Slobodin's motion I wish to urge that a committee of nine is too large a committee to take hold of this question. They must communicate and inter-communicate to get united action and present it before us. This is not a serious matter, to be sure, but it seems to me it would be the part of wisdom for this delegation to recommit to the faithful body of four persons this subject. They have voluminous material, having covered the United States with circular letters, and there are men in hundreds and hundreds of places ready to assist them in the study of this question. I hope the comrades will simply vote for the motion and recommit this matter to this committee and let them act upon it two years hence.

DEL. KAPLAN (Minn.): I am in favor of Comrade Slobodin's amendment. First, because I believe we have got to take a definite position. The committee has had two years without reaching a definite attitude. I want this committee of nine appointed, because I am unalterably opposed and want the Socialist party nationally to go on record against the commission form

of government. (Applause.) You have yet to show me an instance—there may be some here and there—where a capitalist, large or small, is against the commission form of government. You have yet to show me an instance where, in any one of those cities where the commission form of government has been introduced in any form, that the working class conditions in those cities have been bettered one iota. (Applause.) If we do not take a position against it; if, on the other hand, we remain leaving it with one state going on record in favor, and another against it, the Socialist Party nationally don't know where it is at. In the state of Minnesota the governor of that state has gone on record in favor of extending the commission form of government to the state, and if somebody like Teddy Roosevelt is elected president of the United States he will bring in some sort of proposition by which any organized political party with a dues-paying membership—and we are the only dues-paying party—can come under the interpretation of the anti-trust Sherman law, and then when you come to realize it you will be regarded as a trust, and it will be used to crush you as it has been used to crush the unions in certain places, as you very well know. This is a business proposition from the business man's standpoint, and as already mentioned, it is regarded as an efficient instrument for the purposes of the capitalist class.

DEL. WILSON: I rise to a point of order. The commission form of government is not under discussion. The subject under discussion is the question of appointing a committee of nine to whom the subject shall be recommitment.

DEL. KAPLAN: It is the appointment of a committee of nine for the purpose of taking a position against the commission form of government. And I want to say, without desiring to be personal, that it has been demonstrated by experience where we have elected—

THE CHAIRMAN: You are off the question. You are not on the advisability of having a committee at all, but on the commission form. Which committee do you want?

DEL. KAPLAN: Well, just a word in conclusion. The capitalistic attitude has been shown. I won't say that the mayor of Berkeley refused to hand in his resignation to the Socialists. (Applause.)

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I rise to a point of personal privilege. I simply wish to say that I resent a statement of that kind from any comrade on this floor; that it is without authority and without proof, and is absolutely without any relationship whatever to the point under discussion. (Applause.)

The question was then put on the amendment providing for the election of a committee of nine, and the amendment was lost by a vote of 59 to 114.

The original motion for the continuance of the committee to make a further report to the next national Socialist congress, was then carried.

Certain corrections in the minutes of the previous day's session were then noted by the secretary.

The convention then took up the special order, the reading of resolutions.

## RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were presented and read:

A resolution offered by Del. Strickland of Ohio, under instructions or request of Local Dayton, on the subject of literature for circulation among the military, naval

and police forces. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution from Brunswick, Md., recommending establishment of a national Socialist printing plant. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Declaration submitted by Missouri delegation on united action by all labor organizations. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by E. H. Meisner of California on prosecutions of California mine workers. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Wells (Cal.) with the form of a letter to be sent to the Methodist General Conference at Minneapolis. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Strickland and signed by Christian Larsen of the Scandinavian Federation on the question of the religious neutrality of the party. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution recommending joint conference for promoting unity of action between Socialist party and the labor organizations. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution adopted by Branch I, Local

New York, recommending policy to be pursued by Socialists in office. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution signed by Iowa delegation, on the subject of the liquor traffic. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution signed by Delegates J. Ohsol, Patrick Mahony and Robert Lawrence, of Massachusetts delegation, protesting against the Dillingham Immigration Bill and the Root amendment. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution introduced by Delegate Mary O'Reilly on opposition to military education of children. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by Del. Geo. W. O'Dam, of Missouri, that the party provide a more substantial form of dues cards, similar to that of the Western Federation of Miners. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution on the subject of labor unions, submitted under instructions by delegates from Kings County, New York. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The convention adjourned at 6 o'clock p. m.

## FOURTH DAY'S SESSION.

Del. Otto F. Branstetter, chairman of the preceding day, called the convention to order at 10 o'clock a. m. Nominations for chairman of the day were called for, and the following were made:

Lee (N. Y.)—accepted.  
Slayton (Pa.)—accepted.  
Collins (Colo.)—accepted.  
Carey (Mass.)—declined.  
Lattimer (Minn.)—declined.  
Goebel (N. J.)—accepted.  
Thompson (Tex.)—declined.  
Barth (Wash.)—accepted.

The vote resulted as follows: Lee 72, Slayton 48, Collins 34, Goebel 21, Barth 21, Del. Algernon Lee, of New York, was declared elected chairman for the day.

The following nominations were made for vice chairman of the day:

Dobbs (Ky.)—absent.  
S. Sadler (Wash.)—accepted.  
Lockwood (Mich.)—declined.  
Houston (W. Va.)—declined.  
Le Sueur (N. D.)—accepted.

The vote resulted: Sadler 72, Le Sueur 37, and Del. Le Sueur was declared elected vice chairman for the day.

Del. Slobodin, of New York, announced his withdrawal as a candidate for the Committee on Education, and requested the delegates to strike his name from the ballots.

## PERSONAL PRIVILEGE.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Comrade Chairman, I rise to a question of personal privilege. Yesterday Comrade Haywood inserted a subject during my absence, and I would like to have a few moments to set the facts of that matter before the convention. The incident that gave rise to the question of personal privilege enjoyed by Comrade Haywood was the receipt on Monday of a telegram which by a vote of the convention was decided not to be read. I was acting as chairman. My personal opinion was that the communication should be read, but I was not governed by my personal opinion and left it to the option of the assembly. Afterward it was decided not to read the telegram. However, by the description of the nature of the communication when it was announced that it come from a Branch in Denver and assailed the rights of a member of the convention, and when it was later explained that it was not a regular member of the convention, but one to whom the courtesy of a voice had been granted by the convention, 90 per cent of the delegates, I am sure, knew whom I referred to, and in a few minutes after I think 100 per cent of the delegates and all the newspaper men knew whom I referred to. Almost immediately after that our comrade secretary came to me and said, "The newspaper men are very much agitated on this subject and there will probably be large headlines in the papers tomorrow about suppression of documents and mystery in the Socialist convention," and he transmitted their request that they

might see that without publishing it, just the nature of it, in order to color the story. And I believe we conferred upon it and we believed that it would be a good idea, putting them on their point of honor that they might see it, when they knew that the decision was not to publish. Comrade Haywood yesterday said that the telegram "appeared in the Indianapolis Star this morning." That is quite a rash statement, when there is just this sentence nothing more appearing in the Star: "Haywood is charged with conduct unbecoming Socialist." This thing moved Comrade Haywood to enlarge on his ideas and make in my judgment, an unwarranted attack upon persons not interested or involved in the question at all. That, however, is his own concern. It seems to me it was a case of much-ado-about nothing. The reporter, respected their honor in every respect. Everybody knew that that one sentence was in there. Comrade Haywood was charged with conduct unbecoming a Socialist. Those are the only published words that are in the telegram, and there are 400 words in all in the telegram, so that the statement of Comrade Haywood is quite incorrect. I may be possible that it was an error of judgment on my part, but the purpose, as I have explained, was to prevent a mystery being spread over the nation in large headlines and advertising a misconception of the purposes of the convention. I thank you, comrades. (Applause.)

## REGULAR ORDER.

Del. Harriman, of California, stated that he had two telegrams from San Diego. The Chairman stated that they would be read under the order of communications.

On motion of Del. Merrill (N. Y.), the reading of the minutes was dispensed with, the Chairman announcing that corrections desired might be handed to the Secretary to be disposed of before the adjournment.

## ADDRESS BY KARL LEGIEN, OF GERMANY.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, at this point I would like to interrupt the regular order of business to inform you that our comrade, Karl Legien, the Secretary of the General Federation of Labor Unions of the organized labor movement of Germany, is in the hall. I believe that it would be the desire of the delegates that some provision should be made for hearing him to day. Do I hear a motion to that effect?

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move that Comrade Russell, of New York, and Comrade Harriman, of California, be appointed a committee to request Legien to speak and to escort him to the platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Legien has already found his way to the platform.

Del. Mahony, of Massachusetts moved that the convention hear Comrade Legien of Germany. Motion was seconded and carried.

Comrade Legien then addressed the convention, being received with great enthusiasm. He spoke in German, after which his address was translated into English by his secretary, Comrade A. Baumeister. Comrade Legien spoke as follows:

**COMRADE LEGIEN:** Comrades and Fellow-workers: It gives me great pleasure to attend your convention while I am traveling in this country. I have not been specially delegated by the Executive Council of the German Social Democratic Party, because we had no idea, when I left Europe, that I would be able to see your convention at all.

I dare say, however, that I should all the same be entitled to speak on behalf of our party and also on behalf of its Executive Council, not only because I am one of the representatives of the German Social Democratic Party in our Reichstag, but also on account of the fact that I am the President of the German Federation of Trade Unions, and for this reason in constant touch with the Executive Council of the Socialist party of Germany. (Applause.)

As a matter of fact, the Socialist movement of our country is closely and with much interest watching the movement in the United States; partly because it is largely believed that the United States may possibly be or become the first nation of practical Socialism (applause), as a result of the rapid concentration and growth of capitalism and the privileges and possibilities that are open to the workers of this country. But, I believe that the labor movement of the New World, to some extent at least, depends also on the development of our movement in Europe; not merely on account of our modern means of communication, but also because the Socialist movement is international and its final aims can only be realized on an international basis.

As far as I know, from the temper of this convention, from reports published in your press, and also from prominent members of the party, you will have to decide most delicate and important questions, problems which have for years taken up all our time in the German movement.

You will be called upon, for instance, to find a solution with respect to the relations which should exist between the party and the trade union movement, and these relations, of course, must be in accordance with the actual economic condition and with the development of both wings of the labor movement in every country.

At least as far as Germany is concerned, I may say without hesitation that we have been able to solve this all-important question, not only to the benefit of our own movement, but I believe also to the benefit of the whole labor movement. I cannot give any opinion of my own as to what should be done in your particular case. All I can do is to give you an idea of what we did in Germany under similar circumstances, leaving you to draw parallels if you desire.

Trade unions had been in existence in Germany before we had any Socialist movement at all. While others were established at the same time as the political party, some of these unions started through the direct influence of members of the Socialist party, while many unions were also established by factions of the party that existed in Germany from the 60's up to 1875.

But all of these organizations, whether or not under the influence of the party, help the trade unions to keep aloof from party politics (applause), believing that they should unite the working class of all shades

and faiths in opposition to modern capitalism, which has no regard to political parties or religious beliefs.

This principle had been endorsed at a Trade Union Congress in 1872, and also at the joint conference of both wings of the trade unions, which was held in 1875, immediately after both Social Democratic parties had been merged. After that the movement made rapid progress, but they were brutally suppressed in 1878 by means of the infamous anti-Socialist law.

During the twelve years of the regime of this anti-Socialist law the unions were the only public representatives of the German working class, while our party was upheld by an absolutely secret organization only. The growth of the Social Democratic movement was very satisfactory, and also unexpected in the first year after the recall of the anti-Socialist law, because at the general election that year we were able to elect a number of members of parliament.

This rapid development accounts for the false hope of many of our comrades of that time that the downfall of the present state of society and the establishment of Socialism were near at hand. As a result of all this we find that early in the 90's the trade union movement was considered to be of very little importance. Finally, however, it was recognized that the working class must be trained in industrial warfare for better conditions and that all wage earners must be united in their trade union movement as well.

After this period all possible attention was given to the trade union movement, and the party itself has done everything within its power to assist the trade unions in their struggle, and we find that special resolutions were adopted at the various conventions of the German Social Democratic Party soliciting the active support of the party for the trade union movement.

I should not omit to mention the fact that the party has never claimed that the unions should assume a political character or that they should become part and parcel of the party itself. Our Comrade Bebel has repeatedly emphasized the necessity of a politically neutral trade union movement in order to be able to organize the workers of all shades of faith.

The same view has at various times been expressed by the Executive Council of the party. It has been left to the unions to manage their own affairs and to choose whatever tactics they consider best for their work. (Applause.)

For a certain time after the recall of the anti-Socialist law we had a number of unions who called themselves Socialist Unions, adopting the Socialist program. However, they have never been thoroughly recognized by the Socialist Party.

Their syndicalist tendencies became clear about ten years ago, and the Mannheim convention of the Socialist Party, which was held in 1906, decided that these unions should have nothing to do with the party, and that their followers should even be expelled from the party if they would refuse to join the neutral and centralized trade unions. (Applause.) They were indeed expelled afterwards.

The so-called Socialist trade unions have never been of any great importance since the anti-Socialist law. It is scarcely possible to find anything accurate as to their actual strength, for they refuse to publish their details. I believe I am giving them too much credit by saying they may prob-

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ably number about five or six thousand members in all Germany.

This does not amount to much in comparison with the 2,500,000 paying members affiliated with our neutral or centralized unions. In our German movement we have no room for sabotage and similar syndicalist and destructive tendencies. (Great applause.)

In our what we call neutral or centralized unions affiliated with the General Federation of Labor we at all times have refrained from officially recognizing the Social Democratic Party. At the June convention of the Socialist Party, held in 1905, it was resolved that every member of the party should be compelled to join his respective trade union. (Applause.) That is to say, one of the unions affiliated with our national central union, one of the neutral unions.

Our party has never tried and never permitted the creation of new or rival trade unions, in spite of the many and somewhat serious conflicts that have at times existed between the parties and our unions. But the German party has always recognized the trade union movement, and it has developed owing to industrial and other conditions prevailing in our country. The Executive Council of the Social Democratic Party works hand in hand with our Federation of Trade Unions, in order to prevent new organizations, no matter on what pretext, being established, for this would mean the disorganization of our labor movement.

This co-operation of the party and the trade unions has largely benefited our movement. It is also one of the main causes of our success at the last general election, with which you are certainly familiar, where, out of a total vote of eleven million cast for fifteen different political parties, we polled 4,500,000 votes for the Social Democratic Party (applause), and where, out of 397 members of the Reichstag, we elected 110 Socialists. (Applause.)

We were indeed able to secure many successes, but we are far from over-estimating our real power. We do have many and great obstacles in our way. Also they are different from those you have to overcome in this country. We are not only convinced that Socialism is possible, but we know equally well that the future of mankind absolutely depends upon Socialism. (Applause.) We therefore must, and will, overcome all difficulties and obstacles, no matter what they are.

I am convinced that you, too, will be able to do your share in this new work. I sincerely hope, in the interest of the international Socialist movement that the present convention will mark a further step forward in this line. This depends largely upon the perfect harmony and joint action of our organizations in all countries, for the labor movement is and will remain the only rock on which capitalism is bound to go to pieces, making room for Socialism. I thank you. (Great applause.)

On motion of Del. Brown, of Washington, a rising vote of thanks was given Comrade Legien for his address, and to Comrade Baumeister for his translation. Three cheers were then given for Comrade Legien, and a tiger for his secretary.

### COMMUNICATIONS.

A telegram of greeting was received from the Executive Committee of Elizabeth, N. J., announcing the defeat of the commission government plan at a special election. Other telegrams of greeting were received from:

Russian Socialist Daily, New York.

Executive Committee, Russian Branches of the Eastern States.

East Side Local, Wichita, Kans.

Jewish Branch No. 1, Cleveland, Ohio.

United Brewery Workmen's International Union.

THE CHAIRMAN: Del. Harriman, of California, has sent to the desk two telegrams addressed to him at this convention hall referring to San Diego, and asks that they be read. The Chair hears no objection. The telegrams were then read.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I move that these two telegrams to Comrade Harriman be referred to the Executive Committee for immediate consideration and action.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): I move to amend that they report to this convention this afternoon what action they take in the matter.

The amendment was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded to amend by adding that the National Executive Committee shall be instructed to report to the convention upon this matter this afternoon.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I move to amend the amendment, that the delegates in convention here send a telegram immediately to the Governor of California demanding protection for our comrades. The amendment to the amendment was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is of the opinion that this is a separate motion, which will be put after the motion and its amendment have been disposed of.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I want to say for the National Executive Committee that we have taken action on the San Diego affair. As to myself personally, I intend to take it up in Congress as soon as I can get back there. But, comrades, don't compel the National Executive Committee to do a thing that may not be the right thing. Leave it to their judgment whether they report to you this afternoon or tomorrow morning. Supposing the National Executive Committee desires to wire our comrades in California, to the State Executive Committee, as to the actual conditions of affairs there, why not give us time? Why should we wire at once to the Governor of the State? Why should we wire a capitalist politician? Leave it to the National Executive Committee. If that committee does not report by tomorrow you can take action. If they are ready to report they will report this afternoon. Moreover, I would not send a telegram until the National Executive Committee shall recommend the sending of it. I would not do that. Moreover, as to such a resolution it ought not to go to the Resolutions Committee. I promise you that if it be possible to take action this forenoon we will. Please withdraw your motion, Comrade Sadler, about compelling us to report this afternoon.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is, by Del. Wilson, of California, that the telegrams be referred to the National Executive Committee for immediate consideration and action.

The motion was unanimously carried.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I move that the convention of the Socialist Party here assembled immediately send a telegram to the Governor of California demanding that he protect the rights of our comrades, and of the working men of San Diego, and their protection immediately.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): And one to the President of the United States also.



**DEL. SPARGO (Vt.):** I rise in opposition to the motion not so much that I am opposed to sending a telegram as suggested as that I am opposed to doing it before the action of the National Executive Committee is reported. When the National Executive Committee makes its report it may make such a report that this may be part of its proposed action, or it may be felt unwise to do it. We know already that the Governor of California took action in the matter and sent a special agent to San Diego to investigate affairs there. We know already that the report of that agent to the Governor has been confirmatory of all that we allege as to the situation in San Diego. So far as we can see now, and I believe that point was brought before the Executive Committee by some of the comrades from California, the difficulty in the situation is that there may be some grand stand play by the Governor of California and I don't want the Socialist Party to be a part of that grand stand play without very earnest thought.

**DEL. MOORE (Pa.):** We had some experience in the Lawrence affair with a matter just like this. I went up to consult Berger about it, and informed him of what we had done. It is just as Comrade Spargo has said, if we send a telegram to the President of the United States demanding that he live up to his oath of office, which is to protect the rights of citizens in this country from brutal interference by the authorities themselves, if we should do that in San Diego at the present time, and do it in a sensational way we should play into the hands of the capitalist politicians. As Comrade Berger has said, an hour or two's delay will not make much difference, and if they send the telegram having in their possession correct information of the situation it will prevent sensational things being done by the Governor of California or by the President of the United States and we shall not have committed the Socialist Party to any foolish or inconsiderate action.

**DEL. PREVEY (Ohio):** The argument just presented by Comrade Moore, of Pennsylvania, does not seem to me to have sufficient weight to prevent us sending this telegram. What difference does it make to the Socialists in convention assembled who gets credit for what is being done? Are we favoring some other candidate on the Republican ticket? If we are paying too much for prestige as a party regardless of results, the rights of men are in danger, their lives are in danger, their liberties are being trampled upon, and I certainly favor a telegram as proposed by Comrade Bessemer, that we immediately demand protection for our people. The men are in danger now. They are going to kidnap this comrade who is very prominent in these activities in San Diego. It is results that we want. I don't care for tactics, it don't bring results. I heartily favor the sending of this telegram. Whether Taft is going to make political capital out of it, I don't care. I want results. I want the representatives of the working class who are fighting in the class struggle in California safeguarded. That is what we are here for, working in the interest of the working class, regardless of whether Taft or somebody else gets credit for it.

**DEL. COLLINS (Col.):** I believe the whole matter turns on the question whether or not we should hold up the hands of certain individuals when they have done something that we believe is inadvisable. I for one believe that there are many individuals in the Socialist Party who do things that I would not do in their place,

but if they get into a clash with the capitalist class I believe it is my duty to hold up their hands in season and out of season.

**DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.):** I think this matter is likely to be misunderstood. The State and Labor Council sent a committee, together with the State Federation of Labor, to San Diego, to make an investigation and report. They were all there at the same time with the commissioner from the Governor of the State and an investigation was made and a report had. If you will permit a delay until that report can be brought before you, or at least the substance of it, you will then know how to decide intelligently what you want to do. I do not think this telegram is advisable in the form that is proposed. I think we can proceed to support those who are fighting for these men with far greater force than you will be able to proceed by seeking favors from the Governor of California or the President of the United States. I simply point out that if you will only wait until the Executive Committee has had its session you will not have reason to regret it.

**DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio):** I wish to correct one statement made by Comrade Harriman. As long as Bessemer is in this movement you will not hear of him soliciting aid from any capitalist official. I put this telegram in the form that we demand. We have the right to demand. You are informed here that there has been an investigation. But the men there are in a serious condition now. They need protection now. If our comrade is in danger of being kidnapped tonight sending a telegram tomorrow would not be in time. I am not in favor of waiting for the Executive Committee to send a telegram or tell us what to do. The Socialist Party in convention here, and the delegates here, are a larger and more powerful body and have more authority than any Executive Committee. I would hate to feel that the delegates here are incapable of deciding whether they want to demand protection for the comrades in San Diego. I say "send the telegram," and send it demanding protection. We don't beg protection or solicit protection from them; we demand it.

**DEL. MALKIEL (N. Y.):** Two days ago we had a similar communication from California. We referred it to the National Executive Committee for immediate action, with instructions to report back to us. Comrade Berger informs us that they have taken action. Isn't it proper for them to report to the convention what action they have taken?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** If the National Executive Committee can report on that it will be in order now.

**SEVERAL DELEGATES:** Move the previous question.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Let the Chair state the situation. Comrade Malkiel rises to a point of information. That is not a point of information. A point of information is a question addressed to the Chair which the Chair, in his capacity as Chairman, can answer. The Chair gave an opportunity for the Executive Committee to give an answer if any member wished to give it. The information was not forthcoming. He gave recognition to a delegate, not knowing what he was going to do, and he moved the previous question. The only thing the Chair can do is to put the previous question.

The previous question was carried.

**DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.):** I rise to favor the sending of the telegram. I want to know just where we are at. Is it

possible that the Socialist Party has become such a thing that we can no longer demand? Not very long ago we demanded as a party the withdrawal of all troops from the borders of Mexico. That was a much greater demand than the demand we are making now. There has come to us a cry for assistance from those who are with us in this class struggle. Is it possible that we are going to delay action in order that everything may be done in a respectable and perfectly proper manner? Or are we as human beings going to listen to this call for assistance and answer it in the only way that we can answer it, by saying to the authorities of California that we are with our comrades in that fight? By all means send this telegram, and also send one of assurance to our comrades that those of us in convention assembled are not only sitting here listening to greetings but also listening to cries for help from those who are in the class struggle, and not dreaming of it or talking of it.

DEL. LONDON (N. Y.): I rise against the motion. This may be a Socialist convention, but we are not therefore bound to act like a bunch of fools. Let us conduct our affairs in an orderly and rational manner and not take immediate, ill-considered action upon any telegram received from some one outside of this convention hall. We want to get more information from our duly constituted committee. We have heard Comrade Berger's request. We have heard him state that he desires to look into the matter, to be given an opportunity to examine and investigate. Moreover, I don't believe much in a telegram that tells me that somebody is going to be kidnapped. That is nonsense on the face of it. Somebody is going to be kidnapped! Why the very nature of kidnapping means secrecy. People don't hire a brass band to announce that they are going to kidnap somebody. We are not a bunch of babies here. To be revolutionary doesn't mean to be a fool. That is all there is to this.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote will now be taken upon the motion of Comrade Bessemer, of Ohio, that the convention immediately send a telegram to the Governor of California and to the President of the United States demanding the protection for the rights of our comrades.

A division having been called for, the motion of Del. Bessemer was declared lost by a vote of ayes 102, noes 137.

DEL. PROSSER (Pa.): Relative to the matter just voted upon, I move that telegrams be sent to the comrades of San Diego acknowledging the receipt of their telegrams and assuring them of our support at the earliest possible moment.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved that telegrams be sent to the comrades of San Diego assuring them of support at the earliest possible moment.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): We have just voted down the only rational proposition. Now you want to send a message of condolence to the comrades there. Don't send anything if you can't send something that counts. Stand by your conservatism if you want to be consistent.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: I have no particular objection to the motion presented, but I want to say this, that so far as the fight for free speech in Los Angeles or San Diego is concerned there is no doubt in this convention that we support a legitimate fight for free speech anywhere, all the time, everywhere, but, Comrade Chairman, it may be

order. Del. Rodriguez is not speaking to the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will rule that it is not in order upon this particular motion to discuss the nature of the free speech fight in San Diego. I hope Comrade Rodriguez will confine himself to the question before us.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: This is a motion that we send a telegram promising to give them aid as soon as possible. I want to know whether we will or not.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have made a ruling. You may appeal to the ruling.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: Let me understand the Chair's ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: My ruling is that it is not in order at this time to take up the discussion of the nature of the particular fight now going on in San Diego.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: The motion, as I understand it, is that we promise them our immediate support.

THE CHAIRMAN: That we send them a telegram acknowledging receipt of their communications and assuring them of our action at the earliest possible moment.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: Of our action or support?

THE CHAIRMAN: The word was action, as I understood it.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: If it says support I contend that the merits of the controversy ought to be considered. If it says support then we are pledging our support and we want to know what we are going to support.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you want the resolution read, or do you appeal from the decision of the Chair?

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: On the grounds I have stated, I certainly do.

COM. HAYWOOD: Will you permit a statement from the Executive Committee?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The question is now on the appeal from the Chair. Comrade Rodriguez will state the grounds for his appeal.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: The motion as stated is that we pledge our support unconditionally without any limitation to the fight for free speech in San Diego. I contend that on a motion of that kind we have the right to discuss the merits of that fight for free speech, before we adopt a motion to support that fight.

COM. HAYWOOD: Will you permit a statement from the Executive Committee that may finish this whole controversy?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: I don't think that would be in order now without a motion from the floor. The Chair will state the reason for his ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: I ruled that a discussion of the merits of the fight now going on in San Diego was not in order at this moment. I made this ruling with the idea of expediting the business of the convention and making it possible to carry on that business in an intelligent manner. This discussion, if there is to be a discussion, ought not to arise upon a mere question of sending that telegram but ought to arise when you get a report from your National Executive Committee, which you are evidently going to get very soon. I think it will be readily understood that a telegram of this sort promises our support, not to anything and everything that may have been done, but to a legitimate, free speech fight. I don't think, therefore, that it is necessary at this time to consider every detail of that fight before we decide whether we will send the telegram.

By a vote of 148 to 46 the ruling of the Chair was sustained.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): A point of

A DELEGATE: I move that the whole matter be laid upon the table until the national Executive Committee reports.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): To send a telegram to the comrades of San Diego assuring them of our support will not of itself help to get a single man out of jail or help to keep a man from being put in jail. They need no such assurance. They know it now. They were assured of it yesterday by a telegram which sent them \$250. They will be assured of it still more a little later when we send them a telegram with more money, as possibly the Executive Committee will recommend. Don't waste your money sending idle telegrams. When you send a telegram today don't send one saying we are with you, but send a telegram saying here is something to help you. If we can't help them practically we surely ought not to waste money sending idle telegrams. Let us wait for the report of the Executive Committee.

DEL. CALDWELL (Mass.): I move that this whole matter be laid on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: By this whole matter you mean the motion of Del. Frosser from Pennsylvania to the effect that the convention immediately send a telegram to the comrades in San Diego acknowledging receipt of their telegrams and assuring them of our support.

The motion to lay on the table was carried.

DEL. BRANSTETTER (Okla.): A point of order. My point of order is that there is too much demonstration from the galleries.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is hardly a point of order. If the galleries forget themselves too much the Chair will remonstrate with them. We can not always restrain ourselves when we are in the galleries. But the visitors in the galleries will kindly refrain from interfering with the deliberations of the convention as much as possible.

The Secretary reported the receipt of credentials from Allan Fields, Oklahoma; George Koop, J. O. Bentall and Guy Underwood, Illinois. He also announced that Charles Larney was no longer acting as alternate for George Koop.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the report on credentials be received.

DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.): Do you mean to say that when an alternate took the place of a delegate in the opening of a convention and that now that delegate is to replace the man who was on the job from the beginning?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair so understands.

DEL. KATE SADLER: I don't know whether I am in order to make a motion or not.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are in order.

DEL. KATE SADLER: I move that where an alternate has been on the job in a convention from the beginning he be recognized in this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The house can not enter into a question of why a delegate came late or whether he or the alternate is the best delegate to represent the State.

DEL. KATE SADLER: I move you that a State take care of the expenses of that delegate.

THE CHAIRMAN: That motion is out of order at this time.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): While we have agreed to dispense with the printing of speeches we have not decided to dispense with the printing of the names of those who move or second resolutions. I

move that hereafter the names of the movers of resolutions or motions be printed in the minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Slobodin suggests that the names of delegates making motions be recorded by the Secretary in the minutes. Unless there is objection the Secretary will do this so far as he finds it possible.

THE SECRETARY: We are working under Robert's Rules of Order, which do not require this. That is all.

THE CHAIRMAN: The house will tacitly require this hereafter.

#### REPORT OF JEWISH SOCIALIST AGITATION BUREAU.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have the report of the Jewish Socialist Agitation Bureau, reported by the fraternal delegate of that organization. That delegate desires that it be read and incorporated in the minutes.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I move that it be printed and placed on the table with the other reports.\*

The motion was seconded and carried.

#### REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The Chairman announced that the Auditing Committee was ready to report, and that the reporter for the committee asked that some one else read the report, as he was suffering from a sore throat.

DEL. COSGROVE (Ohio): I want to move, previous to the report being read, in regard to the discussion of the report. Under the rules we are allowed four hours for the discussion of the report. I make the motion that every one speaking on reports present his name or her name in writing to the Chairman, and that the question be not called for until the delegates who have presented their names to the Chairman have spoken on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you mean that in the discussion of reports delegates desiring to speak should send their names to the Chairman, who shall keep the list of those names in order, calling upon and recognizing delegates in that order?

DEL. COSGROVE: The reason I make the motion is this: During the discussion yesterday afternoon one side presented its views very fully. I, as a delegate coming here opposed to the proposition, voted against it. We want to hear free discussion of both sides of the question. One side had given a full discussion, presenting their views. The opposing side had requested the floor on several occasions and had been promised by the Chairman that they would have the floor. But the previous question was called for and the comrades who had requested the floor were not allowed to speak. Now, I think it is always customary, under parliamentary rules such as govern the proceedings of this convention, that if a comrade requests the floor previous to the question being called for, he has the right to be heard. I think the safest way, therefore, would be to have the names presented to the Chairman in writing and to adopt the rule that the question shall not be allowed until the comrades who have requested the floor have expressed their views on the matter before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is equivalent to a motion to suspend the rules, which will require a two-thirds' vote to adopt it.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): The rules provide that the time shall be divided as

\*The report is printed in full, Appendix O.—Editor.

fairly as possible between the two sides to a question. That leaves it to the discretion and knowledge of the Chairman as to the side on which the delegate desires to speak. If he keeps a list and a large crowd rushes up with their names the Chairman must grant the floor in rotation and the side that manages to get their names in first will speak and then somebody on that side will rise when his name is called and move the previous question.

DEL. RINGLER (Pa.): I move as an amendment that in sending names to the Chair the delegate shall designate the side on which he wishes to speak and the Chair shall select alternately one from each side until the time arrives at which the vote must be taken.

DEL. MAHONEY (Mass.): Supposing I am on neither side?

THE CHAIRMAN: I can not answer that question.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): The purpose of the motion is to prevent the calling for the previous question. The rules provide that not more than four hours shall be allowed for discussion on any question. This means that whenever a delegate arises whose name is on the list he can move the previous question and you are in the same position that you were before.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I want to speak against the motion because it will be very easy for a great number of names to be placed up there in such a way that some people will talk fifty times on this floor before they get away and others would not have a chance to present their views at all. I want to say right now that I am opposed to anything of that kind, and that I am opposed to any slates being arranged for certain ones who have charge of this convention. I want this convention to be left open, and absolutely free. I am opposed to anything being fixed up so that some may get favors.

The previous question was then moved and seconded.

DEL. COSGROVE: I want to speak in support of my motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: After the previous question is put the Chair will be compelled to give you the floor in closing if you desire it, but I hope the discussion will be as short as possible.

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. COSGROVE: The idea that I had in view was this, that the names will be received in rotation as presented. I don't think that any one is going to present his name a dozen times until those who have presented them previously have had an opportunity to present their views. It is not to suppress any discussion, nor to allow a comrade to present his name so that he may at any time call for the previous question. The motion stated that all comrades presenting their names should have the opportunity to speak before the previous question is put.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): I understand the object in making this motion, but it is really unnecessary under the rules. Yesterday in the debate on the commission form of government the rules were not strictly enforced. If the Chairman will enforce the rules it will be unnecessary to have a list of speakers sent up here. You have four hours' talk on every subject that comes up for discussion. I know in the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund they kept a speakers' list, and the last convention continued nineteen days owing to such a rule. Let the Chairman enforce the spirit of the rule which is to divide the time as nearly as possible, which he can do very readily

by asking the delegate on which side wishes to speak and recognizing each side in rotation. This will accomplish the object of the comrade from New Jersey and at the same time will not make it impossible for us to get through with our business in the time that we have fixed.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the rules be suspended, and that it be provided that in the discussion reports delegates desiring the floor shall send their names in writing to the Chairman; that the Chairman shall keep a list of such names and that the Chairman shall recognize the delegates in the order in which their names have been received; and that when the previous question has been carried all those whose names are at that time upon the list shall nevertheless have the right to speak before the vote is taken.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I rise to offer an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: No amendment is in order. All in favor of suspending the rules will say aye. Those opposed, no.

The motion was lost.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I offer the following motion: That the previous question shall not be ordered until an opportunity has been given an equal number of the speakers upon either side of the proposition under discussion to present their views.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair rules that motion out of order for the reason that it is impossible to demand of a Chairman authoritative knowledge whether a man is speaking for or against a proposition. Our rule states that so far as possible the Chair shall recognize both sides equally, but you can not make a rule that an equal number of persons shall be heard on both sides. The report of the Auditing Committee will be presented.

The report of the Auditing Committee was then read.

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party:

Comrades—We, your Audit Committee beg to make the following report:

The books of the National Office are not at the convention, and it is not possible to make an Audit at this time.

We find that the books from the preceding audit were audited on April 1st, 1911, by the Paine and Bock Audit Company of Chicago, selected by the National Executive Committee, and we herewith submit their report with recommendations made by them.

#### AUDIT OF NATIONAL OFFICE FINANCES.

Telephone Randolph 2592.

Telephone Automatic 62-422.

PAINE & BOCK AUDIT CO.,

Not Inc.

Public Accountants and Auditors.

546 Commercial National Bank Building

Corner Adams and Clark Sts.

Chicago, April 25, 1912.

National Executive Committee, The Socialist

ist Party, Chicago, Ill:

Gentlemen—In accordance with your instructions we have audited the books of the National Office of the Socialist Party for the period September 1, 1911, to April 1, 1912, and submit herewith, as of April 1, 1912:

General Ledger Trial Balance, National Office Statement of Assets and Liabilities, National Office General Ledger Trial Balance, Lyceum Department Statement of Assets and Liabilities, Lyceum Department all of which we hereby certify to be correct

Our audit comprehended the following:  
Verified Entries of Cash Received and  
Distribution of Same with Stubs of Secretary's Receipts.

Verified Entries of Cash Paid and Distribution of Same, with Cancelled Checks and Receipts for Expenditures.

Verified Footings of Cash Received.  
Verified Footings of Cash Expenditures.  
Verified Mileage Reserve Fund in Separate Bank Account.

Checked Cash Book and Journal Postings to General Ledgers.

We counted the cash in the hands of the National Office cashier and Lyceum Department cashier on April 11, 1912, and found he same correct.

We made bank reconciliations under date of March 31, 1912, and found that the sum total of the checks outstanding, added to the balance shown by the cash books, agreed with the balances shown by the bank statements on that date, with the exception of the National Office account, which exceeded the bank balance by \$0.80.

We suggest that the bank exchange be paid at the end of each month instead of daily, as is your custom. The bank will charge your account with the exchange for the month, which can be verified with the pass book.

We recommend that a "petty cash" account be opened in the general ledger, charging same with a sufficient amount to constitute a working or petty cash fund; same to be reimbursed from time to time by a voucher covering O. K'd memoranda. Each check is drawn (covering the total of disbursements), cashed and the fund returned to the original amount.

We recommend that a regular form of pay roll book be used, the same to be approved at the time salaries are paid.

We further recommend that separate books be used for cash received and cash paid, which will facilitate the work and be less expensive than your present method.

We also suggest that a date be fixed each year for the closing of the books.

We recommend that a book be used for the purpose of listing the furniture and fixtures and the cost. This book should be in agreement with the furniture and fixture account in the general ledger. A perpetual inventory of this kind will be very valuable in case of fire.

We also recommend that a more up-to-date system of billing be adopted in order to save time and expense.

Respectfully submitted,

PAINE & BOCK AUDIT CO.,

By H. S. Paine.

SOCIALIST PARTY, NATIONAL HEAD-QUARTERS.

GENERAL LEDGER TRIAL BALANCE, APRIL 1, 1912.

	Dr.	Cr.
Lyceum Department..	\$ 3,047.22	
Mileage Reserve Fund	9,235.89	
Outstanding Accounts	1,319.09	
Organizers .....	1,070.21	
Wm. H. Kerr Co.....		\$ 161.25
Wm. Kopelin Press		
Bureau .....	340.00	
Appropriations .....		1,770.00
Cash in Bank and on Hand .....	7,596.55	
Subscription Cards...	780.00	
Commission on Subscription Cards .....	120.00	
National Dues .....		34,129.10
Stationery and Supplies .....	2,830.99	
Printing and Literature, 1911 .....		

Printing, 1912 .....	3,379.96	
Literature, 1912 .....	5,704.18	
Buttons .....	174.21	2,702.62
Campaign Fund.....		59.85
Furniture and Fixtures .....	1,809.63	
Refund .....	17.71	
National Executive Committee .....	847.45	
Express and Freight..	1,563.42	
Postage .....	2,336.14	
Rent .....	703.33	
Exchange .....	65.70	
General Expense.....	366.19	
Telegrams and Telephone .....	235.31	
Wages .....	7,263.36	
Organizing .....	2,891.13	
Donations and Collections .....		921.59
Discount .....		101.72
H. G. Adair.....		681.50
Empire Paper Company .....		4.00
A. B. Dick Company..		24.30
B. W. Heusch.....		.75
MacMillan Company..		1.26
James H. O'Neill Company .....		180.00
F. J. Kain & Son.....		322.50
P. F. Pettibone & Co.		10.34
Partridge & Anderson.		.45
Saul Bros. ....		41.25
John F. Jordan.....		38.50
Sullivan-Blakely Company .....		2.25
Tarentum Paper Mills		9.74
Horner's Stationery Store .....		23.45
Milwaukee Social Dem. Pub. Company .....		47.75
Equity Series .....		12.50
The Elliott Company..		1.10
Sub. Card Appropriation .....	50.00	
Appropriation, Organizing .....	3,106.28	
Appropriation, Press Bureau .....	100.00	
U. S. Express Company .....		353.19
Eagle Stamp Works..		1.75
Pilcher-Hamilton Company .....		117.48
George H. Doran Company .....		1.29
J. W. Butler Paper Company .....		15.09
Joshua Wanhope .....		30.00
Globe Engraving & Electro. Company ..		25.00
Charged Off Accounts.	97.40	
National Office, Net Balance .....		15,259.73
	\$57,051.35	\$57,051.35

SOCIALIST PARTY, NATIONAL HEAD-QUARTERS.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, APRIL 1, 1912.

ASSETS.	
Cash in Bank and on Hand.....	\$ 7,596.55
Mileage Reserve Fund.....	9,235.89
Outstanding Accounts.....	1,319.09
Subscription Cards.....	780.00
Stationery and Supplies.....	2,830.99
Literature .....	3,379.96
Buttons .....	174.21
Furniture and Fixtures.....	1,809.63
Lyceum Department .....	3,047.22
Organizers .....	1,070.21
	<u>\$31,243.75</u>

# NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

## LIABILITIES.

H. G. Adair.....	\$ 681.50
Empire Paper Co.....	4.00
A. B. Dick Co.....	24.30
B. W. Heubusch.....	.75
The MacMillan Co.....	1.26
J. H. O'Neil Co.....	180.00
F. J. Kain & Son.....	322.50
P. F. Pettibone Co.....	10.34
Partridge & Anderson.....	.45
Saul Bros.....	41.25
John F. Jordan.....	38.50
Sullivan-Blakely Co.....	2.25
Tarentum Paper Mills.....	9.74
Horner's Stationery Store.....	23.45
Social Democratic Pub. Co.....	47.75
Equity Series.....	12.50
The Elliott Co.....	1.10
U. S. Express Co.....	353.19
Eagle Stamp Works.....	1.75
Pitcher-Hamilton Co.....	117.48
Geo. H. Doran Co.....	1.29
J. W. Butler Paper Co.....	15.09
Joshua Wanhope.....	30.00
Globe Eng. & Electro. Co.....	25.00
Chas. H. Kerr Co.....	161.25
Appropriations.....	1,770.00
Net Difference Between Receipts and Disbursements.....	12,107.28
National Office, Net Balance.....	15,259.78
	<u>\$31,243.75</u>

## SOCIALIST PARTY, NATIONAL HEAD- QUARTERS.

### GENERAL LEDGER TRIAL BALANCE, LYCEUM DEPARTMENT, APRIL 1, 1912.

	Dr.	Cr.
National Office.....		\$ 3,047.22
Field Subscription.....		383.00
Miscellaneous Sub- scription.....		243.37
Lecturers' Expense.....	\$ 13,602.90	
Organizers' Expense.....	5,738.59	
Donations and Col- lections.....		478.31
Special Lectures.....		1,024.09
Slides.....	39.93	
Discount.....		42.98
Refund.....		.25
Printing.....	12,063.41	
Rent.....	209.90	
Stationery and Sup- plies.....	735.87	
Telephone and Tele- graph.....	349.92	
Office Fixtures.....	850.19	
Postage.....	1,736.97	
Exchange.....	17.85	
Wages.....	6,261.52	
Freight and Express	1,969.36	
General Expense.....	99.89	
Cash in Bank and On Hand.....	4,572.35	
Local Refund.....	5.80	
J. W. Slayton.....	267.76	
Lena M. Lewis.....	358.75	
Anna A. Maley.....	287.94	
Ralph Korngold.....	334.93	
Walter J. Millard.....	229.12	
Edw. A. Cantrell.....	760.00	
George H. Goebel.....	615.83	
A. W. Ricker.....	254.86	
Mila T. Maynard.....	215.31	
Phil. Callery.....	376.27	
A. B. Baker.....	22.45	
James Maurer.....	100.00	
N. A. Richardson.....	182.65	
E. Untermann.....	262.94	
R. A. Maynard.....	187.17	
George D. Brewer.....	516.65	
H. W. Spears.....	147.05	
Frank Bohn.....	202.78	

P. S. Brown.....	275.55	
Ernest Moore.....		134.23
J. W. Butler.....		1.12
Horner's Stationery Store.....		38.80
F. J. Kain & Sons.....		48.00
Partridge & Anderson.....		.60
G. B. Williams.....		.60
Battershall & Oleson.....		2.00
Trade Circular Ad- vertising Company.....		6.00
Pennsylvania.....	22.00	
Accounts Receiv- able.....	110,856.73	
Subscription Cards.....		187,405.91
Commission.....	2,424.95	
Cost of Subscription	25,700.34	
	<u>\$192,856.48</u>	<u>\$192,856.48</u>

## SOCIALIST PARTY, NATIONAL HEAD- QUARTERS.

### STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILI- TIES, LYCEUM DEPARTMENT, APRIL 1, 1912.

ASSETS.	
Cash in Bank and On Hand.....	\$ 4,572.35
Outstanding Accounts.....	110,856.73
Furniture and Fixtures.....	850.19
Slides.....	39.93
Stationery and Supplies.....	735.87
Pennsylvania.....	22.00
	<u>\$117,077.07</u>

## LIABILITIES.

National Office.....	\$ 3,047.22
Ernest Moore.....	134.23
J. W. Butler.....	1.12
Horner's Stationery Store.....	38.80
F. J. Kain & Sons.....	48.00
Partridge & Anderson.....	.60
G. B. Williams.....	.60
Battershall & Oleson.....	2.00
Trade Circular Adv. Co.....	6.00
Net Difference Between Receipts and Disbursements.....	113,798.50
	<u>\$117,077.07</u>

The outstanding accounts in above statement represent subscription cards sent out and not yet paid for or returned.

(Note by National Secretary—Part of the above recommendations have already been adopted. The others in my power to adopt will be adopted in due course. As for the one about having a fixed date each year for auditing the books, I recommended it in the annual report in January, and have again recommended it in my report to the National Convention.)

The Audit Committee desires to state that it is not practicable to attempt to audit books of the National Office at National Conventions. The work can only be done by expert accountants, and even such cannot take the books at the beginning of a convention, and report before its close.

We, therefore, recommend that the books of the National Office be audited in January and July by a regularly incorporated accounting company, selected by the National Executive Committee.

Respectfully submitted,  
M. E. FRITZ,  
S. E. GARRISON,  
FRED BENNETTS,  
WM. A. WARD,  
OSCAR H. BLASE.

DEL. MERRILL (N. Y.): I move that the report be accepted and the recommendations of the committee be concurred in.

The motion was seconded and carried.

# REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FARMERS' PROGRAM.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Farmers' Program. Comrade A. M. Simons, reporter for that committee, has the floor.

**COM. SIMONS:** I may say in preface that a great deal of work has been placed upon this and we have tried to present a program short enough and general enough in its provisions to be adopted by the convention. I will read the report.\*

**DEL. DUFFY (N. Y.):** I move that this report be adopted as a whole and that the recommendations be concurred in.

The motion was seconded.

**DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.):** I move to amend that the report be accepted and that the recommendations be taken up seriatim.

**COM. SIMONS (Kans.):** I desire to speak to the motion. I have come with this same proposition before every convention of the Socialist party held in the United States since the Socialist party was established. I came before the first one that was ever held in the United States, the first convention held at Indianapolis, and since that time, year after year, we have fought over this question. I have changed my own position on the question every time that I found a new fact which showed me that I was wrong in my former position, and this report is very much at variance with some that I have given before, because of the fact that in the last ten years there has been a complete change in the evolution of farm industries.

Ten years ago I said—and I said correctly—that there was not anywhere in the United States any sign that the concentration in farming would follow the lines that it had followed in factory industry, at least in any appreciable time. It was more like a geological process. But the last ten years has brought not only the disappearance of the frontier—and when that disappeared in America it had disappeared in the entire world, so that today we are no longer an agricultural exporting country; today we are no longer the granary of the world, and all through Europe the question of where the food of the world is coming from is becoming a tremendous pressing problem. And behind that we find one of the causes of the tremendous rise in the cost of living. That fact has been reflected in this tremendous rise in the price of land that has transformed every little farmer, owner of his farm, into a land speculator. His income from the ownership of his farm as a speculator has been greater than his income from his ownership as an operator. Because of that fact he has now largely left the farm and is turning it over to a race of tenants. Coming along with that is the movement, now practically but three years old, for the introduction of other than animal power in the operation of the farm.

More than forty years ago the first steam plow was shown, but only within the last three years has it been effective. A few months ago I went into one of the great manufactories of these plows. The head of the company took me through twenty-three acres of factory, where three years before were open fields and houses, and every acre of that factory was devoted to the building of great farm tractors. With the disappearance of the horse and with the coming of these great mechanical powers, with the tremendous increase in the cost of living, we are now confronted with a new

problem of the farm, and it is time that we awoke to it.

Now, the recommendations that we make here we have made to relieve two classes, practically, the class of farm tenants and the class of farm laborers. We bring in little concerning the farm laborers because they are covered by our regular recommendations in our regular platform and in our regular action. We take up the question of this land ownership and this question of the enormous increase in the value of land. Some of you are going to be frightened because you catch a phrase there which you may think we borrowed from the single tax program. But I hope that no one will bring that up until he has read again the Communist Manifesto, because long before Henry George ever heard of "Progress and Poverty" that principle had been incorporated in the Communist Manifesto. So I hope that unless you are willing to repudiate that Communist Manifesto you will not pick on that proposition.

We say that if you take out the speculative value you will do away with this enormous increase in farm tenantry.

In the second place, we ask you to adopt our third demand. That is a new demand. It was expressed two years ago, but it is a new one to be presented to any Socialist party in the world. But I was surprised to have called to my attention by one of the comrades on the floor that Comrade Kautsky a little while ago surrendered his entire former position on this question and had declared that the time had now come for the Socialist movement to stand for the socially owned farm.

I believe the Socialist party can come out and stand for the establishment by the county organization and by the state organization of socially operated farms. Do you realize that it has been repeatedly discussed in the United States Department of Agriculture that they should establish experimental farms? We want something entirely different. We want a farm that shall be not primarily experimental, but one primarily productive, operated by society and which shall constitute a means of controlling rents and controlling farm labor by making it impossible to force wages down as they may be by private competition. We propose to make this the foundation of social production by giving us a grip upon the source of food supply.

The other items are, on the whole, self-explanatory. Two years ago I finished my talk on this subject by asking you not to adopt in the platform the report that I brought in, because I thought that we did not know yet what we stood for. Since that time the States of Oklahoma, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, and, I presume, others have put farm progress in their state platforms. They are going ahead. The farmers are going to get into the Socialist party and fight for Socialism whether we want them or not.

**A DELEGATE:** They are doing it now!

**COM. SIMONS:** Yes, that reminds me that the farmers from Texas are beginning to organize unions among the tenants; are beginning to fight on the economic and political field exactly the same sort of struggle that we are battling in the factory, in the mill, in the mine and in the store.

Now, then, I say that those comrades are taking up that subject. It is time that we struck out some lines nationally. It is time that we laid down principles that would apply to this class as well as to all divisions of the working class. We have spent thousands and thousands of dollars

\*The report is printed in full, appendix dix D.—Editor.

## NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

to reach the trade unionists, and I want more spent in that way; but there are only two millions of them; we have spent all our resources on that small fraction, in the effort to reach the few mechanical and other industries, and no one of them has anywhere near the number of workingmen and women that are to be found upon the farms of this country.

Take hold of this program; criticize it; tear it to pieces if you can. But I do hope that before you leave this hall you will say that, as for the Socialist party of the United States, we are going to take a stand at least ahead of the insurgents and progressives and radicals who are trying today by every possible means to capture the vote of the small farmer and build up a peasant proprietorship in the United States; I do hope that we are going to take a step ahead of them; that we are going to make the Socialist party of America the actual expression on the political field of the en-

tire working class, of the entire human race.

Comrades, we stand today at the parting of the ways. We are making tremendous inroads into the factory workers. The only hope that capitalism has to sweep back the on-rolling tide of revolution is to bank up against us the workers of the farm. To them they are appealing; to them they are offering everything that capitalism can offer to stay on the backs of the workers. We must go to the farmer and show him that he can not be relieved while he is being ridden by the capitalist class and that we alone come to him with the gospel of freedom, of liberty, of emancipation, of social ownership, of everything necessary to the production of wealth and the satisfaction of life.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN:** The hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, the convention stands adjourned.

### AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Lee called the convention to order at 2:30 p. m.

#### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

The tellers reported the following vote on the standing Committee on Education, the candidates being the seven highest:

May Wood Simons, 174.

George R. Kirkpatrick, 166.

Emil Seidel, 160.

Frank Sanford, 124.

Caroline Pratt, 122.

John C. Kennedy, 115.

Warren Atkinson, 109.

The foregoing delegates were declared elected as the standing Committee on Education.

#### FARMERS' PROGRAM.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The report of the Committee on Farmers' Program has been made. There is a motion to adopt the report as a whole. There is a substitute motion to receive the report and consider the recommendations seriatim. Comrade Ohsol, of Massachusetts, has the floor.

**DEL. OHSOL (Mass.):** I wish to speak against the adoption of the report as a whole for this reason: There is a confusion in points 1, 2 and 7.

Point No. 1 does not state whether the Socialist party aims to introduce land ownership as a Socialist institution. The land is left out from the other means which should be socially owned. It infers that land ownership will be something different, that land will be owned by private owners, whether that be the intention or not, in there.

And in the second clause you see that land cannot be used by those who do not till it. Consequently it is natural that the only title to land—that means also the ownership of land—will be in the hands of those who occupy and till it. That means the support of small farmers and nothing else; the same thing which has been discussed all over and has been rejected by the Social Democratic party of Germany and also in Russia and also in a whole lot of countries where agrarian reforms have been considered as a whole.

This recommendation promises the wage earners in the last clause, the seventh, that they will be better off. Just why they will be better off if live stock is insured and they will not be insured according to the program, I do not know. There is nothing which states that we should organize the farm hands and try to better their condition. It only deals with farmers and

small occupants. We must distinguish between those two points. The Socialist party is a party of the working class. It does not undertake to relieve the burdens of all classes of society. However, we take it that there are some classes that will still suffer. What the farmers may want in one State they may not want in another State. What they may want in one country they may reject in another. In Mexico they demand confiscation of the land. In this country they would reject that proposition. In one country they would stand for small ownership and in another country they would stand against it. In one there might be one thing proper and in another something different. Therefore, a policy should be adopted that is consistent. We are dealing with principles, and not with a program. A program must contain only those demands which the Socialist party as a working class party means to carry out, and not the wishes of this or that class, whether they are small farmers, grocery keepers or any stratum of society. We must distinguish between form of ownership and forms of tillage. Those things are entirely different. The form of ownership may be state or national ownership, but the form of tillage must adapt itself to the means of production and the machinery we use and the form of distribution we are dealing with. These are confused in the report. It leaves the tenancy and occupancy to those who are tilling, and it tries to unite those who cannot be united. In Canada the ownership is concentrated and tillage of some kinds has entirely disintegrated. The land may be tilled by small farmers having 50 acres or 160 acres.

At this point Del. Ohsol was interrupted and called to the platform. In reply to a question the Chairman stated that the matter before the house was, first the motion by Del. Duffy (N. Y.) to adopt the report as a whole, and next the substitute motion by Del. Slobodin (N. Y.) to receive the report and act upon the recommendations seriatim.

**DEL. SLOBODIN:** I want to make a point of order. I do not want to interrupt the comrade who is speaking, but since he has been interrupted, I will make it. We must dispose first of the amendment, and if the amendment is adopted, then we will discuss it seriatim and the comrade will speak on such plank as is under discussion. If the amendment is defeated, then his general argument will be in order.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Is Comrade Merrill willing to accept the substitute?



DEL. MERRILL (N. Y.): Comrade Merrill is willing to accept it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to the acceptance of the substitute? The motion before the house then is that the report be received and the propositions acted upon seriatim. In the discussion of these propositions necessarily it will not be possible to restrict a speaker to one particular recommendation at a time. We will, however, as rapidly as the house sees fit, come to a vote upon the recommendation of the committee. Then after recommendation one has been adopted or rejected it will not be in order to discuss any more than is absolutely necessary that recommendation. The speakers will strive as far as possible to adhere to the seriatim method of discussion, but the Chair will not attempt to enforce it absolutely.

DEL. OHSOL: I will confine my remarks to the first clause.

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): I want to find out if he is discussing the subject or the only of the report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The technical matter is still felt to be Comrade Slobodin's motion. The motion is to receive the report and act upon the recommendations seriatim. There is no objection, I will put that motion.

The motion was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house now is the adoption of the first recommendation. Comrade Ohsol has the floor, but in the discussion of the first recommendation he will, of course, have to discuss it in relation to those which are to follow, but he will adhere as closely as possible to the first.

DEL. OHSOL: I am now going to pass the first clause, because it leaves out ads. It is impossible to own socially owned big storage plants, those means of transportation, if you do not own the land itself upon which those storage plants and other means are erected. That is one thing. The other thing is that if the farmers own the land they are supposed to produce for subsistence only, not for the market. That is the only possibility to keep the occupant out of competition, out of the large world market. As long as you produce for the market, for those storage plants and for those means of transportation you have to give some control over this method of production. That is the only possible way to reduce co-operative action, which will be governed by the next clause if you own the land. As a matter of fact, all Socialist parties have come to that view. The German Socialist party started to debate on the agrarian question in 1870 and from time to time till 1908, when it was postponed. The only recommendation which has been brought out thus far was that of Comrade Slutsky at one of the various German Socialist assemblies, that the land should be owned by the state. If you take the present state you cannot possibly leave any private ownership of land, and for that reason small farmers in Germany and elsewhere have become bankrupt. For that reason they have not been able to pay with the machinery owned by the large land owners. In the second place, they have become enriched by those bankers who advanced them money under mortgages, and those mortgages can now be taken by application to the State at a lower percentage, and the farmer can be relieved of large payments he has heretofore had to pay to private owners of capital or bankers.

The next recommendation which has been so far advanced is the abolishment of all

those restrictions which try to tie the farmer with a certain form of taxation. You cannot possibly distinguish between land which they own themselves and land which is privately owned by mere land owners, and if that is the case you leave private ownership of land.

DEL. MORGAN (Minn.): A point of order. I understand that now we are discussing the first clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair has clearly stated that in the discussion of the first section it will be impossible to prevent the speakers from considering the later sections.

DEL. MORGAN: But he is discussing the second now.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is undoubtedly discussing that in connection with the other. The only result of supporting the point of order would be that Comrade Ohsol would have a right to get up eight times and have altogether forty minutes to speak instead of five. We will get along much more expeditiously by not insisting on the point of order.

DEL. OHSOL: Cut out "land" from the first section, which means transportation and storage, and it means that you have to confine yourselves either to land owners or land tenants. Now, if you introduce such a form of ownership you will have to have tenants of the State and you will have to care for them. You can supervise and lay down the conditions of tenantry, either 30 years or more. You can lay down conditions of tillage of the soil, but as soon as you do you introduce an actual form of ownership. So you leave this to them, or you do not recognize any form of property. What is the use of singling out land from all other means of production? Small stores and small shops are also tools of production which are used now, and which are also now in the stage of tenantry. The machinery trust, for instance, the United States Shoe Machinery firm, adapts its machinery to small shoe makers, and this is actually the same thing which happens with the land. Therefore I say, let us adopt such a policy as will better the condition of those who till the soil—not the farm owners, but the farm laborers. (Applause.)

DEL. CASSIDY (N. Y.): Yesterday when we discussed a question it appeared that some who spoke had no special knowledge of the subject. I trust that today only those who are real farmers and who have made some special study of this subject will talk on the question. I am a printer by trade and a city worker. I believe the subject is one of the most intense interest and greatest significance to the Socialist movement. Now, as a printer and a city worker, I want to get the inside facts. I realize its importance, and I trust that the bookkeepers and stenographers and all others who have no real knowledge on the subject will keep silent. (Applause.)

DEL. WILLS (Okla.): I want to speak against the adoption of that report of the committee in its present form. I am an actual farmer. I must say that I compliment the committee for bringing in such an elaborate report, and I will say this, that with few exceptions I have very little to say against it. But in its present form I agree with the Comrade who has just spoken, that it is necessary to mention that we distinctly demand the collective ownership of land. (Applause.) The Oklahoma delegation feels that this question would have been discussed in a much better manner if this subject had been referred to a

committee of farmers to consult with the present committee. I must say, personally, as I said before, that this committee, in view of the fact that they have not an actual farmer among them, have done a remarkably good job. (Applause.) I want to compliment them. We are discussing now the first section, I understand, Comrade Chairman. Am I permitted to make my objections to the other sections?

DELEGATES: Yes, go ahead.

DEL. WILLS: I think it would have a tendency to facilitate business if we had a committee elected composed of say four or five farmers—I believe I am the only one of our delegation—to confer with this committee. It would save a great amount of discussion, I believe, and we could get our position before this body in a better way. Therefore, I move you as an amendment that we appoint a committee of five farmers, delegates to this convention, to confer with this committee and bring in a report as soon as possible. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: At this convention?

DEL. WILLS: Yes.

A DELEGATE: A committee of farmers?

THE CHAIRMAN: A committee of five composed of farmers.

The previous question was ordered, and the motion of Del. Wills to elect a committee of five was carried.

The following nominations for this committee were made, all of the delegates named accepting:

Wills, of Oklahoma.

Sherman, of Oregon.

Theinert, of Rhode Island.

Nash, of Minnesota.

Beloit, of Idaho.

L. L. Rhodes, of Texas.

Grant, of North Dakota.

Caldwell, of Pennsylvania.

Conrod, of Idaho.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will remember that you are to nominate only actual farmers. The Chair takes it that every delegate who has accepted is an actual farmer at the present time because that was the meaning of the motion. There are nine candidates.

Del. Hillquit moved that the nine nominees stand as the committee. Seconded and carried.

#### THE SAN DIEGO SITUATION.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention this morning referred a certain matter to the National Executive Committee with instructions to report this afternoon. The report of the National Executive Committee on that subject takes precedence of the regular order of business, and Comrade Harriman for the National Executive Committee has the floor.

Del. Harriman, on behalf of the National Executive Committee, presented the following report and accompanying telegrams:

#### REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee met in extended session. The San Diego situation was thoroughly discussed and the following action finally taken:

1st. A contribution of \$250 has been sent to the State Committee of the Socialist party of California for San Diego.

2nd. The report on the situation by Comrade N. A. Richardson has been circulated and an appeal for funds accompanies it.

3rd. We propose that the following telegrams be despatched at once to the Governor of California, to the Secretary of the Building Trades Council of California, to the Executive Committee of the American

Federation of Labor of California and to the State Executive Committee of the Socialist party of California.

The following is the telegram to Governor Johnson:

"To His Excellency, Hiram Johnson, Governor of California, Sacramento, Cal.:

"Sir—The Socialist party of the United States in convention assembled demand that you render immediate assistance to the citizens of San Diego, to the end that their rights may be preserved and order restored. We have wired all labor organizations the State to co-operate with you to this end. We urge you to release immediately the report on the situation by Commission Weinstock, so that the entire citizenship the State may know the facts."

"To Paul Sherinberg, Secretary State Federation of Labor, and to O. A. Tweitman, Secretary-Treasurer State Building Trades Council of California, San Francisco, Cal.:

"Dear Comrade—The Socialist party of the United States in convention assembled extends to the working class of California in their fight in San Diego their united sympathy and support.

"We have wired the Governor, urging him to render instant relief to the citizens of San Diego and to release the Weinstock report relating thereto.

"We ask that the State Federation of Labor, Building Trades Council and the Socialist party co-operate in urging the Governor to act. We have issued an appeal to the Socialists of the United States for funds."

#### TO THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CALIFORNIA.

"The Socialist party of the United States in convention assembled has endorsed the action of the N. E. C. in sending you \$250 in cash to be used in the fight in San Diego. Telegram has been forwarded to the Governor of the State asking him to release the Weinstock report. You are requested to follow our telegram by an urgent appeal from your committee on the same subject. The report of Comrade N. A. Richardson has been published and an appeal for funds issued to the party membership. The convention urges you to act at once and to call in your power to assist in the situation."

DEL. HARRIMAN: I suggest the addition to the telegram of the following word: "And that you co-operate with the State Federation of Labor and the State Building Trades Council to this end." This is the report, and I move its adoption. (Seconded.)

DEL. IRVIN (Okla.): I want to ask question of Comrade Harriman. Why "citizens of San Diego"?

DEL. HARRIMAN: We do not refer only to the working class of San Diego.

DEL. IRVIN: They are not citizens of San Diego.

DEL. HARRIMAN: Well, they are citizens so far as a great many of us ever become citizens, because they are men who are migratory, and we meant it to include the entire party involved. The reason we put "citizens" in there was that it was my mind that the persecutions there extend to a great many people. Some of them are merchants, but most of them belong to the working class, and we meant their interests and their rights to be preserved by this action, and we are all standing together there. That was the only purpose.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I move to amend that in the telegram the word "urge" be substituted for the word "demand." (Seconded.)

DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.): I wish to ask if there was not another labor organization in danger or in the fight?

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair can answer no such question.

DEL. SADLER: May I ask Comrade Harriman that question then?

THE CHAIRMAN: If Comrade Harriman chooses to answer the inquiry he may do so.

DEL. SADLER: Wasn't there another organization specified? You have only mentioned one.

DEL. HARRIMAN: They were all in the scraps, and the money that is sent and the assistance that is solicited by the State Federation of Labor, Building Trades Council and Socialist Party goes to San Diego to defend them all, no matter who.

DEL. KATE SADLER: Then I would amend that we include a telegram to the Industrial Workers of the World, who are also in the fight. (Applause.)

DEL. HARRIMAN: There is also a telegram to be sent to the comrades in San Diego stating what we have done. I suggest that that be incorporated in the report, that a telegram be sent to the San Diego comrades stating to them what is our action.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection that will be considered included in the report.

DEL. SADLER: I want that clearly understood. My amendment—

THE CHAIRMAN: You have made what motion?

DEL. SADLER: I made an amendment that in the telegram be also included the Industrial Workers of the World.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Industrial Workers of the world; what department?

DEL. SADLER: At San Diego.

THE CHAIRMAN: What office? Do you mean to the national organization or to the local organization at San Diego?

DEL. SADLER: The local organization where the fight is.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion already provides for a telegram, as I understand it, to a joint meeting of all the comrades in San Diego involved. It does not distinguish the various branches.

DEL. HARRIMAN: To San Diego, the Free Speech League.

THE CHAIRMAN: To the San Diego Free Speech League.

DEL. HARRIMAN: That a telegram be sent to the Free Speech League at San Diego, which is a merged committee from all the organizations in the free speech fight.

THE CHAIRMAN: The I. W. W. is also in it. Are you ready for the question.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I want to say that the last clause that was put in there was that they be urged to co-operate with the organizations of the A. F. of L. Is that not correct? And in that case you have recognized the A. F. of L. and have ignored the organization that is working on the ground. (Applause.)

DEL. HARRIMAN: So that we may know the facts, I will state that the Free Speech League in San Diego is a league composed of delegates from the Central Labor Council of the A. F. of L., the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party in San Diego. This league was formed after the ordinance was passed and after that, and they entered in name will be understood. A delegate attended also.

option of the report asked

THE CHAIRMAN: The question arises whether the adoption of the first

DEL. HARRIMAN: Just as soon as I get the opportunity I will answer.

DEL. BESSEMER: Not for a speech.

THE CHAIRMAN: Del. Bessemer will maintain order.

DEL. HARRIMAN: During that time there went to San Diego Mr. Weinstock, appointed by the governor, O. A. Pridmore, appointed by the State Building Trades, Paul Chandler, from the State Federation of Labor, and N. A. Richardson, from the Socialist Party. They were all there at the same time. They were all present during the investigation made by the commissioner of the state, and they joined in the report. Now, the I. W. W. men, and principally the Socialists from San Diego, made the statement in the convention in the city of San Francisco one week ago or more that it was the men from the Building Trades Council that had sent the committee back. It was the unanimous opinion of those men from the State Building Trades Council, which, as you know, is a part of the American Federation of Labor. Yes, we are asking the co-operation of the entire working class on the coast to fight the battle that my comrade wants fought. (Applause.)

DEL. BESSEMER: I want to say that still we have not got a direct answer, and I want to have the reading.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegates and visitors, and more especially visitors, will please refrain from occupying the time of the convention with demonstrations of approval or disapproval on one side or the other.

DEL. BESSEMER: I would like to have a reading of the telegram in which he appeals to the Socialist Party to co-operate with the A. F. of L. May I have a reading of it verbatim?

DEL. HARRIMAN: The secretary has it. The secretary read: "To the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of California. The Socialist Party of the United States, in convention assembled, has voted \$250 to be sent to you in cash."

A DELEGATE: This is not A. F. of L. DEL. BESSEMER: I want the part that was omitted, whereby they appealed to them to co-operate with the A. F. of L.

SEC. REILLY: This is as Comrade Harriman gave it at that time, and it is down here in shorthand. "And that you co-operate with the State Federation of Labor and the State Building Trades Council to this end." That is what you gave.

DEL. HARRIMAN: Yes, that is it.

DEL. BESSEMER: That is what I want to get at. I want to say that instead of the State Federation of Labor it is nothing more or less than the A. F. of L., and they are working hand in hand with the I. W. W., and if this convention is going on record with the A. F. of L. in that fight, when the I. W. W. is just as much in the fight as they are, you are ignoring them, and it is unjust. I want to see the I. W. W. included in this. They are worthy of recognition. I think the amendment to the motion is in order and should be voted unanimously in favor. I don't care whether you agree with me or not. My middle name is Fight anyway. I don't care how much you agree. I insist that you comrades do recognize any movement of the working class. I want to say more, while I have the floor, that by us ignoring the I. W. W. or that organization in convention here, we do more to compel members of our party to leave the movement, because there are many members of the party that say that we are cowards, that we are not direct-actionists enough in the

political party, and they have got discouraged and got outside, and they tell me that they are getting out and becoming direct-actionists. We are driving them out by not standing by them in our political party. I appeal to you, comrades, in the name of the working class; the working class, as Ben Hanford said, right or wrong, always the working class.

**DEL. SPARGO:** It seems to me that there is an entire misapprehension in the mind of Comrade Bessemer, and I have no doubt in the minds of some other comrades. There was absolutely no intention on the part of the National Executive Committee to refuse recognition to the I. W. W. in its action. On the contrary there was on the part of the committee the assumption that the action proposed and support extended was support extended in the main, and action recognizing in the main, the I. W. W. as the center of the fight. What are we doing? We are saying here that in the city of San Diego there is a great fight. In that fight the Socialist Party, the Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. are all involved. They are united in that fight. Very well. Now, we send word to them, we send word to that joint committee representing equally the three elements and say, "We have voted you money. We have called on all of our comrades to give you all the support they can." We say to them, in addition to that, "We have called upon the entire working class to extend you support." Why does the I. W. W. appeal to us for funds in its emergency? Because it cannot get any. And we of the Socialist Party say we will get what we can. More than that, we are saying to the American Federation of Labor unions, "Forget your differences in this fight, and let there be a united fight of the working class until victory is achieved." I repeat, there is no discrimination against or refusal to recognize the I. W. W. There is a recognition of the fact that the I. W. W. cannot help itself, and that we ourselves will do what we can, and turn around to other organizations of the working class and say, "Let us put our shoulders to the wheel; let us fight and fight until we win;" and if that is not a logical fighting proletarian attitude, then, comrades, I have been for twenty odd years in this movement in vain. (Applause.)

The previous question was then ordered.

**DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.):** The reason for my insistence upon mentioning that particular labor organization is this: that in that communication which is to be sent other labor organizations were mentioned. Now, I desire that every organization that is carrying on the fight in that part of the country shall have equal courtesy. In fact, I hope that the comrades here will insist that every portion of that fighting force shall have equal recognition. You know and I know that this class fight is not going to be won by any single portion of the working class, and it does not befit us as the political expression of the working class to go on record by mentioning any particular part of the economic organization. Now, then, I hope that the comrades here assembled will vote that if these telegrams are to be sent, that a telegram will be sent mentioning at least, if nothing else, the name of the fighting organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World. (Applause.) I do not ask any applause. I ask that you do justice as far as you can see it right now. And the \$250 that has been sent from the national office, remember, if you please, that it all came out of your own pockets, out of the pockets of the working class. The

National Executive Committee has worked—yes, because there is a force that will make it work, whether it wants to or not. (Applause.)

**DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.):** The motion, as I understand it, is that a telegram be sent to the State Executive Committee of California, to the State Building Trades Council and to the State Federation of Labor. Now, the amendment provides that a telegram be also sent to the Industrial Workers of the World. Now, as far as I know, these telegrams go only to organizations outside of the city of San Diego. Now, where is that telegram to be sent? Is there such a thing in existence as a State Federation of the I. W. W. in the state of California? As far as I know there is no such organization, and if this telegram is to be sent to the I. W. W. of the city of San Diego, I ask why not send one also to the proper organization of the Socialist Party in the city of San Diego? It has just as much right to it as the Industrial Workers of the World. I believe there is no reason whatever to include that in this telegram, and for that reason I vote against the motion.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It is moved to send the telegrams which you have heard read. I think every delegate knows what these telegrams are. It is moved to amend the telegram to the governor of California by substituting the word "demand" for the word "urge." It is also moved to amend the motion by providing that a telegram be sent to the I. W. W. of San Diego similar to that which is to be sent to the Free Speech League in San Diego. The vote will recur upon the second amendment, then upon the first amendment, and then upon the original motion.

The amendment offered by Del. Sadler was carried.

The motion to substitute "demand" for "urge" was carried, and the original motion as amended was then adopted.

**COMRADE IRVINE (Cal.):** I want the floor upon a proposition in connection with the raising of money to support the San Diego free speech fight.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Is there objection?

**DELEGATES:** Yes.

**COMRADE IRVINE:** Then I will rise to it later.

**DEL. SLOBODIN:** I move that the floor be granted to Comrade Irvine for five minutes.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Not more than five minutes.

The motion was carried.

**COMRADE IRVINE:** Comrade Chairman, I would like to tell the friends of the I. W. W. that the Executive Committee were absolutely, seven of us, unanimous in what we did, and now if you want to get money for San Diego, it is up to you now to dig down in your pockets and give us a big collection for San Diego. (Applause.) That is the thing as I see it. I think the I. W. W. are not ashamed of their representation on the Executive Committee, are they? We thought it was the best thing to do to get money and men and power to send to San Diego. Now, Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we take up a collection now, and that the gallery give us something, everybody in the gallery, everybody in the balconies. (Applause.) When a man was only stripped naked and tarred and was the only person beaten and branded. **AL. ZITT (Ohio):** And beaten and branded. I want to act and not to be in the telegram. (Applause.) If you substituted for the word "demand" this thing by getting down and give it to

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): Comrades, at the risk of becoming very unpopular, I will oppose the suggestion as strenuously as I can. Not because it is for the San Diego fight. Personally I will gladly contribute to it. But I object to a motion to take any collection for any purpose at the national convention of the Socialist Party. I know it has been defeated here time and time again. Many comrades have traveled many days, and having to stay here a week or longer, are absolutely in no position to contribute to anything.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I am compelled to see a point of order. There is nothing before the convention.

DEL. HILLQUIT: If the chair will so please, I will sit down.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point or order is well taken. There is no motion before the house.

It was moved that a collection be taken once for the San Diego fighters, but the motion was not seconded.

On motion the convention then proceeded the regular order.

#### COMMITTEE ON FARMERS' PROGRAM.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am informed that the supplementary committee that you elected to confer with the Farmers' Committee has done its work, and Comrade Adams will now report for the Committee on Farmers' Program.

COMMITTEEMAN A. M. SIMONS: I will take less than two minutes to make an explanation. Today when we met we found that there was much less divergence than we had expected, and our changes consisted in the insertion of one word and the addition of a plank providing for diversity in state platforms. I will read the amended section, calling attention to the inserted word, the word "eventually." It is in the second paragraph of the program: "To prevent the leasing of land out of use and to eliminate tenantry, we demand that all farm land not cultivated by owners shall be taxed at its rental value, and that eventually,"—it is the word inserted, "eventually"—"its actual use and occupancy shall be the title to land." We now add this because there were several changes suggested, which, when they were examined, were found to apply only to special sections of the country, and were not general. I ask that this be added: "While the above is offered as a general outline for the national agricultural program of the Socialist Party, we wish to point out that there are various conditions in the widely separated districts of the United States, and that to each section and to each state be left the task of working out the other details of a program applicable to the peculiar agricultural conditions in their respective states and districts."

Now also a word of apology to Comrade E. Richards O'Hare. She was a member of the committee. We were not able to reach her. I was not—I will take the blame—able to reach her in time to assure whether she approved that or not. Her name was taken up in various sessions, being in Executive Committee sessions at the time, and so her name was appended. Since that was printed she came back there and signed and approved it from now on her name will be understood as being on there also.

Now move the adoption of the report. THE CHAIRMAN: The question arises solely upon the adoption of the first part of this report.

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): I wish to make a verbal change which I believe the committee will probably accept. After the second line in the first recommendation, I would like to move that this clause be inserted: "Where such means are used for exploitation." I believe it is manifest that they do not mean the way it reads.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you read the clause then as it would stand?

DEL. EDWARDS: "The Socialist party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery, where such means are used for exploitation, shall be socially owned and democratically managed."

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. O'REILLY (Ill.): I would like to call the attention of the committee to a mere matter of English. I would like to call attention to the fact that if they put in that clause they will express just the opposite idea from the one that they wish to express. It reads, "The Socialist Party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery shall be socially owned and democratically managed." If he inserts the words "if they are used for exploitation," he contradicts himself, because socially owned machinery means that the products would not be used for exploitation. As a matter of English, I would like to have them consider that. I think it's bad English.

DEL. SHERMAN (Ore.): I wish to say that I do not agree with the report of the majority of that committee, and I wish to state why. I believe that as long as the means of production are to remain in the ownership of private hands we will have wage slavery. I am opposed to wage slavery. I am not in favor of the means of production remaining in private hands at any time, and I do not think there should be a special program for the farmer. As Lincoln said, a nation cannot exist half free and half slave. If we have the means of production in private hands, we must have wage slavery, and for that reason I am opposed to any special program for the farmers.

DEL. DUFFY (N. Y.): I rise to speak in opposition to the acceptance of the amendment. As amended it would read "and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery, where used for exploitation, shall be socially owned and democratically managed." The plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery are always used for exploitation, because the workers work enough to produce this machinery, and they cannot be used in any other way. But at the same time I want to speak in favor of the unamended section. I am representing a farming community, while I am not a farmer, in the state of New York, and I have recently had an opportunity in a two months' trip to study the problems of those farming sections of the state. There the chief problem is this, that they do not raise enough food and so on, and have to buy it from the west. So this is a national problem, and the means of transportation and storage being owned socially, are absolutely necessary for the elimination of the conditions under which those farmers are suffering in that section of the state of New York, and I presume in other sections throughout the east. Therefore, I am very much in favor of the first section unamended.

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): I am perfectly willing to have the committee rewrite that section, provided this point may be made clear. I believe if anyone will read the section as it is printed, and then remember some of the questions that are asked by audiences, you will see the necessity of making it clear. One of the questions asked will be, "Do you want to have a wagon and a corn crib socially owned and democratically administered?" Now, of course, the committee did not mean that, and if the committee or the chairman will suggest some phrase that will just make it clear that we refer to such means of production and transportation as the delegate from New York has just mentioned, that will answer the purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee has accepted the amendments in substance. The exact wording of that amendment, I suppose will not be quibbled over between the different comrades, because it is understood, of course, that it is not strictly capital means that we refer to.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): It has been stated that the committee accepted this amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is accepted.

DEL. THOMPSON: The committee is considerably scattered. I am a member of the committee, and I do not want to accept it. I think it would be bad policy to put that phrase in there. I simply want to correct that statement.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the committee does not agree to accept it, all right. I understand the committee accepted it.

DEL. WRIGHT (Neb.): Two years ago this committee was elected for the purpose of studying the problems of the agriculturist, and for two years this committee, or most of them, have been busy studying this problem. As for myself, I have labored over this question until my head has ached. We find ourselves at this time not thoroughly educated in this great problem. The very fact that the committee and every student of this great question have been waiting anxiously for the last census report and have not been able to get it, proves that to arrive at a complete understanding of the evolution of farm industry is as yet an impossibility. Every day some new force is making its appearance in connection with the evolution of agriculture. I have just been informed recently of this fact, which I dare say the average farmer has not taken into consideration, and perhaps does not know: That Europe is even alarmed over the possibility of not being able to get the usual food supply which Europe gets from American agricultural exports. I cite this fact to show that along with this hundreds of other fundamental problems are making their appearance. You cannot lay down a specific line of action in connection with those things which are yet in the hands of the experimental station and in the minds of the inventors, and which are as yet not seen, not analyzed, not studied. American capital as well as European capital is now commencing to seize upon land, not because land is so much more productive than it used to be, but because the field of investment has been closed up, with the result that America has been discovered, civilized, and its civilization capitalized almost to the limit. Now then, money is hunting for an investment, and it is seeking land as an outlet. Capital has commenced to take hold upon farming. The inventor's mind is being turned in the direction of improving farm methods; not due to the efforts of the farmer, but to the

prospect of dividends as seen by the manufacturing class, who use the inventor and scientist to further the ends of the capitalist class. Just exactly what the end of this course will be, I do not know anybody knows. Only those things which can be analyzed up to this time can be dealt with. This report has not been thrown together in a haphazard manner. This report is just as complete as it can be, just as scholarly as it can be, and economically sound as it is possible to produce at this time. It reaches just far as we are able to analyze the situation. I can understand very readily why objection will come from one part of the United States, while an entirely different objection will come from another part. A new clause introduced leaves it open to the states in their state platforms to conform to the conditions of their particular sections. What we do require now, in view of the fact that we do see that the capitalist landlords, speculators and grafters seize an opportunity for exploitation, is that we must have a national declaration which aims a blow at this class of parasites, to get them off the farm and back. We must have a national declaration which will involve the means of exploitation in manufacturing lines which reach the farmer. This you have got, and a declaration as to a national program covering every phase of this question that can possibly be dealt with intelligently, and more we fuss with it, the worse you are going to make it, and we are likely to end up here with no program at all. No matter how we end the discussion, there are a number of students of economics who have been attracted to this question. They will study it, not for the next two years, but for the next twenty years, and will in the time become clearer on the matter. New forces make their appearance.

DEL. TAYLOR (Ill.): I would like to ask for information whether this clause in regard to exploitation was suggested by the idea that this as it reads now we take in the individual wagon, the ownership of a wagon in which a man takes goods from his farm to the warehouse on the railroad.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman understands that that was the reason for making that amendment.

DEL. TAYLOR: Then I move as a substitute for the amendment that the word "social" be put before the word "means" in the first line of this clause; "the Socialist party demands that social means" so forth.

DEL. OHSOL (Mass.): I have an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Ohsol of Massachusetts moved that in the first line the word "land" be inserted so that shall read, "The Socialist party demands that land and the means of transportation and storage," etc. This amendment also be before the house.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Why do we demand the collective ownership, as in the platform, of the means of transportation? First, as a step to our final end, the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution; and second, the purpose of improving the condition of the workmen that work in these United States. Is that the reason why the farmers' report contains the demand for the collective ownership of the means of transportation? Is the farmer interested in our aim who is the owner of some of the means of production himself? Is he interested in improving the condition of

workingmen who work on the railways? No. What is it that he is interested in first? He wants the means of transportation to be more efficient and cheaper. That is why that is included in the farmers' program, so that the farmer may get more efficient service and pay less for it. You see very readily that there is a conflict between the interests of the men who work on the railways and the interests of the small farmer who uses those railways. The one demands the highest wages he can get, which means increase in the cost of transportation. The farmer demands a lower cost of transportation which eventually means less wages. They must reconcile the meaning and intent of our general program with the program laid down in this report. Why is it this farmers' program that has so forcibly stated that there are about three million small tenant farmers ignores the three or four million agricultural wage slaves? Why don't you say one word about the agricultural laborers? There is not one word about that. Ten years ago this question was discussed and Delegate Simmons agreed that he was wrong at that time. He wanted the party at that time to take the same position. I remember that I opposed him at that time. I don't say the farmers' problem or that the agricultural problem is not of importance, but we have so many irons in the fire and the setting of the movement to the proletariat is so important that we are not ready to take up this agricultural problem. Let us first approach the wage slave. Let us get our message of Socialism to the agricultural workers, those that work on the farms, then when we have succeeded to some extent in that the next step will be to get the same message to the tenant farmers of America. If there is to be an agrarian program on the part of the socialist party it should be addressed to agricultural workers and nobody else.

DEL. L. L. RHODES (Tex.): I wish to say that this farmers' program that is before the convention satisfies the people of the south. While I am sure that it will help the people of the cities it will help us largely in advancing the cause of socialism in the southland. We are just as radical as you are; we stand for what our people of the north stand for but you have never had to contend with the Bourbon democracy of the south.

A DELEGATE: Thank God.

DEL. RHODES: I want to say thank God, too. The program is certainly clear enough. It doesn't hurt you. It aids us. It makes it possible for us to make inroads and progress in a country that has been largely unoccupied. We join you in your program. We only ask you people who know nothing about our section of the country, since this farmers' program can not hurt you to at least let us have it in our state down there.

DEL. MORGAN (Minn.): I am opposed to the last amendment to insert the word "land." In Minnesota where I travel a good deal among the farmers, many of them are coming to us and the point on which so many of them have split has been the argument constantly set up by the opponents of Socialism who say: These Socialists propose to take your little farm, or your house and lot and they propose to make it all public property. Now the effect of that was so great that an amendment was introduced to the national platform and carried: and that is the one that is commended itself to our farmers. They are willing to concur in the platform that we have adopted, against the private own-

ership of land and means of production used for exploitation. They agree with that. They agree that no man should be allowed to hold land for the purpose of exploiting his fellow man. But he ought to own, until the conditions have radically changed, he ought to own his little house and lot; he ought to own his little patch of land so long as he is using it for the support of himself and family and not to exploit others, and that plank, that statement has brought thousands of farmers to us. Now if you put this word in the farmers' program and say that the Socialist Party demands that land and the means of transportation shall be socially owned we shall have this fight all over again. I find that this question has been asked me hundreds of times: Do you fellows propose to take my little house and lot away from me so that I won't have a place of my own to lay my hands, and we have referred them to the platform and said yes, if you use your house and land to exploit somebody else, renters or anybody else, anything of that kind, that will be the ultimate outcome, but so long as you use it simply for your own good you will not be deprived of the ownership of that value of which you have so largely produced yourself. That statement has brought us hundreds of farmers; that statement has succeeded in bringing those people to us. But if you will adopt this last amendment you have simply knocked the old platform to pieces. We are back in the old fight again, and we can not own even a piece of land to be buried in, and I will have to turn over the graves of three of my dear ones to the Socialist commonwealth at some future time; I shall have to beg a place to bury them in under those circumstances.

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I am not now a farmer but I was raised as one. That is the reason I grew so tall. I am not in favor of that part of the amendment that says "the land." I am in favor of the word "social." I shall not repeat any of the reasons given by my comrades but I wish to say in reply to Comrade Siobodin when he asks if there will not be a conflict between those working on the railroad who want higher wages and the farmers who want cheaper transportation. Yes. But if we shall not make a demand for social ownership for that reason will not the same conflict rage between the farmer who raises his produce for sale and the men in town, the workers in the city to whom that produce is sold. Does not the wage earner in the town ask more wages in order that he may get more of the product of the farmer, and does not the farmer raise the price of his product if he can, to get more of the wages of the worker? Therefore you are not changing the program any. If it is inconsistent to ask for the social ownership of the things named in paragraph 1 or recommendation 1, it is inconsistent anywhere else. I insist that this is not a special program for the farmers as indicated by my comrade down here, any more than it is a special program for the wage earner when you ask for the social ownership of the shop in which he works. I agree with you that no nation can exist half slave and half free. I admit that when you ask for immediate demand for the wage worker in town, when you ask for shorter hours, when you ask for more wages, if it is a special program to ask the same things for the farmer then it is a special program to ask it for the wage worker.

Sometimes we are told that a farmer owns his job. I tell you the fellow that farms knows that the job owns him. He works sixteen hours a day. If the day is not long enough he patches it out morning and night. I say the job owns him. If this be a special program then so is the other. We ask for eight hours a day and do our best to get it.

In a couple of years from now you may take another step and make the program clearer, but as things are today I think that recommendation 1 with the word "social" added should be accepted not as final but as the best step that we can take at this point.

DEL. DEVOLD (Minn.): I want to hear that plank read once more.

THE CHAIRMAN (reading): "The Socialist party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery shall be socially owned and democratically managed."

The amendment of Edwards of Texas is that after the word "machinery" there be inserted the words "where such means are now used for exploitation" or other words that would have that meaning. The amendment by Ohsol is to insert the word "land" in the first line so that it shall read "the Socialist party demands that land, the means of transportation and storage, and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery shall be socially owned" and so forth.

DEL. MALEY (Wash.): Touching the insertion of the word "land" there it seems to me the question is: Are we ready for the socialization of the land. Capitalism has done its work with the means of transportation and storage so that as an immediate program we would be ready for the socialization of those kinds of property if we had control; but it does not seem that we are ready to proceed immediately to the socialization of the land until capitalism has done further organization in the farming community.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I think there is a little confusion here. I think the insertion of the word "land" is unnecessary, and you will see that it is if you read the third recommendation in which we have endeavored to cover very carefully that question of the socialization of land. Now the points that have been made against the insertion of the word "land" in the first clause are very strong points but the fact that we cover it carefully and thoroughly in the third recommendation makes it unnecessary that it be put in the first recommendation. I hope that you will see that it is unnecessary. I would like to call your attention in a general way to the feature of this proposition, these few paragraphs here that we have been trying to find some way to state in all our efforts to write a farmers' program both in this country and elsewhere, and that is to satisfy our extremists, who are always insisting that we must have the collective ownership of the land, or our comrades in Germany who, after they had appointed committees, one to study the subject in South Germany, another strong committee in another section, and another strong committee in another section, they came in with a program much more elementary than this is going into the matter a great deal, which was rejected because of this consideration, which is the objection which they always urge against a program in which there is some strength, namely, the Socialist Party of Germany rejected the program proposed there on this ground: They said they would

not stand for it because it strengthened the sense of ownership among the agricultural population and therefore tended to break down the spirit of the proletariat. On account they rejected the program, a that has been the thing that our extra (thodox) Socialists in the movement have been afraid of. They have always blocked us on that account. But we think we have met that situation here in a way that will appeal to them and satisfy them for the reason that we have provided in that third proposition for the gradual socialization of the ownership of the land in this way. We propose that the state, which now owns agricultural and experimental farms, shall acquire more and more land by the various ways that are familiar to us all, such as are mentioned in that paragraph, and then we add this point which is the feature which I refer to as the state extends its ownership of this land, holding more and more of it, such land instead of being given over to private ownership shall be organized into socially owned and socially operated agricultural industries. There is only one serious objection that touches the comrades in Germany or anywhere else in the world could bring against such a program based on the older absolutely scientific, revolutionary view of Socialism. Having secured ourselves on this proposition against this danger you ought to remember this, comrades, I think nine-tenths of us now agree that we ought to have a farmers' program. Now I beg of you don't let us lose the benefit of the work that has been done. Let us assist the different farmer organizations who have adapted themselves to their local situations, the Socialist comrades in North Dakota who have prepared a program, those in Oklahoma who have prepared a program, those in South Dakota, in Texas, in many states adapted to their local situation. We can never have a Socialist Party, a successful Socialist Party unless we get the farmers. Let us not lose the chance to get them by stumbling over a phrase. Let us have this program go through. We will fix it up grammatically if there are any grammatical errors in it, but let us get this to the farmers and give the farmer comrades in the Socialist Party a chance to build up a strong movement.

DEL. NAGLE (Okla.): I wish to state our position on this program. As reported in the first instance it was not satisfactory to the farmers, or those who represent the farmer element in Oklahoma. The same was true of Texas, and I believe to a large extent of Kansas, but as it is amended, with the words in the second paragraph we have no objection.

As was stated right here unless you give us a farmers' program and allow us some room locally you can not expect results in an agricultural state. In the state of Oklahoma we have 93,816 tenant farmers. Sixty per cent of those who farm the land of that state are tenants; 40 per cent own the land. Of those who own their land 85 per cent have their farms mortgaged. That is the condition we are meeting there. And let me say the city worker is not the only man who works eight hours a day, the man on a section of land also works eight hours; eight hours in the morning and eight hours in the afternoon; he is the man who works from can't to can't from the time he can't see until the time he can't see. He not only works himself but in the corn belt and the cotton belt his wife works and his children work. The farmer is the only man who exploits his own wife and his own children under the



existing system. All we ask of you—and Simons of Kansas now agrees with Texas, and when Kansas and Texas agree I think everybody on earth can agree—all we ask of you is—I think it is satisfactory to the farmers of the Southwest—that this program as now written with the two amendments be adopted. I think that will be entirely satisfactory to all of us. With this kind of a program we can proceed with the fight in the southwest.

The previous question was here moved and seconded, and duly carried.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex.): I desire to speak for the report as originally written. There is nothing of more importance to the agricultural class than a farmers' program. Many of the comrades who discuss this question hail from cities, without any knowledge of agricultural questions. I do not claim personally to be a farmer but I was raised in a farming section, in an agricultural country and am intimately acquainted with the interests of the agrarian population of this country. We must have a program for the farmers because the small farmer today is the worst exploited worker in the whole United States. They work harder and longer and get less than any other class of the population. Furthermore, the farmers of this country and the tenants of the farms are at least 40 per cent of the population of the country, and the city wage workers alone can never win this battle without the aid of the workers on the farms. Neither the wage working section of the working class, nor the farming section of the producing class can win this fight alone. To win this battle for justice the workers and producers in the farms and in the mills and in the mines must all work in concert and in harmony. Never get it into your mind that the small farmer is a capitalist. That statement is especially true in the south where he is often an absolute pauper. All that he owns goes to the express robbers, the railroad robbers, the elevators, the store houses, they absorb all that he makes, and often when a farmer rises to the dignity of employing a farm hand the farm hand gets more out of it than the long suffering farmer, so that in no sense is he a capitalist.

This amendment that is offered as it stands puts the Socialist Party in the position of declaring for the collective ownership of all the land and we would be facing this proposition everywhere that you Socialists want to take away the ownership even our garden plot. As a matter of fact the thoroughly accepted position of the Socialist Party the world over is that we do not propose to force every inch of land into public ownership, but that we oppose to the private ownership of land only to the extent that it is used for exploitation. And to whatever extent simple ownership exists without exploitation, to the extent that it is used without taking away the result of other people's labor we do not attempt to interfere with that form of private ownership. There are no big Illinois plantations in the south. They are all poor farms. The farmers live a harder poorer life than any city wage workers in the world. This amendment ought to be passed down unanimously because it would enable us on record, if passed, as favoring the public ownership of all land, which would enable us to hold even a garden spot of land, you would meet with the objection that the Socialist Party was trying to take the farmer's land away from him and everywhere deprive our speakers of an answer to that question. So the amend-

ment to the amendment ought by all means to be voted down. With that exception the program is absolutely satisfactory.

DEL. DEVOLD: I wish to speak in favor of the amendment including the land. I am in favor of the amendment including the ownership of land. I will give you my reason. Yesterday afternoon we listened to a talk by Comrade DeLara of Mexico, in which he advocated the public ownership of land in Mexico. He was cheered to the echo by this assembly when he made that point. You seemed by cheering Comrade DeLara to favor the public ownership of the land of Mexico.

A DELEGATE: This is the United States.

DEL. DEVOLD: My friend doesn't seem to think that we in Minnesota live in the United States. It seems to me that if you favor the public ownership of land in one country, and cheer that proposition when it is made, you should favor the public ownership of land in another country just as well.

And here is another point. Comrade Simons, in making his farmers' report, stated the Marxian philosophy, the concentration of land into the hands of a few people, and he showed by his farmers' report that the land is coming into the hands of a few people. Now, do we stand for the private ownership of land in the hands of a few people, or do we stand for the public ownership of the land? That is the question here. You admit that you are going to accept this farmers' report, that the land will go into the hands of a few people. Why don't you stand for the land being taken out of the hands of a few people, and handing it back to all the people from whom it has been taken. My friend Thompson, to hear him speak you would think that he was hired to do a vaudeville stunt. I want to quote you something from the German Social Democratic party. I am not a German, but I know more about Germany than Comrade Thompson does. I have been in Germany. The vote of the German Social Democratic party among the small farmers in Prussia since 1903 and up to 1907 decreased, and so while the conditions for Socialistic campaigning and agitation in those years were of the best and the party had tried not to scare the farmers by demanding the socialization of land, the vote of the small farmers decreased. It shows, my friends, that if you throw a sot at the farmers they will think that you are trying to pull the wool over their eyes like the Republicans and the Democrats have been doing, and they will repudiate you at the polls. This Socialist Party stands either for private ownership of land or for public ownership of land. If it stands for public ownership, why don't you adopt the platform that states right out that you stand for public ownership of land. Now, I just had a tour through the state of North Dakota, speaking to the farmers of North Dakota. Furthermore, I am well acquainted with the farmers in Minnesota. I am a Scandinavian and the majority in those two states are Scandinavians. The Scandinavian Social Democratic party at the last Congress adopted a plank calling for public ownership of all the land in Norway by the people; and you can't scare the farmers in North Dakota and Minnesota by telling them that you stand only for the same thing that the Socialist party in their own country stands for.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): May I ask a question. Do you mean all land, use land for production only or land used for exploitation? Do you mean the land where we

live, the home, the land used for productive purposes also?

DEL. DEVOLD: The ownership of land nowadays is vested in a piece of paper. We propose to do away with that kind of ownership. We propose to make land public, like all other means of production and distribution. There is the point right there. Do you wish public ownership of land or private ownership of land? If we stand for the public ownership of land, why do we throw a sop to the farmers and tell them that we don't stand for it?

COM. SIMONS: Do I have the floor in reply?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair can only say that under his understanding of the rules the committee does not have the floor at the close of the debate.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): We did that yesterday.

THE CHAIRMAN: If that is desired you will have to overturn the ruling of the Chair.

DEL. FENNER (Mass.): Was not the rule that the chairman of the committee should have twenty minutes to reply?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair finds no such statement in the rules.

DEL. WILLS (Okla.): Does not Section 2 explain that proposition?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair cannot answer the question because it is not a question of parliamentary law. The motion before the house is to insert the words, "When such means are used for exploitation," as modifying "means of transportation and storage, and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery." There are two amendments, and I am putting to you the amendment of Edwards of Texas to insert the words, "when such means are used for exploitation."

The motion of Edwards of Texas was declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote recurs on the amendment by Ohsol of Massachusetts to insert the word "land" after the word "that" in the first line so that the paragraph will read: "The Socialist Party demands that land, the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery, when such are now used for exploitation, shall be socially owned and democratically managed." All those in favor of the motion of Comrade Ohsol to insert those words will say aye.

The amendment of Ohsol of Massachusetts was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now take up the second paragraph.

DEL. OHSOL (Mass.): The adoption of the first paragraph means the overthrow of our national platform, which says that all means of production and distribution shall be socially owned. Now, we state that only those things used for exploitation shall be socially owned. If we proceed in this way we might as well wipe out our whole Socialist Party platform. I wish to state that by adopting this farmers' program we are overthrowing our national platform and our Socialist principles altogether.

COM. SIMONS: I have to speak by consent. I wish to explain to Com. Ohsol that these propositions must always be considered as subject to and controlled by the national platform, and that therefore nothing that is done here can replace or overthrow the national platform. It is supplementary to that. We do not mention all of the things in the national platform every time because we do not consider it necessary.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): In other words we understand that it is in the nature of an immediate demand, part of the immediate program of the Socialist Party, and not a pronouncement on fundamental principles.

(Cries of "Yes" and "That is the idea.") DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I should like to inquire if that idea is incorporated in the article.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate can answer that question for himself just as well as the Chair can answer it for him, because I suppose the delegate has read the article.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Assuming that all this is carried and you have adopted it, and assuming that the result is as you anticipate, and the farmers rush into the Socialist Party and they begin to have great weight in the Socialist Party, and then suppose the unions go out and work against the party, what will be the position of Simons?

COM. SIMONS: I can answer for Comrade Simons: I will be with the agricultural laborers.

Section 2 of the recommendation was then adopted.

Section 3 was then read as follows:

"We demand the retention by the national, state or local governing bodies of all land owned by them, and the continuous acquirement of other land by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise; such land to be organized as rapidly as possible into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective, agricultural enterprises."

DEL. OHSOL (Mass.): I move to substitute the words "gradual acquirement" for the words "continuous acquirement" in the second line.

DEL. MORGAN (Minn.): This gentleman had the floor and I wanted to call your attention to the fact that he was discussing the whole question. You ruled that he had better get up once than forty times. He now getting up the fortieth time.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is necessary to exercise some discretion in this discussion. I hope the delegate will not arise to speak on every plank, but I think the house will recognize that it is fair to have this amendment settled one way or the other.

DEL. OHSOL: Comrade Thompson said that the third section covered exactly the point that we wanted to cover in the first section, the question of the socialization of the land. Now, if the third section is to mean this, it should be clear. There is no ambiguity. It states "the continuous acquirement of other land." As it stands now we have already the land which is recovered by reclamation. That can be publicly owned under the capitalistic government. If you mean all land you should say all land, besides that now owned by the state or nation. It is only fair to be clear on this point. If you say gradual acquirement of the land you will then have the people gradually becoming owners of all the land whether used for transportation or the raising of stock or any other agricultural purpose. Therefore, I suggest that all those comrades who really stand for the socialization of the land support this amendment. Let it be clear. It may eventually come about that the agricultural laborers will rise against that program and we shall have to have two parties, one for the farmers and one for the farm laborers, at least employers and agricultural laborers. All those in favor of public ownership of lands should support the amendment.

DEL. BYRD (Tex.): I happen to have been born and raised on a farm. My father,

ed to call me at 4 o'clock in the morning and keep me at it until 9 o'clock at night. I didn't have the best education, that location we all ought to have. I agree with the amendment. I am also asked the question, in Texas, what are you going to do about the land question? And I say, "Thus saith the Lord: The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine, for we are strangers and sojourners with you." Leviticus 25-23. Now, I want to say to my friend that I don't have to go back to Scripture to find that it is a divine law. I say to the men and women that asked me that question: "Haven't you intelligence enough, my dear friends, to know that none of your ancestors, nor any of your ancestors' ancestors away back to the beginning of time, made any part of this old earth. You know as well as I that no living man made any part of it. Therefore, he has no more right to own any part of it. My friend over here said he wanted a place to bury himself and his family. I have a special friend in the land of Texas who has 1,300 acres of river bottom land on the Colorado river. He is as strong a class-conscious capitalist as ever came down the pike, and is willing at any time when the people want to socialize the land to do so. I agree with the amendment. Take all the land and the fullness thereof. Thus saith the Lord: 'The land shall not be sold forever.'"

I want to know whether the Socialists of the United States are in favor of the collective ownership of the earth or just a part of it. I want to say to you that until a people own the whole earth, until we own the whole, entire earth and reduce government to a science of producing and distributing wealth, based on labor, you can never have a sensible Socialist organization. Suppose I was John D. Rockefeller and I wanted to build a railroad. I would have the land to build it on. Suppose I wanted to have a factory where we manufacture cotton. I have a picture of a cotton picker that picks cotton by machinery. That machine will do the work of twenty men and it only requires one man and a boy to operate it. What are you going to do with the 18 men thrown out of work? That machine does not eat anything. What are you going to do with the grocery men? That machine does not require any shoes. What to become of the shoemaker? That machine does not require any clothes. What to become of the tailor? That machine, my dear friends, never goes into litigation. What is to become of the lawyers? And so, but not least, that machine has no soul. And what will become of the preacher? I am here to tell you that you will do wise act if you adopt this comrade's proposition and declare for taking the earth and the fullness thereof for all the people.

DEL. STRICKLAND (Ohio): Now that many of us are going to lose our jobs, I think that we want this section pretty far, and since this is to explain our position with reference to the land, I move to send the amendment by putting the word "productive" in there, making it read "all our productive land." If I get a second to the amendment I should like to speak to it. The amendment was duly seconded.

DEL. STRICKLAND: I think the word "productive" will cover the case. The comrades want to repeat the words "used for exploitation." I think that is not necessary. I think the word "productive" is sufficient. The reason I think we ought to use this qualifying word is that we have not reached agreement on how we are going to own our little garden patch or in what way we

shall have title to our homes. I think the amendment as stated by the ministerial comrade who referred to Leviticus 25-23 will not cover the case, because we don't want to vest the title in God, for we are not in unit on this question of God, and we don't want to take a position with reference to the ownership of the home or the home land, but we do want the ultimate collective ownership of all productive land. Therefore, I offer this amendment.

DEL. STALLARD (Kan.): In this discussion the main feature has been whether we shall stand for the collective ownership of all lands, or whether we shall stand for the private ownership of land so long as that land is not used for purposes of exploitation. That, briefly stated, has been the main bone of contention. I have taken the floor to call your attention to one fact. The supreme power of the Socialist Party is the referendum ballot of the rank and file. At the last convention in 1908 the convention adopted a declaration for the public ownership of all land, and in about three months' time, by an overwhelming majority vote of the membership, that section was repealed. If you wish to adopt a farmers' program you should adopt a program that the rank and file of the party want; and I do not believe that the rank and file of the Socialist Party has seriously changed their mind on that proposition.

Now, I believe personally that some time in the far distant future that no man will privately own a place to bury himself or a garden spot, but I do not believe that social development has reached the point that we should demand that now; and I may be wrong in the prediction that it will ever come. This is a matter of an immediate program and not a matter of making predictions. We want a program that fits with the present conditions. At the present time we are not ready for the nationalization or public ownership of all land, and for that reason I think that any amendment to any part of this program that would call for immediate public ownership of all land should be voted down.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, the Secretary will proceed to read the resolutions that are before us.

## RESOLUTIONS.

Resolution from Tacoma protesting against Judge Hanford. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Garrison (Ind.) against speakers of the party exciting race prejudice. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution from Local New York in regard to establishing publishing concerns for the party. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution from Local New York urging campaign for universal adult suffrage. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Mary E. Geffs and others as to women candidates for President and Vice-President. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution from Local Glenville, Scotia, N. Y., offering a plan of Socialist control of the means of production and distribution. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by W. P. Collins as to paying expenses of contesting delegates. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution by W. P. Collins as to referendum nominations for President, Vice-President. Referred to Committee on Ways and Means.

Resolution by eighteen members Ohio delegation charging the party with becoming

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791/5 conservative. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Alexander and others opposing commission government. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution proposing amendment to Article 2, Section 5 of Constitution. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution from Young Socialists' League, Philadelphia, for a National Committee of Young Socialists' Leagues. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution from Young Socialists' League, Philadelphia, for a National Socialist Sunday School Committee. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution by E. R. Meitzen to discontinue publication of weekly syndicate articles. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution by North Dakota delegation as to a Socialist banking program. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Christian (Mont.) favoring telegram to Joseph J. Ettor and Arturo Giovannetti. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Oyler (Neb.) with reference to owning party press. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution by five delegates from Oregon demanding that the organization be kept strictly of a working class character. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Mary L. Geffs and others as to qualifications for state political candidates. Referred to Committee on State and Municipal Program.

Resolution by W. P. Collins and others against military character of Boy Scout movement. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Zitt as to holding of political offices resigning from position in the party. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution by Duncan opposing the Ives-Whitcomb Bill. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Dempsey on Immigration question. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The convention then adjourned until Monday, 1912, at 10 o'clock A. M.

## FIFTH DAY'S SESSION.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Lee.

The following delegates accepted nominations for Chairman of the day:

James F. Carey of Massachusetts.

John W. Slayton of Pennsylvania.

George H. Goebel of New Jersey.

James A. Smith of Utah.

Winfield R. Gaylord of Wisconsin.

W. P. Collins of Colorado.

The vote resulted as follows:

Carey, 74; Goebel, 60; Slayton, 29; Collins, 18; Gaylord, 18; Smith, 6.

Comrade James F. Carey was declared elected Chairman of the day.

The following accepted nominations for Vice-Chairman:

Lewis J. Duncan of Montana, W. P. Collins of Colorado, May Wood Simons of Kansas, Charles A. Byrd of Texas.

The vote resulted as follows: Simons, 0; Duncan, 47; Collins, 21; and Byrd, 10. Comrade Simons was declared elected Vice-Chairman of the day.

On motion, the reading of the roll call of delegates and of the minutes of the preceding day were dispensed with.

Communications of greeting were received from the following:

Cigarette Makers' Union of New York.

Seventh and Eighth Ward Branches, Workmen's Circle, Rochester, N. Y.

Polish Section Socialist Party, Cleveland, Ohio.

Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, United States of America.

Uptown Jewish S. P. Branch, Philadelphia, Pa.

Polish Section, Philadelphia.

Secretary, S. P. Local, San Diego, Cal.

Central Committee, S. P., Boston, Mass.

George R. Lunn, Mayor, Schenectady, N. Y.

English Speaking Socialist Club, Lawrence, Mass.

Branch 367 Workmen's Circle, New York.

Third Ward Branch, S. P., Elizabeth, N. J.

Branch 14, Workmen's Circle, Providence, R. I.

United Garment Workers, No. 54, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The following communications were read by synopsis and referred to the committee as stated:

Petition from Jewish Branches of Cincinnati, Ohio; referred to the Committee on Constitution.

Resolutions from Jewish Branch, Boston, Mass.; referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolutions from Branch West Huntsville, Ala.; referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolutions from Local Kansas City, Mo., addressed to the Missouri delegation and read at their request; referred to the Committee on Platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order is unfinished business. I think nearly everything is unfinished. But we will now take

up report of Committee on Farmers' Program, clause 3.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FARMERS' PROGRAM.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment of Ohsol of Massachusetts which is before the convention is to strike out the words "continuous acquirement" from the third section, and to insert instead thereof "gradual acquirement of all land."

The amendment offered by Strickland of Ohio is to insert the words "socially productive" before the word "land." On a vote the amendment to the amendment by Strickland of Ohio was lost.

The amendment by Ohsol of Massachusetts was also lost; and the original recommendation of the committee was adopted.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): Rule 23 limits debate to four hours. I should like to inquire how much of the time remains on this report.

THE SECRETARY: We have used about three hours.

DEL. STREBEL: I move that the Chair now fix the time when the debate will close.

THE CHAIRMAN: The debate will close according to the Chairman's watch at ten minutes to eleven.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I move that the debate close in thirty minutes.

The motion was seconded and adopted. The Secretary then read clause 4 of the farmers' program, which was adopted.

Clause 5 and clause 6 were also adopted. Clause 7 was then read by the Secretary.

DEL. OHSOL (Mass.): I move to insert the word "not" after the word "with" in the second line and to insert the word "not" after the word "and" in the third line.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I would like to have that read as amended to see what sense it makes.

THE SECRETARY (reading): "We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will not open new opportunities to the agricultural wage worker and will not free him from the tyranny of the private employer."

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I move that that motion be laid on the table.

The motion to table was seconded and declared carried by the Chair. A division was then called for.

A DELEGATE: A point of order. The motion to lay on the table is out of order, as the original motion was a negative of the whole proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. The question before us is the verification of the vote.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): Does the motion to lay on the table carry the whole proposition?

## NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Chair does not understand that it will apply to the report as already adopted, but merely to the amendment.

The motion to lay on the table was carried by a vote of 147 aye to 27 no.

**DEL. WILLS (Wash.):** I move to strike out that entire section.

The motion was lost by a vote of 77 aye and 117 no.

**DEL. ROSETT (Md.):** I move to amend by inserting the words "to that extent" before the words "free him," and as amended it would then read: "We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will open new opportunities to the agricultural wage worker and to that extent free him from the tyranny of the private employer."

The motion was seconded and the paragraph as thus amended was then adopted.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Secretary will read the additional matter to be included in the report but which is not in the printed copies.

**THE SECRETARY (reading):** "The Socialist party pledges its support to the renters and the agricultural wage workers in their attempt to organize to protect themselves from the aggressions of capitalism and the employers in agriculture."

It was moved and seconded that this clause be adopted.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** All those in favor of the adoption of this clause 8 will say aye. Contrary no. The motion is carried.

**DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio):** I want to know if the policy is to be pursued by the Chairman to cut off debate on every section of this report that is offered.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Chair has no desire to cut off debate.

**DEL. CLIFFORD:** Let me inform you—

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The gentleman is out of order. If he does not like the action of the Chair he can appeal.

**DEL. CLIFFORD:** By hek, I don't get a chance to appeal.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Secretary will read the additional clause 9.

**THE SECRETARY (reading):** "While the above is offered as a general outline for the National agricultural program of the Socialist party, we wish to point out that there are such variations of conditions in the widely separated districts of the United States that to each section and to each state must be left the task of working out the further details of a program applicable to the peculiar agricultural conditions in their respective states and districts."

**DEL. FRITZ (Miss.):** I offer the following as a substitute for the whole.

"8. As a measure of immediate relief for the thousands upon thousands of landless farmers of the South and Southwest, and for the purpose of equalizing the burdens of taxation by removing the motive now prevailing for tax dodging, we demand that all owners of landed property assess their own lands, the State reserving the right to purchase such land at their assessed value, plus 10 per cent.

"9. Land now in the possession of the State or hereafter acquired to purchase, reclamation or tax sales to be rented to landless farmers at the prevailing rate of share rent, or its equivalent payment of such rent to cease as soon as the total amount of rent paid is equal to the value

of the land, and the tenant thereby acquires for himself and his children the right of occupancy, the title to all such lands remaining with the commonwealth.

On motion of Delegate Berlyn of Illinois, duly seconded, the resolution offered by Delegate Fritz was laid upon the table.

**DEL. RUTHENBERG (Ohio):** I move the adoption of a new section, number 1, to read as follows:

"We also point out that the above should be considered only as an immediate program, and that we demand the ultimate collective ownership of all the land use for productive purposes."

**DEL. NOBLE (Tex.):** I move to lay on the table.

**DEL. RUTHENBERG:** As maker of the motion I have the right to the floor even if the motion to lay on the table is made.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Will you point out where that appears in the rules? The Chair will have to have the particular passage in the rule pointed out.

**DEL. SPARGO (Vt.):** I should like to inquire in regard to the expiration of the time for debate what time it is now by the Chairman's watch.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** In two minutes the time for debate will have expired. Comrade Ruthenberg's point is not well taken.

Del. Ruthenberg appealed from the decision of the Chair, and upon a vote of the convention the Chairman was sustained.

**DEL. ZITT (Ohio):** I claim that Delegate Ruthenberg had the right to speak even though the motion to lay on the table has been made. Comrade Ruthenberg had the right to state his position and that right has been denied him.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The body of the house has sustained the position of the Chair. That makes it the ruling of the body of the convention and not the Chairman's ruling.

**DEL. ZITT (Ohio):** For the further information of my fellow delegates on this floor I request the reading of this rule concerning this question of debate after a motion to table.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The question before the house is the vote upon the report of the committee, a motion to adopt which was made. The Chair will receive no further inquiries except that pertaining to the matter before the house.

**DEL. RUTHENBERG:** Under Robert's Rules of Order the right of the delegate to state his position has been denied him.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** That point has been decided by the convention. The question is upon the adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Farmers' Program was then carried.

**DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio):** In order to be fair to everybody I move that Comrade Ruthenberg be allowed to read the clause in Robert's Rules of Order, that the delegates in this convention may know whether we are right or wrong.

**DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.):** A point of order. That there is nothing before the house except the next order of business. We are not here to discuss academic questions arising on Robert's Rules of Order.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The point of order is well taken.

**DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.):** I wish to speak on the point just raised.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Do you appeal from the decision of the Chair?

# MORNING SESSION, MAY 16, 1912

DEL. DUNCAN: Yes, I demand to speak on this question and state my position. It seems that we have had about enough of this steam roller business this morning. This convention ought to know the rules under which they are working. If we have the right to speak five minutes on a motion to table we ought to know we are working under Robert's Rules of Order and for that reason I think for the information of this convention we should hear that rule read, and the attempt of the chair to keep us from having the rule read does not look good to me.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: Chairman Carey will now state his position.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is the section: Motion to lay upon table. This motion shall take precedence of all other subsidiary motions and yields only to privilege and incidental questions. It is not debatable." I am quoting the rule. Upon this question appeal was taken. The house sustained the Chair. Another delegate rose to make a point of order on the very question that had previously been appealed from. Where are we going to stop? You can keep it up all day, all week, all next month. The Chair is here for the purpose of arriving, so far as he can, at the decision of the majority of the delegates. You can call this a steam roller. I would rather be a steam roller than a gas house.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: The question now is upon sustaining the Chair in the position he has taken.

A division being called for the Chair was sustained on a show of hands by a vote of 146 to sustain the Chair and 86 against.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): In the name of those who does I demand a roll call.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: A roll call is requested.

A DELEGATE: As one of the 86 I don't want a roll call.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: Are there fifty delegates who wish a roll call?

83 delegates demanded a roll call.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I think I can make this thing clear.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): If Robert's Rules of Order say a certain thing I want the rule read before I vote on this.

DEL. BESSEMER: I rise to give the information that if that rule is read this whole thing will stop.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: The necessary information on this matter will be furnished by the Secretary reading such rules as apply to this question. There will be no information from the delegates. It will be done by the Secretary and there will be no motion received until it is done.

DEL. HILLQUIT: No discussion is in order, nothing except the roll call. My point of order is that the roll call is merely a verification of the vote already had. We are in the course of voting.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point is not yet taken. The Secretary will read the rules, after which the vote will be taken by roll call.

THE SECRETARY: (Reading) "Paragraph 19. Subsidiary motions. To lay on the table. This motion takes precedence of all other subsidiary questions and yields only to privileged or incidental question. It is not debatable and can not be amended. It has no other subsidiary motion applied to it nor can an affirmative vote on it be reconsidered. It eliminates the subject from consideration until the assembly meets to take it from the table." Now Sec-

tion 54, which is a note reads as follows: "The minority has no remedy for the unfair use of this motion, but the evil could be slightly diminished as follows: The person who introduces a resolution is sometimes cut off from speaking by a motion to lay the question on the table being made as soon as he states the question or even before. In such cases the introducer of the resolution should always claim the floor to which he is entitled. Persons are commonly in such a hurry to make this motion that they neglect to address the Chair. In such cases one of the minority should address the Chair quickly and if he gain the floor make the point of order that he is the first to address the Chair, and that the other member, not having the floor, was not entitled to make the motion."

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: There is nothing before this convention but the roll call.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ (Ill.): I want to know how I am to vote. Do I vote yes or no on this to sustain the Chair?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: We are now voting on the question of sustaining the Chair in his decision. All those in favor of sustaining the Chair will vote yes.

The roll call resulted in the Chair being sustained by a vote of 167 against 93.

The result of the roll call as announced was 167 for sustaining the Chair, 93 against.

## ROLL CALL ON BESSEMER MOTION.

The roll-call was as follows:

State.	Yes.	No.
Ala.		G. L. Cox
Ariz.	E. H. Allen	E. Johnson
Ark.	Ida Callery	J. A. C. Meng
	D. Hogan	A. R. Finke
Cal.		A. E. Briggs
		E. A. Cantrell
		G. W. Downing
		Mary E. Garbutt
		Job Harriman
		E. H. Mizner
		R. A. Maynard
		A. W. Harris
		E. L. Reguin
		N. A. Richardson
		H. C. Tuck
		J. W. Wells
		F. C. Wheeler
		Whitel Whitehead
		T. W. Williams
		J. Stitt Wilson
		F. E. Wolfe
		H. E. Wright
Colo.		W. P. Collins
		A. H. Floaten
		Mary L. Geffs
		T. M. Todd
		John Troxell
Conn.		S. F. Beardsley
		Ernest Berger
		E. P. Clarke
		C. T. Peach
		Jasper McLevy
Dela.		F. A. Houck
D. of C.		W. J. Ghent
Fla.	F. Stanley	J. S. Alexander
		C. C. Allen
Ga.	A. F. Castleberry	T. J. Coonrod
Ida.	G. W. Beloit	S. W. Motley
		I. F. Stewart
		E. Berlyn
Ill.	J. O. Bental	L. F. Haemer
	Joseph R. Burge	J. C. Kennedy
	J. C. Sjoden	M. E. Kirkpatrick
		George Koop
		J. P. Larsen
		Caroline A. Lowe

# NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

State.	Yes.	No.	State.	Yes.	No.	
	F. T. Maxwell	Mary O'Reilly W. E. Rodriguez S. Stedman G. N. Taylor G. Underwood S. S. Condo W. W. Farmer Janet Fenimore S. C. Garrison W. H. Henry James Oneal S. M. Reynolds W. Sheffield Florence Wattles J. J. Jacobsen I. S. McCrillis			C. H. Pierce G. Rothmund C. E. Russell H. A. Simmons U. Solomon G. A. Strebel J. Wanhope	
Ind.			N. C. N. D.	B. T. Tiller	A. E. Bowen, Jr. Robert Grant C. D. Kelso A. LeSueur M. S. Hayes F. G. Strickland	
Iowa	Jas. Baxter Margaret D. Brown Lee W. Lang Geo. D. Brewer O. H. Blase A. W. Ricker S. M. Stallard	M. Wood-Simons B. F. Wilson	Ohio.	J. L. Bachman Wm. Bessemer Max Boehm T. Clifford D. L. Davis D. J. Farrel W. Hinkel E. J. Jones Dan McCartan Wm. Patterson E. E. Powell Marguerite Prevey C. M. Priestap C. E. Ruthenberg Anna K. Storck L. A. Zitt F. N. Prevey J. G. Wills		
Kans.						
Kent.		C. Dobbs W. Lanfersiek				
La. Me. Md.	J. R. Jones C. W. Staub	G. A. England A. E. Hartig Dr. J. Rosett J. F. Carey A. Coleman C. E. Fenner J. M. Caldwell R. Lawrence P. Mahoney Rose Tenner G. E. Roewer, Jr. D. A. White J. G. Ohsol F. Aaltonen G. H. Lockwood J. A. C. Menton	Okla.		E. Schilling O. F. Branstetter Allen Fields J. T. Cumble R. E. Dooley L. B. Irvin P. S. Nagle Geo. E. Owen O. Ameringer M. F. Barker	
Mass.						
Mich.	Jas. Hoogerhyde H. S. McMaster Etta Menton J. H. McFarland Marietta E. Fournier M. Kaplan J. G. Maattala A. O. Devold	J. H. Grant N. S. Hillman J. S. Ingalls O. Jacobson T. E. Latimer D. Morgan J. E. Nash O. S. Watkins M. E. Fritz E. T. Behrens W. L. Garver C. Lipscomb G. W. O'Dam O. Vierling W. A. Ward	Ore.	M. E. Dorfman J. Hayden Tom J. Lewis F. C. Ramp C. W. Sherman L. R. Bruce Gertrude B. Hunt C. W. Ervin C. F. Foley F. H. Merrick Edw. Moore Wm. Parker A. G. Ward Robt. J. Wheeler J. C. Young		
Minn.			Penn.		G. W. Bacon J. M. Barnes Cora Mae Bixler D. M. Caldwell Anna Cohen J. E. Cohen F. A. Davis Lewis Goaziou R. L. Grainger J. C. Hogan C. A. Maurer J. H. Maurer R. B. Ringler J. W. Slayton D. Williams L. B. Wilson W. A. Prosser	
Miss. Mo.						
Mont.	L. J. Duncan C. A. Smith J. M. Kruse J. B. Scott P. H. Christian					
Neb.		F. J. Warren C. R. Oyler C. J. Wright G. Miller J. P. Burke W. A. McCall J. R. Jones G. H. Goebel H. F. Kopp F. Krafft James M. Reilly J. B. Lang C. J. Ball, Jr. Fred Bennets Theresa Malkiel V. Burckle Jas. A. Mansett E. F. Cassidy Wm. E. Duffy O. L. Endres C. L. Furman M. Hillquit A. Lee M. London H. E. Merrill	R. I.	James Reid Not voting. E. W. Theinert Not voting.		Wm. Eberhard
Nev. N. H.			S. C. S. D.	Benj. Dempsey		
N. J.	C. J. Cosgrove  W. B. Killingbeck G. Theimer		Tenn. Texas.	C. G. Harold E. A. Green T. A. Hickey E. R. Meitzen W. S. Noble J. C. Rhodes	R. Alexander G. C. Edwards C. A. Byrd L. L. Rhodes M. A. Smith J. C. Thompson B. William H. P. Burt J. A. Smith W. M. Wesley John Spargo G. M. Norris E. J. Brown W. H. Wayne Emma D. Cor H. C. Cupple Anna A. Maley H. Hensefer	
N. M. N. Y.	H. Slobodin E. Lindgren A. Pauly		Utah.			
			Vt. Va. Wash.	L. E. Aller A. H. Barth F. Bostrom Kate Sadler S. Sadler H. M. Wells		



State.	Yes.	No.
W. Va.	H. W. Houston E. H. Kintzer	C. H. Boswell
Wis.		V. L. Berger D. W. Hoan W. R. Gaylord W. A. Jacobs T. Hinklein Emil Seidel Eliz. H. Thomas C. D. Thompson A. Carlson
Wyo.	P. J. Paulsen J. Suaja	

The report was then adopted as a whole.

### RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions, through the Chairman, Del. Spargo, reported as follows:

DEL. SPARGO: Comrade Chairman and comrades, conforming to the usual practice at our conventions, the Resolutions Committee will report its resolutions in batches. The first resolution that I shall read is a resolution dealing with the indictment, imprisonment and trial, or pending trial, of Joseph Ettor and Arthur Giovannetti, at Lawrence, Mass. I will read and move its adoption:

Whereas, Joseph J. Ettor and Arthur Giovannetti, representatives of the textile workers of Lawrence, Mass., are charged with being accessories before the fact, to the murder of Anna LaPezzi, an Italian woman striker, which occurred during an assault made on a peaceful body of strikers on January 29th, by armed police and thugs of the Woolen Trust; and

Whereas, The testimony of a score of eye witnesses before the examining magistrate showed conclusively that Anna LaPezzi was shot by a policeman, who was identified by eye witnesses at the preliminary hearing; and

Whereas, The prosecution admits that neither Ettor nor Giovannetti were present at the scene of the provoked riot, but claim that they by their speeches, incited, counseled and commanded violence and rioting, and as a result, a homicide took place, thus seeking to establish a precedent which is vicious and infamous; and

Whereas, Ettor and Giovannetti loyally fought the Woolen Trust, bringing a substantial increase in wages to over a quarter of a million of textile workers, thereby causing a loss of revenue of \$15,000,000 per year to the mill owners of New England; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Socialist party in National Convention assembled, that the indictment and trial of Ettor and Giovannetti is an outrageous and inhuman attempt on the part of the Woolen Trust plutocracy and their hirelings in retaliation for the successful revolt of the mill slaves of New England, to destroy the right to strike and the right of free speech and assembly of wage earners and to establish a precedent, base in its conception, vicious in its enforcement, and detrimental to the entire working class of America, and destructive to fundamental civil rights, and further

Resolved, That the National Executive Committee be instructed to appropriate immediately \$500 for the defense of Ettor and Giovannetti and that we call upon the locals of the Socialist party to form defense funds for this purpose to be forwarded through the National Headquarters.

The resolution was adopted.

DEL. SPARGO: The next deals with

### CONDITIONS ON PACIFIC COAST

Whereas, The railways and the various commercial associations of the Pacific coast, by false advertisements, have induced workmen to come west, thereby creating a large army of the unemployed; be it

Resolved, That we request that the greatest publicity be given to this matter through the Socialist press and party organizations, as a warning to the workers of the Eastern and Central States to stay away from the Pacific coast, since labor conditions there are intolerable.

I move its adoption. (Carried.)

On motion, the resolution was adopted.  
DEL. SPARGO: The next resolution deals with the policy of Socialist municipal administration to their employees.

### MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES.

Whereas, The party has during the past year secured control of a number of cities, thus becoming the employer of many workers;

Whereas, The party realizes that intelligent administration of government involves the organization of the workers in all departments;

Whereas, The object of the Socialist party is to secure for all workers not only the full product of their labor but a voice in determining their conditions of work, therefore be it

Resolved, That the party adopt as a policy to be observed by its representatives in office the organization of workers in all departments under Socialist control so that each department may obtain an organized expression of the workers' point of view on administrative methods and conditions of work.

I move its adoption. (Carried.)

The resolution was adopted.

DEL. SPARGO: We come now to an old friend, a perennial, dealings with propaganda among the armed forces of the nation.

### PROPAGANDA IN THE ARMY AND NAVY.

Whereas, In the class struggle the military is often the first and always the last resort of the ruling class; and

Whereas, The army, the navy, the militia and the police offer a fertile field for the dissemination of Socialist teachings; and

Whereas, The growth of Socialist thought among the armed defenders of capitalism tends to reduce the power of the ruling class to rule and outrage the working class, and thus to end the oppression and violence that labor suffers,

Be it Resolved, That the N. E. Committee be instructed to secure the services of such a comrade or comrades as have made a special study of war and militarism, and that such comrade or comrades prepare special appropriate leaflets to distribute among soldiers, sailors, militia and police.

Resolved, That the N. E. Committee publish such leaflets and pamphlets and offer for sale through the usual channels, and that in addition an organized effort be made for the distribution of such leaflets among all the armed defenders of capitalist-class rule and among all military organizations and all government homes for disabled soldiers and sailors.

I move its adoption.

DEL. CASSIDY (N. Y.): I am opposed to this resolution recommended by the Committee being adopted by the convention. The point I make is this, that we should for some time support the workers

the industrial field. We should not port the forces in the army or any other direction of that kind. If we have any special literature, let us keep putting it in the shop, factory, mine and store; let us reach the men who are engaged in real constructive industry, and not waste it in this special and unpromising territory.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): The Chicago Daily Socialist this morning says that the Massachusetts Legislature has passed a law making it illegal to talk anti-militarism in the state of Massachusetts, with a punishment of six months in jail and \$500 fine. If that is not answer enough to this argument here, I do not care to say anything more. (Applause.)

DEL. WHEELER (Cal.): Recently in speaking with a sailor on one of the battleships, he told me that there were seventy-four socialists upon that one battleship and that they had a circulating library there, and that literature was being circulated there and on other ships. The point is this, that when their term of enlistment expires, as it does almost every day, those who are in the army or in the navy retire again into private life, and they come into the industrial field, and it is well that we should have those men educated so that when they do return to the industrial field they will enlist under the Socialist banner. (Applause.)

DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.): I am in favor of our propaganda reaching not only the sailor but the soldier. I have lived in a navy yard town on the Pacific coast by the name of Brennerston. You may know about Brennerston because our comrades there captured two of the positions on the council board, and they were going to be deprived of their citizenship because of their political activity in the navy yard. We have had applications for membership in that local from the sailors, and we try as far as we can to organize the boys and have them organize a local upon their battleships. At one navy yard there is an organization of 100 members of the Socialist party. There is no ground so ripe for Socialism as upon the battleships. I have been upon them almost every Sunday afternoon, talking in my small way, and I have found the field ripe. Down in Vancouver, Washington, I have sold more literature to the army boys than I have to the citizens of Vancouver. Therefore, I am willing that we should throw this back in the teeth of the Legislature of Massachusetts. Yes, we will organize the boys, and we will get the guns of the enemy, and I would rather stand back of the gun than in front of it. (Applause.)

DEL. REID (R. I.): I rise to speak upon this resolution. The Socialist movement needs this propaganda. In our state I recall, not very many weeks ago, something of the arguments made on a bill in the Rhode Island Legislature, appropriating \$95,000 for an armory and for an armed guard for Rhode Island. In answer to the objections to the bill a member read a tirade against Socialism lasting one hour and a half. The point I want to make is this, that he brought those points conclusively out. He said, "Gentlemen, I appeal to you to support unanimously this proposition, which is for the defense of this glorious country. There is an important factor that we must consider. We need a national guard; we need a national militia. We need it to suppress that organized band of traitors, Dr. Reid, Bill Haywood, John M. Work"—and he enumerated a lot more of conspirators—"and to save the coun-

try." The capitalists are on their job. They know what they need. It is simply force that they need, and they will use it. I appeal to you to pass unanimously this resolution, and show the capitalist class that the Socialist party are also on their job. (Applause.)

The previous question was then ordered and the resolution was adopted:

DEL. SPARGO: That is all for this time, comrades.

## FOREIGN SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS

Del. Goaziou, Chairman, presented the following report of the Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations.\*

Del. Goaziou, on behalf of the Committee, moved the adoption of the report. Seconded.

DEL. RUTHERBERG (Ohio): I want to speak in opposition to that part of the report which permits foreign language organizations to purchase their due stamps through their national translator's office. In the past we have had in the city of Cleveland about twenty different foreign language organizations. We find that those organizations which purchase their due stamps through their National Translator's office never come near our central organization, are not in touch with the central organization, and take no part whatsoever in the business of the local. Now, if these branches as provided in that report are to be part of the local organization and are to vote for referendums in that organization, they must be kept in touch with the local organization, and the only way to keep them in touch with that organization is to make them buy their due stamps through the local secretary. We find, and it has been told to me by men who are in touch with the foreign organizations, that they are now circulating in this country literature for the separation of the church and state. They are circulating literature against feudalistic organizations in society, and all this is due to the fact that we permit them to separate themselves from our own organization and do not require them, through contact with the organized party in this country, to keep in touch with the organizations and institutions of our own country. I believe that we must force them in some way to come in touch with the locals in our counties or cities and the way to do that is to oblige them to buy their due stamps from the county organization. We can make the same provision as we do in Cleveland, that they purchase the due stamps at a less rate than the English branches, in order to give them more funds for their own propaganda, but, I believe they should buy through the local secretary. In the state of Ohio the state organization takes this position: That no foreign organization can be a part of the socialist party of Ohio unless they purchase their due stamps through the locals of the Socialist party of Ohio. Otherwise they cannot vote on state or national referendums or on local referendums, or for state officers, and I believe that that position should be taken by the party in the nation at large. (Applause.) And if the Chairman will permit, I move as an amendment to Section 4, that such organizations shall purchase their due stamps at 12 1/2% from the Secretary of the local organization in the county or city.

DEL. SOLOMON of New York: I want to substantiate the remarks made by the comrade from Ohio. It makes no differ-

\*See Appendix O for Foreign Speaking Organization Reports.

ce what resolutions may be adopted by is Convention, if you make no provision hereby these foreign branches should me into closer connection with the local d state organizations, you will have ext- the same situation that you are con- onted with today. At the last congress tain resolutions were adopted, and the mrades thought they had solved the oblem of the foreign-speaking organi- zations. They increased the number of tional translators at the headquarters. ganizations have been formed in the ferent states, entirely independent of e local and state organizations; no con- ction whatever with them. In fact, ere is one in the city of Portland, liated with the national organization, ying dues to the national organization, ich was all the time under the impres- n that they were part of the Socialist bor Party! They were affiliated with e national organization and did not even ow the name of that organization.

And this is exactly the condition you going to bring about by maintaining e independent organizations, having 'connection whatever with the state local organizations. It is all very l to put in a provision that these eign-speaking branches shall be an in- dependent part of the national organiza- , but the only way to make them a t of the organization is to bring them o connection with the local and state ganizations. Of course, the difficulty es that the state and local organiza- ns have rules of their own, and it will necessary to provide rules under which h can work without interfering with h other, according to our interpreta- of state autonomy. If you want to ke it possible for the foreign-speaking anches to maintain their activity as or- ganizations, if you want them to get into work of the Party in the United tes, and to cease from lines of propa- and which have no bearing upon the ation in this country, you must bring n into closer connection with the local e state organizations. Let them pur- se their stamps from the local and e organizations—we are willing to give at cost—and take an active part in rk of that state.

PANKIN of the Jewish Agitation want to say, in the first place, uage groups do not come in s as those mentioned by the e committee. We repre- hat is not affiliated with the ce but is nevertheless a lan- up. My proposition that I sub- o that Committee embodied all of dent features of the report, except e due stamps shall be purchased ct from the local or state committees reduced price. The recommendation I made provided that due stamps d be purchased at 10 cents instead of e. The amendment made by Delegate er that these branches be enabled to ase their due stamps at 12½ cents, ld not give them sufficient funds to y on their propaganda among the ign workmen. We have to make er provision for this, because in this try today, it seems to me, that more half of the proletariat is foreign king. A great majority of the people ing in the steel mills and in the s are foreign speaking, and we must e these branches sufficient funds to y on their agitation amongst them. e same time I entirely agree with ate Solomon that it should not be a atist movement. It is high time to

give up the separatist movement o come together in our work.

DEL. BARNES: I would like to the from Comrade Solomon how he propo- to overcome the difficulty of communica- ing with the foreign-speaking organiza- tions?

DEL. LE SUEUR: It takes a little time to explain this question. I want you to understand that it is impossible to get a proposition that will be entirely satisfac- tory to every one, but I want this delega- tion to understand that this problem that is confronting you now is just as import- ant as any other proposition that will come before we close this Convention.

There are two sides to the question. There is one side that you will all agree with, and I think you will agree with both sides—and that is that it is of the utmost importance for the Socialists that the foreign-speaking people shall be or- ganized. That is an important part. Again, it is also just as important that the organizations of foreign-speaking people may be brought into contact with the American movement. The foreign-speaking socialist, coming to this country from Europe, comes here with European notions. He has made his propaganda under entirely different conditions from what he finds here. One of our most im- portant duties is to bring the foreign socialist, or non-socialist, into touch with the English-speaking branches, and I agree with Delegate Solomon when he says so; but you cannot get a man who does not either read or speak English to write a communication to the secretary of the local who speaks only English. I have been in correspondence with the Socialist Party since it has been formed, and I have organized French locals in most of the States, and the secretaries of those states who are here will agree with me, and they all failed to maintain their existence for the single and sole reason that it was hard to get a secretary that could translate a communication from the state or national office, or get a secre- tary that could write to the state or national office. This is a difficulty that we must overcome. Now, if you have 20 or 25, or 50 branches in your State, and these have to communicate with the county or local to get their due stamps, you must get 25 men that are able to un- derstand and able to write the English language, while, if they communicate with their translator, they can do business even if they don't speak English. In some of the local organizations you might find a man who can speak but who cannot write it, who can come to your local meeting and take part in its business and as a delegate to the branch, but he could not take his pen and write a letter to order due stamps. We know all these difficul- ties because we have come in contact with them. It is not a theory, it is a fact. The French have no foreign-speaking organi- zation and I am not speaking for myself. It is not necessary for me; but I would like to see the French of this country, as well as the other nationalities, have a chance to organize with the American Socialist movement, and when they are organized, have the facilities for co-oper- ating with you to build up a strong Socialist movement of all nationalities in this country.

Now, then, in regard to making a cer- tain amount for dues, you cannot do it, because the amounts vary in the different states. You cannot say 10 or 12 or 14 cents; but if you simply say that we pay one-half that will apply in all states.

## NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

the in port as Comrade Solomon has said, this other denation must work according to the any ses of State autonomy. We cannot it in cre anything down the throats of the us Socialists, but I believe that all socialists will abide by any proposition that will be clearly for the advantage of the Socialist Party. And that is why we are saying—if you don't do something to facilitate the work of organizing and maintaining our organizations among the foreign-speaking people, somebody else will, and will get them away from you. We must have as strong organization of all nationalities, of all languages, so that we may be prepared to take the immigrant in hand when he comes to this country. A large number of French people who were active in the Socialist movement in France—and it is the same with people of other nationalities—after they have come to America have simply not been able to get in touch with any branch, and have dropped out entirely from Socialist activities or have become active in some other channels that are opposed to the principles of the Socialist Party. We want to get all of these people into our movement; and we ask you Comrades of this Convention, not to stick at technicalities, not to stick at a question of a few dollars—this will bring you a great many more dollars. Accept the proposition of the Committee, the best we have been able to get for you. It is not perfect but none of you could get one that would be satisfactory to all of this Committee, one that would be perfect.

DEL. CAROLINE LOWE of Illinois: I feel that I am competent to speak on this question. Last year I served on the constitution committee, and when the foreign-speaking comrades came before us with their proposition we were not clear upon the point. Since then I have tried to make it my business to investigate the matter. I had opportunity to do so, because at one time our meeting place was in the same building with those of the foreign comrades. It was an utter impossibility for us to induce the foreign comrades to join our organization for the simple reason that we could not understand one word we were saying. It was just as important that I should understand what they were saying and I could not do it. It would be impossible. It would be impossible for me to attend their meetings and take an interest in the proceedings. And if they are to join the Socialist Party and to work intelligently with us, they must do it along the lines upon which they can reach their people. They cannot reach their people through English-speaking organizations. The foreign-speaking men will not come into our organizations.

We had exactly the same experience when I was living in Kansas City. Out from Girard, Kansas, there are several mining villages, in which the miners are nearly all of foreign birth. They cannot come into the English-speaking branches, because they do not understand our language. But we can organize them into foreign-speaking locals and do great good.

The same thing is true in connection with the Women's Department. The very fact that we have translator secretaries is a great help to us in reaching the women of foreign nationalities. In their own country, as well as here, the Finnish comrades are splendidly organized, and it is a very simple matter for us to reach the Finnish women with our message, be-

cause we have a Finnish translator who translates our message.

I speak for the adoption of the resolution. I am confident that the best result can come from it. We need them in our organization; and as fast as they are educated to the point where they can come they will come in. Just as they do in our meeting-place in Chicago, they will come in as soon as they can work intelligently with us. As soon as they can understand the English language they will come very eagerly.

DEL. LATIMER of Minnesota: There are two sides to this question. Most of the comrades that have been talking in favor of this question, represent foreign-speaking organizations as agreeing with them absolutely as to their organization. I do not think it would be wise to establish a Jewish translator secretary, because the Jewish comrades do not understand English. We have a translator secretary that we do not need, and that is the Scandinavian translator secretary. Up in Minnesota where about every other man is a Scandinavian, they came up there with their organizer, came in the English-speaking locals, and almost destroyed several locals. I don't believe we need a separate translator secretary for the German branches. But, on the other hand, we have in Minnesota, almost 3,000 Finnish comrades. Those comrades cannot write down to the State office in English, and if you take and compel the comrades to communicate with the State office, pay their dues to it, do all the business with the State office and force them into the organization, what are you going to do? You are going to destroy that splendid Finnish organization in the State of Minnesota. They are not organized in Finnish-speaking organizations because they desire to remain separate and apart from us. They are compelled because they do not understand the language. These comrades want to learn English; but you can't get anywhere saying "If you don't do it you cannot be the Socialist Party." I say, therefore, that you should go a little slow in saying—"If you want to become Socialist you have got to become English-speaking socialists, allied with the English-speaking socialists and paying dues directly to the State organizations." Why, we would have to hire a translator secretary in every state where there are many of the foreign-speaking comrades, because, I know that hardly a day passes by that I do not get a letter in some South Slav tongue or Finnish, which I have to get some comrade to translate. I write in and ask if they can write their own language. I think we will much better if we just hold out the hand to them, and tell them to work in their own organizations and come together in such things as would interest us all.

DEL. MERRICK of Pennsylvania: I move to change the amendment to 12 cents, where it says 12½.

DEL. NOVAK from the Bohemian organization: Most of us, like myself, have been in America only ten years. We know that the State and the Church separated long ago, in America; so we do not have to do it. What the foreign-speaking organizations are doing, on this question is that they are fighting back the churches that are fighting socialism, we have a right to do it and it is our duty to do it and we will do it. We will stick our noses in the English-speaking organizations where they have preached

ministers. We never ask them. We never want to tell them "You have to throw them out." That is none of our business, because it don't hurt us in our branches. It is business of theirs. If the preacher is all right it is none of our business.

DEL. MERRICK: A point of order; there is an amendment before the house. The delegate is not so speaking to the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point is not well taken. The delegate must have some attitude.

DEL. NOVAK (Resuming): So much for the Church question. I don't know where Pankin got the idea that the delegates of the foreign-speaking organizations do not agree. It is only the State of New York that does not agree. As long as the foreign-speaking organizations agree, by their delegates, it don't matter if he doesn't agree. He don't know anything about selling stamps. I don't think we have to take into consideration the opinion of comrades who are not experienced along this line. So I think the best we can do is to compel the others to go to conventions and congresses of the Socialist Party, and not to allow one secretary to go against the whole convention or the whole congress of the Socialist Party.

DEL. AALTONEN of Michigan: I happen to be a member of a foreign-speaking organization, viz., the Finnish. In 1910 at the congress at Chicago, provision was made for the organization of these foreign-speaking federations within the American Socialist Party. At that time there was only one or two comparatively small organizations affiliated with the American Socialist Party. Now we have six or seven, and five or six more that are ready to come in. Our Finnish organization has probably made more progress than all the rest of the organizations together, since its organization. In 1910 our membership numbered about 6,000. Now we number 12,000; and last year the 217 Finnish locals in the American Social-

ist Party have transacted about worth of business. This shows the plan laid down last Congress is not tical. This shows that it does not the foreign workingmen in America the touch with the Socialist movement, to cannot compel him to do anything. If e could compel the Finlanders to do an thing, then the Russians would have bee. able to compel us to do something which they have been trying to do for hundreds of years. There is nothing that can compel people who know their rights, to do anything.

All these foreign-speaking comrades have joined in this plan read by our secretary on the platform. All of us have agreed with him. The view we have taken in this matter is not to give these foreign-speaking branches any distinct national organization. That is the only proposition.

The proposition is to organize them, because I am one of those who believe in organization and nothing else. Organization is the only thing that will emancipate the laboring class. According to the last census there are about 18,000,000 foreign-born people in America. What are you going to do with them?

There have been comrades on the floor of this Convention who have said that in some localities, viz., in New York and in Cleveland, Ohio, as I understood, the foreign comrades in those localities have absolutely nothing to do with the local organizations. This is no fault of theirs. It is the fault of the American socialists, because they don't do anything in order to get in touch with them. There is not a single Finnish organization in the entire country that is not affiliated with the local and county organizations, that have been requested to do so; but in many cases the American comrades seem to have the idea that these comrades are a different sort of people, having nothing to do with the American people.

The convention then took a recess until 2:30 p. m.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m. by Chairman Carey.

DEL. AALTONEN (Mich.): Comrade George Sirola, Vice President of the Finnish Parliament, from Helsinki, Finland, is with us this afternoon. He is a member of the Socialist party of Finland and I wish to move that the floor be granted to him for five minutes to address this body.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there are no objections we will suspend the regular order. I appoint Comrades Aaltonen of Michigan and Fenner of Massachusetts to escort Comrade Sirola to the platform.

Comrade Sirola on ascending the platform was greeted with rousing cheers by the convention.

COMRADE SIROLA: Comrade Chairman and Comrades:

I bring to you fraternal greetings from the struggling proletariat of a small nation and wish to bring to your attention a question which is very important for that nation and which has been recommended to the attention of the revolutionary proletariat in all lands by the last International Congress in Copenhagen. I wish to state that the gist of that question—the Finnish question—is for us by no means the maintenance of the old constitutional rights, and the State Autonomy of Finland, which rights tyrannical Czarism has endeavored to steal from us, but it is a

fight for the maintenance of those new Democratic rights which the Finnish proletariat succeeded in winning through the general strike during the days of the Russian revolution.

These rights which are so essential for the proletariat in its class struggle are now in danger. It is clear that the Czar, the Grand Duke of Finland, has the aid of the exploiting class of Finland in his efforts to suppress the workers. The exploiting class there, as everywhere, have forgotten all the beautiful phrases about liberty, patriotism, constitutionality and legality, which were so often on their lips before the proletariat began to gather under the red banner.

Though the Socialists of Finland are proud of having been able, first, to secure universal suffrage for all men and women, and second, to gather over 330,000 votes for socialism during the last four years, giving us 87 representatives in the Finnish Parliament out of a total of two hundred, twelve of these socialist representatives being women; yet the proletariat of Finland well understand that their fight is only a part of the international struggle of the working class, and that the final emancipation of the Finnish workers can be achieved only through the efforts of the united proletariat in all lands.

sent when the liberties of our nation being threatened more than ever in the eyes of the comrades in Finland the first place set upon a new rising port the Russian proletariat; and in the other did place, we look upon the working class in the great industries of Capitalism, apprehending that their awakening into a conscious class struggle is a prime condition for securing democracy and liberty of the Nation.

Since coming to your country, to this mighty land of industrialism, and having opportunity to travel considerably and investigate the life and doings of the people, I am convinced that here, if anywhere, the class struggle must be fought without regard to race or nationality. I am glad to say that I have found the workers from our little land, whom Capitalism has driven here in search of a labor market and for a time to sell their labor power for a small consideration, have now in great numbers learned to speak the international language of the working class in strikes, demonstrations, and at the ballot box, together with the American working men. I am glad also to see that they are endeavoring to bring themselves closer and closer to the American working class and with that end in view have started a college for Finnish Socialists, which, they are busy moulding into a real Socialist College for the use of American workers.

My dear Comrades! Returning to the Finnish question I would like to say further that I would like to direct your attention to the proletariat in that corner of the world, and I am convinced that you will grant your moral support and sympathy with the struggle of our Comrades there, especially at this time when the struggle is approaching its climax. (Applause.)

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN-SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before the house is the report of the Committee on International Relations to which two amendments have been offered. I understand that there is some desire that copies of these reports of committees be generally distributed or at least that they should reach every delegate.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): I think it is due to the delegates of this convention that every report shall be printed in order that we may know exactly what we are voting on. I move therefore that we discontinue the discussion of the report at this time and ask to have it immediately printed.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move to table that motion.

The motion to table was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now is upon the postponement of consideration until such time as the report is printed.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): I wish to inquire if this action is deferred whether any other committee is ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is unable to reply to that question. Are you ready for the question of postponing action on the report?

The motion of Delegate Goebel was then declared lost.

DEL. MAHONEY (Mass.): I move the previous question.

The motion for the previous question was seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now comes upon the report of the committee and the pending amendment. One on one side and one on the other are entitled to five minutes each. The Chair in view of

the number desiring to speak, will give the floor to members of delegations that have not spoken upon the question. Delegate Spargo of Vermont.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): Has Delegate Spargo spoken on this question? That is a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Under parliamentary rules there is no such thing as a point of information. While every one of the delegates may need information the Chair will not recognize it. Delegate Spargo has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): I ask the delegates to vote in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee. I ask that view of the experience that we have had on the National Executive Committee during all the years that I have been on the committee. It has been one of the greatest possible difficulties to know how to organize efficiently our foreign-speaking proletariat in a country where the proletariat is becoming overwhelmingly foreign speaking. I say to you that the idea that it can be handled by distinct committees is not borne out by the experience of our committee. It is not borne out by the experience of the party in any State in the union. We want to enable our Finnish comrades, our Swedish comrades, our Jewish comrades to maintain and carry on the splendid organizations that they have formed under this method.

A DELEGATE: You have no foreigners in Vermont. What do you know about it?

DEL. SPARGO: It is not true that we have no foreigners in the State of Vermont. We depend very largely in the State of Vermont for our movement upon the foreigner in the industrial centers and so far as we are concerned the industrial life of Vermont is very largely maintained by a foreign-speaking proletariat. I believe that the arrangement proposed by the committee is the very best arrangement that we can possibly have. On the other hand I believe that the amendments proposed are fatal to any effective organization of our foreign-speaking comrades in this country. It is said by way of objection to the report, and in support of the amendment that is offered, that foreign speaking comrades who have learned to speak English draw out of the English speaking locals and go into the foreign-speaking locals. That is not an objection. It is a big advantage. That is what we want to do. What can we ask better than when a comrade coming from Italy or some other country has been in the country long enough to learn the language and in the movement long enough to understand our party, where can we use him better, in our English speaking branches or in the branches among the people from his own country, who must go through the same evolution and who need his help, his guidance and his experience, if we are ever to have an effective organization of those people? Vote down the amendments and adopt the report of the committee as it stands.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): It is unfortunate for delegates to speak on a subject that they know nothing about. This is not a question of abolishing the foreign organizations. That is point number one. Nobody wants to abolish them, and therefore, that need not be discussed. The foreign organizations will remain, whether you vote for the original motion or for the amendment. There is no question here of abolishing the translator secretaries. They will remain as they are, whether you vote for the original motion or adopt

amendment, so that all that eloquence wasted. What is desired here is that language branches should remain as are, having the translator secretaries they have them, but that instead of giving their due stamps from the national office through the translators, they get them from the locals and branches state officers, and that is all that is to be discussed. Now, it is said here that the Socialist organization is the most successful, and that therefore, they must maintain the status quo. The Finnish organization is the most successful of all foreign organizations. The bulk of members pay dues to the state organization and not to the national executive committee. There is only one Finnish organization in the state of New York belonging to the Socialist party that pays dues to the national organization. The dues are paid to the different locals or to the state organization. Here is an illustration in answer to all the arguments against the amendment. The most successful organization is paying dues as the amendment contemplates, and the comrades representing the Finnish organizations are against the amendment. I do not understand. There is evidently some misunderstanding. The Finnish organizations would benefit by the action of the amendment, because now they are paying double dues. This amendment contemplates giving them a remission of dues which they have been paying and therefore, the Finnish organizations should certainly support the amendment. As it is now they have to pay 15c and then pay again to the local organization. Under the present arrangement, what do we find? Agitators go into the locals and pull them out of the party. Have that in the state of New York. In a branch, many an organization has been pulled out of the Socialist party in this way. Now, this amendment will require their maintaining their separate organizations, but they will be an integral part of the Socialist party. The members speaking the foreign languages belong to the English speaking organizations, it is true they cannot correspond or talk to each other, but we see this difficulty is overcome in the case of the Finnish organizations, which are able to carry on their correspondence. Therefore, we should vote for the amendment.

A question was put on the amendment of the amendment, that stamps shall be passed from the locals, and the proposition was defeated. The amendment was also lost. The original motion to adopt the report of the committee was then put and adopted. The motion of Del. Russell of New York, in support of the platform committee was a special order for an evening session tonight (Thursday), beginning at 8 o'clock.

#### DIVISION OF TIME.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): I move that in cases where committees make majority and minority reports the same amount of time be given to each report. This is not included in the rule. I move its adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will recognize a motion that does not violate the rules. The rules say that the Chairman is allowed to twenty minutes; that is the limit of the committee.

DEL. SPARGO: A point of order. At the time of the adoption of that rule, I was requested from the chairman of the convention a ruling upon that point,

and the convention was assured that the same amount of time would be given to the chairman of the minority and the chairman of the majority, and that was the understanding when we adopted that rule.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order, but if the Secretary has that upon the records, it will stand.

THE SECRETARY: That is so.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary confirms that, and it stands that the spokesmen directly for the majority and minority will both be given the time stated in the rules. That stands as the rule of this body.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVES.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next committee is the Committee on Co-operatives. Are they ready to report?

DEL. GAYLORD: Yes.

DEL. LINDGREN (N. Y.): I have a minority report.

THE CHAIRMAN: On what?

DEL. LINDGREN: On this co-operative movement.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well. Under the rule the minority may be heard.

DEL. LINDGREN: But the report is not in print. Is it necessary to have it in print?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not at all, if they take your word for it; if they do not order it printed, they will take it for granted. It is a question of ordering the printing. Delegate Gaylord, for the Committee on Co-operative Commonwealth.

DEL. GAYLORD, Chairman, reporting for the Committee:

The Chairman suggests that this is the Committee on Co-operative Commonwealth. Lest there be a misunderstanding on this subject, as there has been, I beg to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the Committee is not appointed for that purpose, but to consider the facts relating to the co-operative movement and to make recommendations. Do I understand, Mr. Chairman, that the chairman reporting for the committee has five minutes before the vote is taken, to close the debate?

THE CHAIRMAN: I so understand it.

DEL. GAYLORD: If that is the understanding, very well. The report is very brief, and since it is nothing but a plain statement of facts, I will with your permission read it before any argument is made.

The report of the Committee on Co-operatives was then read.\*

(Vice-Chairman M. W. Simons in the Chair.)

DEL. GAYLORD: This report is signed by all the members of the Committee except one. This member told me frankly at the beginning of the Committee's work that he was opposed to the co-operative movement in any sense and to having it recognized, but would not object to its being investigated, and would report further in his own behalf.

Now, the statements, which are here in this report formulated, coincide with other recorded statements of the International Socialist movement. Delegates wishing to verify this statement of mine can secure, at the literature stand in the lobby here, copies of the report of the Socialist party delegation and proceedings of the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in 1910. I think they will charge you a nickel for it; they charged me that much.

\*The report is printed in full, Appendix E.—Editor.

## NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

On page 15 of this document is given in full the resolution on co-operation, with something of the discussion, and there is the statement that the resolution was adopted, the American delegates voting in its favor.

There has been a development in the attitude of the Socialist movement with reference to the co-operatives in other countries. It is well known that in the earlier days Lassalle proposed co-operative societies which should be founded by the aid of capital to be furnished by the state. This was ridiculed, on the other hand, by others. If I do not give this history accurately, there are those here who are able to do it. I give it as best I may from such study as I have been able to make.

Others in the Socialist movement in Germany ridiculed this idea, saying, "What state will give aid to a working class movement of co-operatives unless it be a Socialist state? And then you won't need co-operatives." And so for the time being that whole question was brushed aside and the political agitation concentrated very largely the attention of the workers of that nation and that movement.

Gradually, however, there came in the insistence upon the possibility of gaining for the workers some benefit through the co-operative movement, in the industrial co-operatives, and in the consuming societies, as they call what we know as distributive co-operatives.

Opposed to this was the argument based upon what has been called the iron law of wages, namely, that it was impossible by the workers to benefit by any reduction in the cost of their living, through the supposed success of the co-operatives, the argument being—Engels made this argument at one time—that if, in any given community the cost of living is reduced by twenty per cent., the only result will be that the capitalist class will then reduce wages by a similar amount, and then the workers will not be any better off.

In the face of this argument, in the face of the strong prejudice, in the face of the well known handicap to any such co-operative effort in any kind of a working class community, the co-operative movement nevertheless began, prospered, grew and thrived in Germany, until today it takes hold of unfavorable industries, organizes them with capital owned by the workers, avowedly for the purpose of improving industrial conditions, and makes good. They do it; that is all; they do it. Maybe they cannot; maybe it is not orthodox; perhaps it is contrary to Marx or Engels and does not jibe with the classical literature. But they do it; it is a fact.

Your Committee does not ask nor recommend that the Socialist party of America here today shall endorse the co-operative movement. The co-operative movement does not care whether you endorse it or not, any more than the labor union cares. That is the fact. If you oppose it you will concentrate the energy of those who favor it. If you recommend it you will here and there temporarily increase activities which may for the time being, because ill advised and hasty, lead to temporary failures. We ask you neither to endorse nor to condemn. We ask you simply to look it over. There it is. Go and find out what it is, before anything further is said. But, it is there.

We do not claim advantages in our report. Frankly, I am convinced personally. But the report simply says that those who are most closely connected with this

movement claim benefits of three sorts, kinds, and these are mentioned in the report. I trust that the comrades notice carefully the language of the report. Don't think we are saying anything which we are not saying, and think we are trying to get you to something which we do not ask you to.

The benefits claimed relate, first, to the furnishing of an improved quality of goods and other supplies. Second, the increase of economic resources, in control of the purchasing power of those who co-operate and in building up reserve funds; these things are claimed. And then, third, the training of the workers in the capacity of administering their own economic affairs.

These are the claims. Personally, I think their claims are justified. I do ask you, representing the Socialist party of America, to say so, and I do not understand that the adoption of this resolution justifies or fortifies or endorses this claim. All it does is to appoint a committee to go out and investigate the facts and report from time to time the facts concerning the co-operative movement.

We ask you to do this, your Committee, in view of the failures, this warning which is sounded in this report. Co-operatives fail. Well, all kinds of business fail anyhow. Even the stores are busted sometimes and swallowed up by each other, and if some co-operative stores and other enterprises should fail it is of course to be expected. Let us find out why they fail in a majority of cases and find out the conditions which are favorable to their failure, and find out conditions under which they succeed. If the investigation shall prove what is claimed by some, that the American co-operative movement is unfavorable for this sort of effort, let the part of the working class, let me find and report in due season. So far as I am concerned, my mind is open to facts on that matter, and I am not prepared today personally to make any definitive statement as to a final conviction, am open to facts.

Meanwhile, the statement that the no successful co-operative movement in the United States is not borne out by the facts presented to your Committee. Comrade Vlag and Comrade Kaplan, one in New York City and the other in Duluth, both of them having had considerable experience in the handling and promoting of these stores, and both of them conducting a wide correspondence with other persons now engaged in similar lines of business, reported to us facts as they have found. In Wisconsin alone, says Mr. Kaplan, there are upwards of 100 branches of the American Society of Equity. Mr. Vlag, who has had extensive correspondence with those carrying on co-operative enterprises, says there are upwards of 100 societies organized and carried on in connection with labor organizations under the name of the Workmen's Union in Wisconsin. Mr. Kaplan says there are upwards of 10 co-operatives in the four states of Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois and Minnesota.

Putting together these two, it looks as though there were about 200 enterprises within the knowledge of these comrades. A minimum statement as to the amount of business that these stores do is in the neighborhood of \$2,500 a month. Putting together this total, it looks as though we were justified in saying that there is somewhere in the neighborhood of \$500,000 worth of business done by the



prises in a year. That is conservative, think you will admit.

Comrade Vlag reports that in the east-part of the country there are in the neighborhood of 500 Italian local organizations carrying on co-operative enterprises of various sizes, and all of them successful, some of them exceedingly so. Reports others carried on by other nationalities, Bohemian, Finnish and other nationalities. There are also other farm-co-operative organizations scattered throughout the country. Your Committee does not have at hand any definite information excepting common knowledge, as I say in the report, concerning co-operatives in other parts of the country, and expecting that one member of our committee reported that there exists in Seattle for instance, a wholesale co-operative selling goods to about fifty co-operative stores on the western coast, mainly Washington.

Thus we are in fairly close touch with these different wings of this movement. I understand once that there is no central organization, but that there is a widespread organization throughout the nation, in practically every state. I, myself, can bear witness, having traveled in most of the states and run across it. In the southwest they are numerous. Another member of our Committee, Comrade Noble, is in personal contact with them in Oklahoma, and so we know they are there. We know they are prosperous. I know they have been in existence somewhere upwards of twenty years, have lasted over from the old Grange days. So we cannot deny the existence of the co-operative movement in the United States, though it is not unified.

Now, if in other countries the workers could find it possible to secure ownership by groups of workers of industrial commercial capital, and to administer this capital for their own benefits, if the workers have thus increased their economic resources, have thus been able to fight their industrial battles, and have thus been able to finance their political battles, that is a matter of great interest to us.

In addition to that, Kautsky and other writers in the Socialist party movement, Gonzale of Belgium, have pointed out the fact of the educational effect upon the workers concerned in the management of these co-operative enterprises. Gonzale especially points out the necessity for training, the discipline, the development of the capacity of self control on the part of the workers to enable them to administer the business of society. And the way to learn to do is to do. I know no other way in which I learned to do things but by doing them. Some comrades test that I talk too much. That is because I have talked a good deal and learned how to talk. I did not learn to keep by keeping quiet.

Now, your Committee is not prejudiced on this matter one way or another; and in saying I wish simply to say this: The economic conditions in the United States such as are made possible, and some seem to bring forth this economic movement. It does not wait for us to do it. It is not our business as a party to undertake the organizing of the co-operatives any more than it is our business to undertake the organizing of labor unions of any kind. But as individual workers, if we find that under given conditions in different communities we can help ourselves as workers and can ben-

efit the working class by proceeding in this direction, we shall do it, whether the Socialist party approves or not. But it is a proper function of the Socialist party to discover the facts concerning this movement, its possibilities, its history, and to make such recommendations and statements of fact as may prevent the comrades from making costly experiments, which are unnecessary when experience is available.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman rules that in order to bring this matter before the house the minority report will be heard before we proceed to discuss. Is the report for the minority ready?

DEL. GOAZIOU: I was going to make a motion to accept the report. I move to accept the report.

#### MINORITY REPORT.

DEL. LINDGREN (N. Y.): In bringing this minority report before you, I want to say at the start that I have no intention at all of belittling the co-operative movement or anything that can be found of benefit to the working class as such. My reason for making the minority report is that in the majority report it practically contains an endorsement of the co-operative movement, and I do not think that we, as a convention here, should endorse anything that we do not know something about.

Now, I want to point out something to Comrade Gaylord. He says this is not an endorsement. I will read the first section of his report: "Just as the labor unions fight for industrial self control for the working class, the socialist party for political self control, and the labor and Socialist class for intellectual self control for the workers, so the co-operative movement fights for an increasing degree of economic self-control for the workers through the ownership and use of industrial and commercial capital by organized groups of the workers."

Now, we all know that labor unions do benefit the working class in their fight for immediate demands. We also know that the press and the Socialist party means to assist the workers. But, as yet, there have been no facts laid before us that the co-operative movement as such will benefit the workers in America. I contend that the conditions in this country, as far as the co-operative movement is concerned, are not the same as they are in Europe; and even though it may have been recognized by the International Congress at Copenhagen, we want to take into consideration that the International Congress also endorsed the immigration question and endorsed the race question, which when they endorsed them, they did not know the conditions that existed in America.

The Socialist party today at this convention, if a vote was taken here, would stand divided on those two questions, and the co-operative movement as such is in the same position. We do not know anything about it. Now I want to read this report to you.

(Del. Lindgren then read the minority report, as follows:)

#### MINORITY REPORT COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVES.

At the present stage and strength of the Socialist Party, I am opposed to it engaging in or endorsing any form of co-operative business for the following reasons:

## NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

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1st. That it has been the experience in those sections where efforts have been made along co-operative lines, to draw away from the party active members formerly rendering invaluable services to its propaganda work, and thus disrupting the party organization in such localities.

2nd. That in such localities the funds used in establishing co-operatives, invariably diminished the financial assistance rendered to the party organization, for propaganda and agitation and that in this country, at this time, there are but a few, if any, sections where the Socialists are sufficiently strong in numbers to make such proposition feasible without jeopardizing the party's activity and growth.

3rd. That in such sections which have come under my personal knowledge and observation, this movement has been disruptive, and party members who had advanced money lost in most cases all they put in. Other reasons could be advanced, but I think the two first are sufficient to cause this convention, to recognize the proposed step of going into or endorsing, especially, business co-operative propositions as dangerous to the growth and progress of the party.

The impatience of some comrades and their enthusiasm to push the Socialist Party ahead, should not be allowed to stam pede this convention, or for it to ignore the knowledge gained by experience of the past.

I therefore recommend that a committee of five (5) be elected by this convention to investigate the relation between the co-operative movement and that of the Socialist Party, not alone in its relation to the working class as consumers, but also as producers, this committee to report at the next National Congress of the Socialist Party.

Fraternally submitted,

E. LINDGREN.

DEL. LINDGREN: I want to say that in making these statements I speak from personal experience. In Brooklyn we had three co-operative stores which failed within one year. There was probably lost during that time anywhere from three to five thousand dollars on those three stores. In those sections of Brooklyn where these stores existed the party organization was, you might say, disorganized. The active members in the party organization who took up the co-operative work, when these stores failed they staid away from the party organization. It required us practically a year and a half to build up the organization again in those sections of Brooklyn where the stores had existed. That has not alone been the experience of Brooklyn, but it has been the experience of several sections on Long Island and in some parts of New Jersey, in which, I believe, the delegates will bear me out, where co-operative stores have existed.

Another reason, which I believe is probably the strongest reason for not endorsing it, or for not taking it up until we investigate the proposition, is that brought out when Comrade Kaplan was before the Committee. He stated at the Committee meeting that the prices of commodities had gone down. I asked him if it was not a fact that in Duluth, at the time when the prices went down, wages also went down for the workers, which he admitted; showing that the co-operative movement, is no benefit for the workers, and that we as such should not take it up. If it is simply for a reduction in wages, why should we bother with it? Why

should we waste our time with it? I personally I do not see anything in it. I merely a policy of Capitalism of some sort which we as Socialists should not into. I move the adoption of the Minor Report.

(Motion seconded.)

DEL. KAPLAN (Minn.): I would like to move an amendment to the Major Report, unless Comrade Gaylord will be willing to incorporate it. In the fourth paragraph the Committee say: "Following the path of other national organizations of the Socialist party, the Socialist party of America must recognize the fact of the existence on the American continent of a successful co-operative movement." If he would strike out the word "Successful," leaving the rest stand as is, in that section, I would not insist on the motion. (Amendment seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a motion to amend.

DEL. KAPLAN: Will Comrade Gaylord or rather majority, accept that amendment?

DEL. GAYLORD: I can see what may be possibly construed there. If that means finally successful, absolutely successful, I could not stand for it, of course. But, Comrade Kaplan furnished the best evidence for the use of that word himself.

DEL. KAPLAN: Not unless it is understood.

DEL. GAYLORD: There are individual co-operative stores which are successful and have been so for years, and there are many of these.

DEL. KAPLAN: There are many private corporations that are also successful.

DEL. GAYLORD: That is not in the co-operative movement.

DEL. KAPLAN: Well, I ask whether you will accept that?

DEL. GAYLORD: Perhaps you better let the convention pass on that.

DEL. KAPLAN: I would say, speaking to the amendment, that I hold to this position: Fundamentally, it is a movement under the Capitalistic state. If you could organize the producing powers of the working class, the producing powers of the farmers of the country, and unite them as producer and consumer in the distributive field, and get the trade union movement into it, and if then you unite the working class—and by working class I mean the farmers and the city workers—you have the means and the possibility, even within the capitalistic state, of developing an institution that will be a far greater factor than the organized trade union movement of this country. But, as I say, it all depends upon the possibility of unifying. Without the co-operative movement you cannot have co-operation.

I never made the statement as the committee of the minority report has tried to infer, that wages in Duluth had gone down, but I did say, in reply to his question, that it did not tend to an immediate reduction of wages in Duluth and elsewhere. To the question whether it tended to a reduction of wages, I answered, yes, and I still answer yes. But remember, you can reduce the cost of living for a year or two years right away and it is going to take some time before wages are going to go down in that community or in the state or in the nation and until that time comes, in the meantime you have an opportunity of developing.

DEL. TUCK (Cal.): A point of order. The motion before the house is to adopt

Minority Report. The amendment offered is an amendment to the Majority Report, and therefore his motion is out of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair rules that Comrade Kaplan is in order. He has one minute more.

DEL. KAPLAN: As I say, I am in favor of the Majority Report with this amendment. To me it does not imply that the Social Socialist party shall go on record in favor of endorsing the co-operative movement. The sole point is this: Do we consider it important enough to elect a committee for the purpose of studying this question, getting all the information and securing all the facts possible from every source available, and presenting them to the next national convention of the Socialist party? That is what I understand to be the whole proposition.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I am opposed to appointing a committee to spend two years on the subject, and then come in all committees, generally speaking, and have been spending two years, and have no report. Let every one of you make yourself a special delegate to come in two or three years from now knowing something about the questions that come before the convention, so that you can vote intelligently, without being misled by people who have been on the committee and who do not know anything about what they have been appointed to investigate. We have had this going in Brooklyn, and it has been a pretty good toe, and it has been stepped on by every nook and crook that wants to come in and utilize this proposition to impose itself upon the Socialists with co-operative stores and such things as that. We have worked and did not get any pay for it. We put our money in and did not get out again. We have had all kinds of ups and downs, and the result has been that in the sections the party has been disorganized.

Delegate Cumble here raised a point of order which the Chair ruled not well in.

DEL. FURMAN: I think I am speaking pretty well to the point, when I am talking about a committee of five to be appointed, which was suggested by both committees in both reports. It does not make any difference whether you appoint a committee or whether you do not; you won't get any report; it won't be up till we come here, and they won't know anything about the subject, those delegates coming here two years from now or four years from now. As I say, we have had experience in Brooklyn, on Long Island in many sections, and in all those districts where the co-operative movement tried the Socialist agitation was entirely dropped in some instances and the organization utterly disbanded, and it was a year and a half in one place before it was restored. They had to go to work and reorganize all over again, just through the attempt to start something among the Socialists in this country so as to keep step with Europe. You cannot make any comparison between the conditions in this country and those in Germany. Here we have a great big country with a few Socialists together. You cannot start a co-operative store unless it be a language store, where the patrons that the co-operative will remain with the other and go to the store on account of the language spoken. But to generally start the starting of business for the uplifting, as Comrade Gaylord and helping the Socialist Party, it is

a rope of sand, a mill stone around the neck of that section where you undertake it.

DEL. PREVEY (Ohio): We have had some experience in our local in the way of forming a co-operative store, and we have thrown away nearly half of our membership in the course of five months. I believe we may possibly in a year get a dividend of ten cents. The co-operative movement has no business in the Socialist movement. If individuals wish to start co-operative stores, let them do it as individuals, but not as organizations. To my mind it is like trying to perfect a little heaven inside of an eternal hell. (Applause.)

DEL. ROSETTE (Md.): I move to amend the Majority Report by inserting, immediately after the first line on the last page, the following: "The Committee shall make a special effort to ascertain what bearing the degree of industrial development and organization in any particular locality has upon the operation of co-operatives in that locality."

A point of order was made that the Majority Report was not before the house for consideration.

THE CHAIRMAN: I believe the point of order is well taken, and that the Chair probably ruled wrong in the case of Comrade Kaplan. Let us dispose of the Minority Report. I will hear the comrade from New York.

DEL. BURCKLE (N. Y.): I would like to go on record as opposed to the Majority Report, for the simple reason that I am absolutely convinced that if we are going to endorse the Majority Report it only means that we are going to absorb a great amount of energy. I am, on the other hand, also absolutely convinced that if we are going to concentrate our entire energy on the political field with all these questions, which are nothing else but mere branches of the immediate demands for the solution of the evils in society, we will be absolutely wasting our energy over these demands, whatever they may be. Therefore, I say, comrades, I am convinced that we have no right to destroy, indirectly or directly, our activity by separating and organizing various organizations. I would be in favor of endorsing the Minority Report. At the same time I would like to call your attention to the fact that the minority as well as the majority demands the election of a committee of five to report to you at the beginning of the next convention.

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. LONDON (N. Y.): A point of inquiry. We have a majority report before us and the original motion. The minority report is in the nature of an amendment to the majority report. The amendment offered to the minority report is an amendment to the amendment. Thus we have six or seven different propositions before us, and we will not know how to vote as delegates. I ask for a ruling. I ask the Chair to rule that the majority report is the original motion and the minority report is an amendment to the majority report, and that the amendment to the minority report is an amendment to the amendment. In this way you will have the entire question before the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall rule as I started to rule in the beginning, that the majority report is before the house, that the minority report is an amendment, and that we now have an amendment to an amendment.

DEL. GAYLORD: A matter of personal privilege—

DEL. SLOBODIN: Let me ask Comrade Gaylord a question, so that he may, if he will, answer at the same time.

DEL. GAYLORD: Very well.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Will he accept the substitution for the word "capital" in the first paragraph, of the words "the means of production and distribution?"

DEL. GAYLORD: In place of "industrial and commercial capital?"

DEL. SLOBODIN: Yes.

DEL. GAYLORD: If the comrades will wait a moment, I think Comrade Slobodin and I can have our little scrape out and tell you what it is about. His question is this: Whether or not the majority will consent to strike out the words "industrial and commercial capital."

DEL. SLOBODIN: Only the word "capital."

DEL. GAYLORD: Only the word "capital?"

DEL. SLOBODIN: Yes.

DEL. GAYLORD: That would confuse it. Insert in place of "capital," his suggestion is, the words "means of production and distribution," and see what you would have then. You would have then "use of industrial and commercial means of production and distribution." But that is tautology. I do not accept it in that form. Now, with reference to that, I am perfectly willing to have as much more discussion as may be brought about, but following out the ruling of the Chair. If the Minority Report is disposed of I shall endeavor to correct the omission by moving at once the adoption of the majority report. That would leave room then directly for amendments to the majority report if that is to be adopted. I saw, when I sat down, that I had omitted to move the adoption of this report. When the Chairman entertained the motion on the Minority Report I was willing to let the matter move in that way, seeing that the process would bring in the course of time the majority report before us if the minority report was disposed of by rejection.

(Del. Carey resumed the Chair.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is informed that the previous question has been ordered and that one on each side has spoken. The next business before the house is action on the matter before the house.

DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.): I want five minutes against the proposition. I am in touch with a co-operative movement, and a successful movement as far as business goes. But, the workers who started that co-operative movement are not a bit better off today. It does a business of \$5,000,000 a year, with its agents in New York City and its agents in different countries of the world. The workers today are not a bit better off, and had they not dispersed their energies in such fool things as a co-operative movement they might be a little bit better off than they are today. (Applause.) I speak of the co-operative movement of Scotland, non-Socialists, but Socialists are connected and I am familiar with it, my father having been one of those who started that thing. Now, then, I am absolutely opposed to the Socialist party going on record as being interested in this thing—absolutely opposed to it. (Applause.) I did not come into this movement to start any benefit society of any description. I came into this movement in the hope that some day I or my child might be free from wage slavery. (Applause.) Now, that is the only thing I am interested in.

If you are interested in this thing, then let us get to work and abolish the system and we will attend to all the other things afterwards. The vital thing is to wipe out this thing, and we will consider all the other things afterwards. Vote down all of the propositions. I am familiar with the co-operative movement. I do not speak in ignorance. I know what I am talking about. We have plenty of time now on this thing.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I take it for granted that I am at this stage speaking in favor of the committee being appointed. If this proposition of the majority was to have the Socialist party go into the co-operative movement I would be opposed to it. The proposition, as I understand it, is to have a committee to investigate the co-operative movement and see if there is anything in it that would be favorable to the working class. Now some of the comrades here have shown you that the co-operative movements in their localities have been a source of danger, that they have been failures, and so on. We have started in many localities local branches of the Socialist party which have failed, and still we try to start again and try to do better. I have been connected with a co-operative store for about ten years, but that has been detracted, as some comrades have said from my activity in the Socialist movement. We have one of the most successful co-operative stores in the country, doing a business of over \$1,000 a week simply in groceries. The manager of that co-operative is one of our most active Socialists in Charleroi. It has been detracted from his activity as a member. We do not come to the Socialist movement; the majority of our members are connected with it. And here is what we have done: Our co-operative movement has paid higher wages to the employees, and by doing so has forced higher wages on some of the other stores in town. We have always been the first in town to sign the agreement with the Clerks' Union. We have tried to raise the standard of wages in the town, showing a co-operative store well managed to be of help to the people who have a little money to devote to Socialism. Now, I do not draw any large amount of money from the co-operative, but I do not put any more for my groceries in the co-operative store than I would elsewhere, and every two or three months I receive a dividend, if you like, of two or three dollars, which I can devote to the Socialist movement where otherwise those two or three dollars would have gone to some petty bourgeois or some capitalist concern in Charleroi, which would be used against Socialism because they are all opposed to it. I would not deal with the enemy. At present we are simply helping to enrich our enemies, and the working class can learn to co-operate and do away with the middle man and keep for themselves whatever little there is to be gained, while fighting against the capitalist system, by causing the downfall of the middle man, let stand by the movement. (Applause.)

That some co-operatives have failed, no argument. When our co-operative movement started, the first year we were \$1,000 behind. But we learned. Comrade Gaylord has well said that it is in doing things that you learn. But let me say to you that this is not a proposition of the Socialist party to go into the co-operative movement. It is a proposition to have the co-operative movement

vestigated and to give us some more knowledge on that movement. I hope this convention will adopt this proposition of the majority and elect a committee that will learn as much as they possibly can about the co-operative movement, and from time to time give us more light, more knowledge on the subject, so that if some comrades some place start a co-operative movement we shall not have as many failures as some of the comrades have talked about. If these comrades in Brooklyn or elsewhere had had the help of suggestions from a committee of this kind and had started their co-operative stores with more knowledge, maybe they would not have failed. The trouble with a good many failures is a lack of knowledge. I am in favor of getting more light on the subject. It will be of benefit to the workers. It is not going to hurt you. And this proposition does not endorse the co-operative movement. The co-operative movement is here, and we want to know all about it. Vote for the report of this majority, and have a committee elected to give us more light on this subject. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question having been ordered, the Chair, owing to the fact that you adopted rules of order that are not clear to anybody but the Chair (laughter), will rule that when the previous question is ordered on an original motion plus an amendment and an amendment to the amendment, it only applies to one part or to the whole according as is stated. The Chair rules that the previous question applies to the amendment, which was the Minority Report and the amendment to the Minority Report. The Chair rules that the question is therefore immediately upon the amendment to the Minority Report.

The Chairman put the question on the amendment to the Minority Report, but did not announce the result.

DEL. SLOBODIN: There is no amendment to the Minority Report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will state the entire matter before the house.

THE SECRETARY: The ruling of the acting Chairman was that the submission of the majority report made that the original motion. Isn't that right?

THE CHAIRMAN: Correct.

THE SECRETARY: That the submission of the Minority Report made that an amendment to the original motion, and that the amendment offered by Kaplan of Minnesota, to strike out one word, the word "successful," from the fourth paragraph of the Majority Report was an amendment to the amendment. So that under that ruling the amendment to the amendment is the motion of Comrade Kaplan of Minnesota.

DEL. FURMAN: How can a comrade make a motion to correct something in the Majority Report before a motion to receive that report?

THE CHAIRMAN: If you ask me why comrades do anything, I never can explain.

DEL. FURMAN: That is all I ask.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well. The rule is plain to the Chair. The question comes upon the amendment to the amendment as stated by the Secretary. This is upon the amendment to the amendment, which was the Minority Report.

The question was put upon the amendment to the amendment, and was lost.

The question was then put upon the adoption of the Minority Report, and the motion was defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question recurs upon the original motion to adopt the Majority Report.

DEL. AMERINGER (Okla.): I want to talk in favor of the Majority Report. I want to say that the co-operative movement is as much a part of the great movement for the emancipation of the working class as the trade union movement or as the Socialist political movement. The sooner the working people of this country understand that, the better it will be. The co-operative movement should be investigated by every Socialist, not only by a committee. In the old country the co-operative movement is the strong arm of the working class. It is not a matter of starting a few little stores here and there, not a matter of getting a few things a few cents cheaper. No, but the co-operative movement is a step in the transformation of society itself, a transformation enabling the working class to own and manage their own business. That is the effect of the co-operative movement. The party in every country in Europe has taken a stand on that movement. Over in Germany, Ferdinand Lassalle was temporarily opposed to it. Frederick Engels was opposed to it. You say nothing will help except the abolition of the capitalist system. Well, the German movement met in Congress and sanctioned the co-operative movement. Here are the facts staring you in the face. In 1899 the co-operative movement started a society in Hamburg. Nearly every party in that city was opposed to the movement, and yet they started in spite of the opposition of a great many members of the party. The result was that after starting one little store with a capital of \$4,500, the Socialists of Hamburg have started 76 stores in that city and 36 butcher shops. The largest slaughter house in Hamburg is run by the co-operatives. The largest bakery is run by the co-operatives. The English co-operatives have gone into business, not to sell groceries alone, but the English co-operatives today are owning their own factories, and there is one factory belonging to the working class of England which sells 6,000 pairs of shoes every day. That is a serious question. It is not a little thing. Now, when our comrades say that it will take the activity of comrades away from the political movement. Why, bless your little hearts, that is like saying you can only drink wine because you cannot eat while you drink. Whether you work in the co-operative movement or whether you work in the trade union movement, or whether you work in the Socialist movement, you are working for Socialism. (Applause.) Now, here are some facts. In every fight that we have had in England, Germany, Belgium, Sweden and Norway, where we have a strong co-operative movement—in every fight it was the co-operative movement with its commissary department, with its bread and butter and salt and cheese, that supported the strikers. (Applause.) While the political Socialists, in case of a strike of the working class, passed resolutions and offered their moral support, the other fellow furnished the strikers with food. There was a question up of the abolition of child labor in factories. The co-operative societies of Germany, Belgium and England, because they were the largest buyers in the field, came together and won. Back of the family of the worker are the infantry of this labor union movement. Back of the labor movement stands the commissary department

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of artillery of this co-operative movement. I am in favor of this report, because the co-operative movement is as essential a part of the great movement for the emancipation of the working class as the trade union or labor union, as the political movement itself. It is proper that you study that thing and not pass over it with a few idle phrases, with a few mild words. I want you to adopt this report. I want you Socialists to read Socialism. I want you to understand what this movement really amounts to. Therefore I am in favor of this report.

Del. Hillquit moved the previous question.

Del. Alexander (Tex.) raised a point of order against the recognition of Del. Hillquit's motion after the Chair had stated what the motion was going to be.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order. The Chair desires to state that in the particular rule in Robert on the previous question his statement that there may be a possibility of a cutting off of debate on the amendment and yet opening it up on the main question, his statement lacked correctness in this particular: That without specifically stating when the motion for the previous question is made and carried, it applied to the entire subject. In this case the Chair said that it applied, in the absence of stating the entire subject, only to the pending amendments. The Chair was in error. Delegate Hillquit of New York borrowed my book and read it over again, and he is quite right and I was wrong. I am the only Chairman that ever admitted himself to be wrong. Now, in order to in a way console myself for my error, I insisted that another exposition of Socialism should be made, after which one on either side will have an opportunity to speak.

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): You have heard Comrade Ameringer of Oklahoma tell us in beautiful language of the wonderful success of the co-operatives in the different countries of the world. In Scotland, in Edinburgh, co-operative stores do millions and millions of dollars' worth of business every year. They raise their own wheat, their own potatoes, their own commodities and yet I want to tell you that the working class of Edinburgh suffer just as much from capitalistic despotism as do the workers in the United States where co-operation is not a success. Wherever under the capitalists' regime the working class are able to purchase commodities cheaper, it inevitably follows that their wages drop. That is a fact. Let us devote our efforts to working on the political field. See where we stand in the State of Pennsylvania. We had that lesson there. Around Wilkes-Barre we have a good Socialist movement years ago, but due to the co-operatives organizing there the Socialist party went to smash. They all went into that and were going to get Socialism right away. Oh, it is a beautiful dream. It is a beautiful Utopia. We are going to organize stores and factories and mills and do this thing. It is almost as Utopian as the I. W. W., and I think the comrades who advocate it ought to go into that organization.

DEL. SMITH (Utah): What I have to say won't take long. This report does not bind the Socialist party to the co-operative principles. The report simply asks that a committee appointed by the convention to study this subject, which

will give us the data, tell us why the Scottish co-operatives are effective, what are their good points and what are their bad points, to study the co-operatives in this country and where they are a failure give us the cause of their failure. It is simply for the appointment of a committee to thoroughly study the question and report, and therefore I am in favor of the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): It has been suggested that a definition of the work of the committee be added in these words, "The committee to make a special effort to ascertain what effect industrial development and organization in any particular locality has upon the operation of the co-operative in that locality." If there be no objection I will add this as part of the majority report.

THE CHAIRMAN: No objection is heard and it will be so ordered.\* The question now comes upon the adoption of the majority report.

The motion to adopt the majority report of the committee on co-operatives was then carried, and the report adopted.

### COMMITTEE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PARTY.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business is the report of the Committee on Labor Organizations and their relation to the Socialist party, which was made a special order. Delegate Harriman will report for the committee.

DEL. HARRIMAN: Before making any statement for the committee on this subject I will ask that the Secretary read the report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade White of Massachusetts, secretary of the committee, will read the report.\*\*

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): I move the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded from all parts of the hall.

DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.): I have twenty minutes to speak on this proposition.

(Cries of "Question.")

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): You have insisted that one on each side has the right to talk. I hope you will carry it out in this case.

DEL. HARRIMAN: This is unanimous.

A DELEGATE: It won't be unanimous if you speak. There will be opposition. (Cries of "Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: There will be no business done until the convention is in order. I was about to put a motion and a member of this convention rose beside me. I could not fail to see him. If I had you would have yelled "steam roller." Now if anybody else wants to talk they will get the floor. He has five minutes.

DEL. HARRIMAN: I speak as Chairman of the committee.

DEL. AMERINGER (Okla.): No, you don't. I am Chairman of the committee.

DEL. HARRIMAN: Let me explain my position. Comrade Ameringer asked me to make a statement before this convention. When he asked me to make that statement I presumed I was speaking as Chairman, but I misunderstood him.

\*For convenience, the passage referred to has been inserted in the report, Appendix E.—[Editor.]

\*\*The report is printed in full as Appendix F.—[Editor.]

A DELEGATE: A point of order. A chairman cannot delegate his time to another member of the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have ruled that anybody else can talk. Don't bother the convention by telling the Chairman what's so palpable, even to a delegate from Ohio.

(Cries of "Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: No business will be transacted until every delegate has taken his seat and the Chair has stated the parliamentary status of the matter before the house. The situation is this: A committee reports unanimously. A motion is made to adopt. The Chair presented the motion. In the absence of a motion for the previous question or to lay upon the table the Chair recognizes a member of the convention to speak upon the motion. That member is Comrade Harriman. What more do you want?

DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.): I will take only five minutes of your time, and it is the first five minutes that I have asked the courtesy of this convention for.

There is a difference between us in this convention. This very demonstration is the evidence of it. We had many a long and weary hour working over this resolution. Six of us reported and the other three finally said they believed that they would sign it because it came as near to their views as any resolution that could be got through this convention. Now the whole situation is this, in a nutshell, so that we may see the reason for our differences, there are in America two great movements, the economic movement on the one hand and the Socialist party of the United States on the other hand. They have fought separately for a quarter of a century or more. The political party has succeeded in drawing into its ranks 125,000 or more only. The labor movement has a much greater number in its organized men. After a quarter of a century of fighting separately, after having failed through all this time to come together, for whatever reason—I won't discuss that now—there are some within the ranks of the political party that are losing hope in the efficacy of political action. I hear a cheer—I knew that was true. On the other hand, the labor movement having conducted its fight on the line of strikes and boycotts alone, for that quarter of a century, there are men there who, having come up against the trusts, have lost hope in the efficacy of the strike and the boycott. Thus standing separately, and having lost hope, they tend toward direct action or syndicalism. Whenever a nation loses hope of a peaceful solution of a problem, that moment all the elements of war are present. Whenever a class or a portion of a class loses hope in its policies, loses confidence in its policy, all the elements of war are there and the idea of direct action grows and a change takes place.

Now between these two great movements comes a movement, a tendency toward direct action, individual, direct action, a tendency towards syndicalism; and this thing that we have in America today is the germ of a syndicalist movement. And the longer you remain apart, the stronger will grow your syndicalist tendencies.

We have here shown that there is a tendency within the labor movement to combine the trades into federations and industrial unions, that the growth is going on there, and if the Socialist party of America comes up close to these men, makes their war our war, makes their

struggle—not for a theory, but for bread—makes that our struggle, makes one common fight with both these powers, that moment you will develop a power in the American movement that will make unnecessary the independent syndicalist movement, and develop one solid, working class party, involving both the political and the economic organizations in one solid phalanx. That is the proposition. (Loud cheering.)

Now look at our resolutions, and read them carefully. For, comrades, what we want here is to understand each other. We want to know each other. Remember, you who have a tendency towards syndicalism are just as honest and square in your fight as are those who have a tendency toward exclusive political action; who have a tendency to go too far in that direction or think that all depends on that.

Listen! You might wipe out political action; but you can never wipe out the struggle for bread. Yet the moment you wipe out political action you come squarely up against the army and navy, as did our syndicalist movement in England, and they turned back to Parliament and asked for a law for a minimum wage and minimum hours. That fact will germinate in the syndicalist movement in England the idea of the necessity of political action in that movement.

Now the question is, men and women, comrades, shall we separate these two great powers? (Shouts of "No!") Shall we do anything to keep them apart? (Shouts of "No.") Shall we organize dual unions, to fight the political organization, or to fight the economic organization? I say, no! We are comrades together. Let us do everything within our power, let every member, as do the Germans, quoting from our friend and fraternal delegate, if not in words yet in spirit, let us every one of us belong to the labor organization, not only belong to it, but fight in it.

The economic fight, this is the thing "that catches the conscience of the king." It is power that your class must develop. You cannot develop power by division; you cannot develop power by separation.

We may have our theories, but your economic organization grows out of the facts, and out of the struggle and the moment the Socialist party says to the economic organizations we don't care where you are working, what your program for the struggle for life, or what you are going to do in your struggle against capitalism, this we will do with you in one united fight.

You don't scatter literature when a man is starving; you throw a beefsteak in his mouth. After you have done that he will read all the literature you will put before him.

Now the Socialist party, as I conceive it, has but one purpose, and that is to apply its philosophy; not to theorize about it, but to apply it. If our theory, if our philosophy has not arisen out of the struggles of the working class, and does not enable us to conduct the economic fight for that class, then our theories and our philosophy will not avail us much.

If the material concept is true, if the conception that men live by bread, and that their ideals are dependent on the bread is true, then let us apply our philosophy to every struggle, for every struggle of the working class against the capitalist class is right, from the standpoint of the working class.

# NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

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DEL. HICKEY (Tex.): Comrades, the impossible has happened. I have been in the labor movement for twenty years with Job Harriman. For nineteen years, eleven months, three weeks and six days we have fought; and for the first time in these twenty years we shook hands within the last two hours. I believe, comrades, that this is a remarkable illustration of the growing solidarity of the Socialist movement. I have been writing, I have been reading labor resolutions to Socialist National Conventions since Wing and Mattchett ran in 1892, and I wish to say, as one of the committee that has struggled away into the small hours of the morning for two nights, and then for three days—I want to say, that this is the broadest and widest, most statesmanlike and farthest reaching resolution on labor unions that has ever been taken up in a Socialist National Convention. It is a magnificent demonstration of our intellectual growth and understanding of one another. The chasm has been bridged and we are now, I believe, for the first time, going to see all this convention shake hands upon this broad, wide sweeping motion, just as the nine men represent discordant element came together and shook hands within the past two years. I believe that it is a happy omen; it is a sign of the times. It is a sign that the day is not far distant when from Portland, Maine, to San Diego, from Michigan to Florida, the entire labor movement, economic and political, will stand together unified as a one, and then we will bury capitalism.

DEL. CLIFFORD: I came to this convention as a delegate at large from Ohio, instructed to stand for the incorporation in our Declaration of Principles here, of industrial unionism, and we have incorporated that in this report of this committee. I am satisfied with it and I can return to my comrades in Ohio and tell them, "I have done your bidding," and we will all rest satisfied. This problem has been a complex problem, complex for all of us. Let us now simply vote on this report, and get right down to brass tacks on the business of the convention.

Cries of "Haywood."

COMRADE HAYWOOD: I feel that this motion should pass, that this report should be unanimously adopted, and when it is adopted I feel that then I can go to the working class, to the eight million women and children, to the four million black men, to the disfranchised white men, to the white man who is disfranchised by industrial depression, the men who have no votes, and I can carry to them the message of Socialism. I can urge them, and do it from the Socialist platform, to organize the only power that is left to them, their industrial power. That is what you have placed at my disposition, or will, when you adopt this motion. To my mind this is the greatest step that has ever been taken by the Socialist party of America. It unites Lawrence, Massachusetts, with San Diego, California. It unites the striking lumber workers of Washington with the timber wolves of Florida. It unites every worker who works with either brain or muscle on the American continent today. I have pleaded with my comrades as best I could for the recognition of the fact that Socialism was an economic movement, that we wanted to recognize that the workers should be organized at the machine so that they could carry on production after capitalism has been overthrown. I have likewise urged that every worker

that has a ballot should use that ballot to advance his economic interest. In Lawrence, Massachusetts, while only fifteen per cent of the workers had a vote before the strike, since the strike we have taken into the Socialist party as many as one hundred members at a meeting. So, a Tom Hickey has shaken hands with Job Harriman for the first time in twenty years, I feel that I can shake hands with every delegate in this convention and say that we are a united working class.

DEL. AMERINGER: I am really the only logical man qualified to talk on this resolution. I have been the Chairman of one committee and have inspired the ideas of the minority on the other; and I found that when the Ameringer of today met the Ameringer of seven years ago, he didn't look so bad after all.

Now, friends, the only reason why I wanted the platform—and I did before we agreed, really ask Comrade Harriman to speak for what we then thought was the majority report. The reason why I did not avail myself of the opportunity to address you for twenty minutes was because I thought Harriman could talk a little plainer English than I can. Not that Comrade Harriman has got any better ideas than I have—only I am hampered by the mechanical difficulty of getting these ideas out of this German noodle. When I asked for the floor here I had a speech prepared, and I am sorry that the opportunity has gone. What I wanted to say to you is, that if Tom Hickey and Tom Clifford and Tom Lewis are satisfied, the rest of us ought not to kick, and having said this I am perfectly willing to go way down and sit back. (Laughter.)

Now, friends, we have come together on this proposition. That is out of the way. I hope that from now on we shall have a united working class, on both fields. I hope that the working class of this country will not forget in the daily struggle, its great goal, its great ideal. One of the missions of the Socialist movement is to hold out to the working class, struggling daily in shop and mine, the ultimate goal, the Co-operative of Commonwealth.

You see, friends, these two branches of the movement, the political and the economic branches of the labor movement, are just like body and soul. Where you have a body without a soul, you got a corpse, and where you have a soul without a body, you got a spook. (Laughter.) Well, comrades, the Socialist political organization, that is the soul. The labor movement, that is the body. We have had a labor movement that didn't have very much life in it and we have had a Socialist political movement that was very much of a spook. (Laughter.) Now, friends, as we have both together, I expect something that is very much alive in the future.

The previous question was called for. Del. Reynolds of Terre Haute moved that Del. Garrison of Indiana, the only colored delegate to the convention, be given the floor. The Chair ruled that inasmuch as it is one of the cardinal principles of the party that no distinction of race or color are recognized, no exception should be made in favor of Del. Garrison.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state the rule and then recognize the delegate on question of personal privilege, or whatever he may have to present. The rule adopted by this convention are, that after the previous question has been ordered one speaker for each side of the question shall have five minutes. That time has



men exhausted, although they all spoke on the same side. Under the rules, subject to the possibility of an appeal, the chair will not recognize any delegate to make any speech except by unanimous consent.

Del. Reynolds asked that the unanimous consent of the convention be given to the suggestion of hearing from Del. Harrison. Two delegates objected.

THE CHAIR: There are two delegates at specifically object. The Chair is compelled to put the motion in accordance with the rules adopted.

The vote comes upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Labor Organizations.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next committee order is the Committee on International Relations. The Chairman is ready to report. But under the rules, resolutions are to be read at five o'clock. No other business is in order.

DEL. SPARGO: The rules also provide that resolutions shall not be received after Wednesday at five o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention will perhaps be able to vote unanimously to sustain my decision if they hear the rules read.

DEL. SPARGO: We adopted a rule that resolutions should be received after Wednesday at five o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is another of these conflicts in the rules. There is a rule that at five o'clock on each day the chairman shall suspend the business before the convention and accept and discuss resolutions offered. Del. Spargo informs me that under another rule no resolutions are to be received after five o'clock Wednesday.

A DELEGATE: I interpret that rule as meaning that at five o'clock you call for resolutions as the Resolutions Committee may be ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of a printed rule to which the delegate calls the attention of the Chair, if the secretary has it in his records we can dispose of the point of order. The Secretary declares that it was not adopted. I think that the delegate who raised the point would assist in informing the Chair as to these contradictory rules. In the absence of such evidence the Chair rules that at five o'clock on each day business is suspended and resolutions are read.

DEL. SPARGO: I move you that it is the sense of this convention that the rule adopted, closing the receipt of resolutions on Wednesday at five o'clock. The motion was put and declared carried.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Del. Barnes, Chairman, presented the following report of the committee:

#### RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The Committee on International Relations recommends that the following resolutions be adopted:

Whereas, The working class of Mexico is making now a brave and determined stand against the barbarous tyranny of the ruling class of that country; and

Whereas, The Mexican rulers are now using the aid of the government of the United States to maintain their position on the backs of the workers; and

Whereas, The interference of foreign powers has always been for the purpose of depriving the workers of the economic

fruits of their successful revolution.

Resolved, That the government of the United States shall not interfere in any way—either military or politically—with the efforts of the working class of Mexico and other Latin-speaking countries in their efforts to free itself from the oppression of the despotism now ruling these nations. And, further, that the Socialist party maintain the right of the working class of any country to carry on its struggle for complete emancipation from wage-slavery under any form of civil government.

We recommend that fraternal delegates from other countries be invited to attend our National Congresses, and that as far as possible we send fraternal delegates to foreign congresses, especially to those countries that are represented by sections affiliated with the party in this country.

Further, it is recommended that when such fraternal delegates respond to invitation and a speaking tour be arranged for them, that as far as possible they be under the directions of the Socialist party; and

Also that a request be made through such fraternal delegates that when speakers from their country contemplate coming to this country they will get into communication with the Socialist party.

And that Socialist speakers going abroad should have their speaking tour managed by the Socialist party of the country they visit.

This committee recommends that the following subjects be submitted to the International Bureau to be made a part of the Agenda of the next International Congress.

- 1—High Cost of Living.
- 2—International Labor Legislation.
- 3—Trusts.

Whereas, The International expansion of capitalism threatens the nations with war, and adds to the crushing burden of militarism, now resting upon the workers, therefore, in accord with the position of the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, we urge the continuous pressing of the following measures:

(a) The constant reiteration of the demand that International arbitration be made compulsory in all international disputes.

(b) Persistent and repeated proposals in the direction of ultimate complete disarmament; and, above all, as a first step, the conclusion of a general treaty limiting naval armaments and abrogating the right of privateering.

(c) The demand for the abolition of secret diplomacy and the publication of all existing and future agreements between the governments.

(d) The guaranty of the independence of all nations and their protection from military attacks and violent suppression.

In case of war being imminent, the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of the war, using for that purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious and which must naturally vary according to the acuteness of the struggle of classes, and to the general political conditions.

J. MAHLON BARNES,  
MAY WOOD SIMONS,  
A. SOLOMON,  
JOHN OHSOL,  
L. F. HAEMER.

Committee on Foreign Nations.

Del. Burkle of New York moved to amend the paragraph reading: "And further that the Socialist party maintain the right of the working class of any country to carry on its struggle for complete emancipation from wage slavery under any form of civil government," by striking out the word "civil" in the last line, making it read "under any form of government."

Del. Wells of Washington moved to amend by striking out the reference to the high cost of living, inasmuch as the Socialist party is concerned primarily with the overthrow of capitalism.

Neither amendment being seconded, the original motion was put to adopt the report of the committee as read, and declared carried.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Tonight at eight o'clock we hold a session of this convention in this hall, when the platform will be considered. Please so inform the delegates who went out to congratulate themselves on our unanimity.

Larsen, a regular delegate from Illinois, having arrived, the Illinois delega-

tion has had him seated in place of Croll, alternate. It has also elected Ado Germer to replace Winnie Branstetter who has asked to be relieved.

The Oklahoma delegation has decided to seat M. F. Barker, a regularly elected alternate, in place of Pfeifer, Barker having been previously absent.

If there is no objection, the delegate will be seated. Everybody seated.

**THE SECRETARY:** A correction of minutes has been handed in. The motion yesterday morning, regarding the sending of a telegram immediately to the governor of California, was made, I am informed, by Bessemer of Ohio, and by Sadler of Washington, as I have it in the minutes. I believe Sadler voted it, however.

Another correction. The motion to adopt the third clause of the report of the Committee on Farmers' Program was made by Merrill of New York and not Duffy of New York, as I have it in minutes.

The convention then adjourned to 8 p. m. of the same day.

## EVENING SESSION.

The Chairman called the convention to order at 8 p. m.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Under special assignment the report of the Platform Committee will now be read.

### REPORT OF PLATFORM COMMITTEE.

Chairman C. E. Russell read the report for the committee, and prefaced with the following remarks:

**CHAIRMAN RUSSELL:** It gives the Platform Committee of this convention very great satisfaction to say to you that your committee reports unanimously. We take it as another indication of that spirit of Socialist unity that has been such a beautiful and attractive feature of this convention, and without any more preliminaries, I will read to you, with your permission, this report.\*

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Chair awaits a motion.

**DEL. HENRY (Ind.):** I move its adoption as read.

**DEL. WILSON (Cal.):** I call your attention to the fact that the editors have omitted one strong paragraph at the top of page 2. Comrade Ghent must have the paragraph somewhere. It is the first sentence in Comrade Duncan's impeachment of the courts, and it ought to be added. It was in the original draft.

**DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.):** There is just one sentence omitted. The whole paragraph should read:

"In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave-power before the civil war. They have been used as instruments for the suppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assembly."

**DEL. BERGER:** There is another mistake there. In the sixth line from the beginning it should read "hundreds of millions of dollars" instead of "millions of dollars."

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The motion before the house is the adoption of the report of the committee as read.

**DEL. BARTH (Wash.):** I want to move an amendment that we adopt down to the Working Program, and that the rest of the matter be taken up seriatim.

Seconded.

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** I wish to offer amendment to the political demands, paragraph 4, 10th clause. The amendment is to the clause. Under Political Demands, demand 10, which reads:

"The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of voters in a majority of the States," move to amend the last part of it so that it shall read "by a majority of the voters in the country." A majority of the voters in a majority of the States may happen to be about 10 or 15 per cent of voters of the country, as against 80 to 85 per cent. We want majority amendments and not minority amendments.

**DEL. RUSSELL,** for the committee, accepted the amendment offered by Hillquit.

**DEL. LE SUEUR (N. D.):** I wish to offer as a substitute for Section 5 of Industrial Demands, the following: "The co-operative organization of the industries in the federal penitentiaries, to the benefit of the convicts and their dependents."

**DEL. BARNES (Pa.):** We have a number of amendments here, each separate and distinct; do you hold, Mr. Chairman, that we must pass upon them one at a time?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Chair holds simply that at no time will he permit more than two amendments at one time before the body. The motion before the house is the adoption of the report of the committee. The amendment by the delegate from Washington was that it apply simply to the preamble, and that the Working Program be considered seriatim. I suggest that the motion be made unanimous consent to take the amendments up seriatim.

On motion of Del. Barnes it was voted to take up the amendments seriatim.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The delegate from Washington moves that that part of platform, up to where the words "Working Program" occur, be adopted. Are you ready for the question on that?

**DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.):** This will be to the referendum of the party members.

\*The platform as adopted is printed full as Appendix G, pages —.—Editor.

## EVENING SESSION, MAY 16, 1912

ship, and when approved by them stands rather as a declaration of the party. We are acting, so to speak, as their clerk. I suggest it might possibly be more accurate to prepare it in a form so that it will read: "The Socialist party declare, etc." Also, to separate it from every preceding and following declaration, some date should be placed at some point on it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the delegate offer it as a motion?

DEL. GAYLORD: I offer it as a motion.

DEL. BARNES: I will state that it has always been the practice of the National office when platforms were printed to state, either at the top or bottom, that it was adopted in convention, on such and such a date, and endorsed by referendum vote of the party on such and such a date. I take it this will be repeated.

DEL. PERRIN (Ark.): In the last paragraph on the first page, it should not be limited to Republican and Democratic executives.

DEL. RUSSELL: There has been in this country for a great many years no other executive than Republican or Democratic. Consequently we could not use any other phrase. There are no legislative representatives of other parties except the Republican and Democratic, except those that come from the Socialist party, and we would not like to restrict those. This restriction is carefully based and accurate. You cannot include any other representatives, because these are the only executives we have had.

DEL. PERRIN: We have had Populists, we have had non-partisans—

DEL. RUSSELL: Well, a non-partisan party is not a party.

DEL. MAXWELL (Ill.): I move to amend the fifth paragraph on the first page by inserting the word "rent" after the word "extortionate," so that it reads "The farmers in every State are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rent, freight rates and storage charges."

DEL. RUSSELL: The committee accepts the amendment.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): All that is needed now is to place, at the beginning of it: "The Socialist Party of the United States declares," and at the end "Adopted at Indianapolis," such and such a date.

A DELEGATE: I would like to inquire if they made the change that was requested by a delegate from Oklahoma; I think Delegate Russell said that it was accepted. If it was, I want to move that it be changed back like it was at first: "The people are forced to work. It looks like they chose to work for a living. No one works for a living unless they are forced to do it."

DEL. RUSSELL: All right. Any way they want it.

DEL. MARGARET PREVEY (Ohio): You had an able committee and they have given the matter careful attention. If we attempt now to change the report, a word here and a word there, the platform would be a ridiculous document when we get through. If we change a word in one particular paragraph it will probably be necessary to change other paragraphs in order to harmonize with that particular one. I am sure you will agree with me that it has been given careful attention by the very able committee whom you have elected for the purpose, and I believe it will be well to leave it in the form in which they have reported it to the convention. I believe it is a document that we can

be proud of and that we will be proud to hand to the people of the United States, and ask them to vote for it. Do not spoil it, comrades.

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): I simply want to continue in the same vein in which Comrade Prevey has just spoken. This platform that has been brought to you reminds me of the Pentateuch. There are four or five different versions of the five books of Moses, and it takes a skilled scholar to go through and separate and find out who wrote what. That is what has happened to this platform. All through there has been the work of a skillful redactor, combining all these four or five different ideas and statements of the same principles. It is a very fine piece of carpentry on the part of the redactor. Only those on the committee will be able to go on and say, "I put that in," or, "I put that in." It is put together well. If you attempt this process of putting in a word here and another word there, the next thing you know you will have spoiled the continuity of the whole thing. So I hope if it is possible you will let the thing stand as it is, because if we will have to put this thing together again there is no knowing where we will get off at.

The previous question was called, and the report of the Platform Committee adopted unanimously as read.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): I think that after the labors of the last few days, with all the diversity of opinion which we have had here, and considering that we have adopted just previous to this another great document, and are now considering what is in my estimation the greatest contribution to the Socialist literature since the Communist Manifesto. It has been said heretofore that the American Socialist movement has not contributed anything to the Socialist literature of the world. It can no longer be said. This convention has done a marvelous thing; it has leaped twenty years; it has harmonized interests and opinions which any man here would have said four hours ago could not have been harmonized. I say, I had no hope that it could be done. I believed those opinions were irreconcilable, but within a few hours things have developed so that there would seem to be no place to differ. The convention rose to the occasion and we delegates here can be proud that we were members of this convention and were able to bury all differences and rise to this mighty occasion, and carry the American Socialist movement over the most dangerous period in its existence. We are now passing through an occasion that was most critical, and its outcome must terrify the capitalist class of the nation. I hope we may adopt this platform unanimously; I am sure there is no serious defect in it.

The question then came upon the adoption of the preamble, which was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to consider the following paragraphs of the working programme, *seriatim*. The Chairman of the Committee will read the first paragraph.

DEL. KOOP (Ill.): To facilitate matters I move you that in reading these paragraphs, if there are no objections, the Chairman will declare them adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair intended so to do.

Chairman Russell read Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4, to which no objection was raised,

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and they were respectively declared adopted.

Paragraph 5 was then read, to which an objection was raised.

DEL ALLEN (Fla.): I would like to call attention to the fact that this last word "exploitation" carries with it the meaning of land that is used for farming purposes today, simply because you cannot run a farm at the present time without exploitation. We have a Platform here for the present time, not for the future commonwealth; a working platform that we stand on, for present use. We believe in taking over all land that is held out of use; but if you put in this word "for exploitation," you also stand for taking over now, all farms before we are ready to take the management of them co-operatively.

DEL. HILQUIT: I move that the Section be amended by striking out the word "exploitation" mentioned by Comrade Allen, and substituting therefor the word "profit." There is apparently an ambiguous expression here, which may be understood in two different senses.

DEL. RUSSELL: The amendment is accepted by the Committee.

DEL. ALLEN: A person cannot work a farm without extorting profit from laborers. We don't believe in exploitation in farming any more than we do in manufacturing. Under the present system we have to develop industries to their highest stage, which means higher exploitation, until it has reached the stage where we are ready to take over the whole thing.

DEL. HILQUIT: Then the amendment is withdrawn, with the consent of the Committee, which accepted it.

DEL. MERRICK: I object to the unanimous withdrawal of the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question comes upon the amendment as offered. The original motion is the adoption of Paragraph 5. The amendment to the motion is to strike out the word "exploitation," and insert the word "profit." Those in favor—

DEL. RUSSELL: The Committee accepts the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee has accepted the amendment, and therefore the Chair declares it is stricken out.

A DELEGATE: I object. Put the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will put the motion again. Motion to strike out the word "exploitation" was put, and declared defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question recurs upon the original motion to adopt Paragraph 5 as read.

Motion put and declared carried, and Paragraph 5 adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Next is Paragraph 6.

DEL. BARTH: I wish to have some information from the Committee as to why this was placed in the Platform.

DEL. BERGER: This is going to be one of the great questions before the country, probably next year, and we must take a stand on this question. That is why we put it in.

DEL. SLOBODIN (New York): I move to strike out the word "democratic" before the word "management."

DEL. BARTH: I move to strike out Section 6.

DEL. BEARDSLEY (Conn.): The people should own the banking system. Let's have this plank in here.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is upon striking out the entire section.

Motion put, and declared defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is upon striking out the word "democratic."

Motion put, and declared lost, and Section 6 adopted.

Motion made by Del. Patterson of Ohio to reconsider the motion to take up the Working Program seriatim, was put and declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will resume the consideration of the Program. The next paragraph is headed Unemployment.

DEL. ROSETTE (Md.): I move to amend by inserting after the words "The extension of all useful public works," the words "especially those for the production of the immediate necessities of life." My reason for this is that the extension of useful public works, such as for instance, although it will give employment to the unemployed will not relieve the cost of living. It will make the cost of living higher; but if people are employed on producing the necessities of life it will immediately cheapen the cost of living.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is to insert in this Unemployment clause, the words "especially those for the production of the immediate necessities of life," so that it will read: "The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works, especially those necessary for the production of the immediate necessities of life."

DEL. BENTALL (Ill.): This amendment is without the shadow of a doubt a very necessary amendment. You can employ thousands of workers in making roads, in reclaiming bad lands, in a number of what we term today public works, but as has been said already by the comrade who offered the amendment, this will not produce anything in the way of necessities of life. All these people live on less food when they do not work than when they work, and the working men who do produce the necessities of life will have to produce that extra amount of food for the fellows who are going to use it while they work. It is good sense. As a Convention we must see to it that we do not simply put people to work as we do down in Chicago, starting them to shovel snow—that does not give us any great relief; but if we put this into the platform, that we must produce the necessities of life, it will give us an incentive to formulate such plans as will make it possible to produce these necessities of life, and I therefore strongly favor this amendment.

DEL. PATTERSON (Ohio): I want to recall to your attention the remarks of Comrade Prevey as to taking snap shot amendments at the report of the committee. You have already adopted certain clauses stating the condition of the working class and declaring that their condition remains the same. Now the comrade proposes to amend this demand to say that if you put these fellows to producing something in the way of food stuff his conditions will be changed. That is a complete contradiction of what you have already adopted. You will be better off if you work in a butcher shop than if you work in a factory according to that argument. Your wages in the butcher shop will give you more, even though you get the same amount of money for your services in the factory. If you don't want to get your platform and your demands in a contradictory position you would better adopt them as they stand, for the reason that they have been given careful consideration after considering

the different elements represented in convention. They have been weighed considered from every angle and certainly have been given more consideration than we could give them at a glance. I am opposed to the amendment. I will refer to refer it back to the committee for further consideration.

EL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am opposed to the amendment. Some people are not working. As long as the wage system obtains we may mitigate some of its evils. It is true that because we produce more food, more of the necessities of life, that does not necessarily make it possible for the wage worker to live more comfortably. Look what we have before

We have the cold storage system, the preservative system, we are able to preserve more of the food stuffs that are produced, but in spite of that the condition of the workers is worse. The things ought to be cheapened, necessities really cost them dearer. The contradictions of the capitalist system become clearer every day. So long as the wage system exists it is our duty so far as we may be able, to mitigate the situation by giving work to the unemployed. But if you think that by raising more potatoes and making them cheaper you are going to change things, don't forget the other fellow still controls the rent, still controls the clothes, the capitalist class still controls. The plank as originally reported ought to be adopted without amendment.

EL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I can see the equity that my friend from Ohio labors for. He thinks there is a contradiction in the matter already passed upon the matter now sought to be amended. That part that regardless of amount we produce there is no reward for the worker, that has to do with conditions as they are. And right above where we demand the collective ownership that would change it and make Rosett's amendment all right, this demand here was for collective ownership. There is nothing involved of collective ownership in this part. That is to do with non-employment, right?

The contention of Comrade Berlyn is right. If you take and run a plant, producing something to eat, while the capitalist owns the plant, it would certainly mean that the capitalist would own the product after you get through producing it. This is a demand under present conditions to do all we can to find work for the unemployed; and they would be unemployed if they were engaged in manufacturing things to eat. We want to give them employment so that they can eat and consume what is produced. The more you examine this the stronger gets. The purpose is to do the best we can while capitalism lasts, and if you think this other thing in we are mixing public ownership with capitalistic ownership, which is a positive contradiction, I hope the amendment will be defeated.

DEL. ROSETT (Md.): Let us not be afraid of making this plank economically sound. This is for the immediate relief of unemployment. It is for immediate relief. Unemployment will not be relieved immediately by public works on a large scale, such as canals. You will employ a number of workers there, but in order to feed those workers capital must have to be taken out from some other industry and put into that canal. Workers must be fed somehow. If we produce things that are the immediate necessities of life then they not only work but they produce the things with

which to feed themselves, they produce their own wages. That makes it economically sound. Why are you afraid to insert that in this place. It remains just as strong and at the same time it becomes economically sound.

The vote was then taken and the amendment declared lost.

DEL. WILLS (Wash.): I am in favor of immediate demands only when we can make them so radical that we keep a long way in advance of the old parties. The members from the State of Washington have gone on record as being opposed to immediate demands altogether. Down to these industrial demands we have been dealing with such things as deal with the federal government. Now we deal with something that comes within the jurisdiction of the State government. They are matters of comparatively small moment. In many of the progressive States the old parties have already put these demands in their platform. The platform is too long any way. I therefore move that we strike out entirely the program of industrial demands.

The motion was lost.

Sections 1, 2 and 3 were adopted as follows:

"The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the work days in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.

2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

3. By securing a more effective inspection of work shops, factories and mines."

Section 4 was then read as follows:

"By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age."

DEL. KAPLAN (Minn.): I move to change it to 18 years of age.

The motion was seconded, and on a vote was lost.

Section 4 was then adopted as read.

Section 5 was read as follows:

"By abolishing the brutal exploitation of convicts under the contract system, and prohibiting the sale of goods so produced in competition with other labor."

DEL. LE SEUER (N. D.): By the co-operative organization of the industries in the Federal penitentiaries for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents.

DEL. GAYLORD: I suggest that it be added. They are both good.

DEL. LE SEUER: We want to make this brief. The substitute covers every possible feature of the original. If the industries in the penitentiaries are operated for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents there is no exploitation of the convict labor, and there is no competition between the convict labor and free labor.

DEL. RUSSELL (N. Y.): The committee authorize me to say that we will accept your substitute.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ (Ill.): I call for the reading of the section as amended.

THE SECRETARY (Reading): "By the co-operative organization of the industries in the Federal penitentiaries for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents."

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I desire to ask Comrade Le Seuer why the State penitentiaries are omitted.

DEL. LE SEUER: With reference to the State penitentiaries it would be utterly futile to insert that in the platform

and we already have it in the platforms of the different States.

DEL. HOGAN: Won't you accept this amendment that the clause may be enlarged according to your suggestion to cover every phase of the Federal work shops as well as the Federal penitentiaries.

DEL. LE SEUER: As to Federal work shops in the Federal penitentiaries, let the committee work that in.

The substitute paragraph was then adopted.

The Secretary then read clause 6 as follows:

"6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines."

The section as read was then adopted. Paragraph 7 was then read as follows:

"7. By abolishing the profit system in Government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers."

The paragraph as read was adopted. Paragraph 8 was then read as follows:

"8. By establishing minimum wage scales."

The paragraph as read was adopted. The next paragraph was then read as follows:

"9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old age pensions, a general system of insurance by the State of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death."

The paragraph as read was then adopted.

Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the "Political Demands" were then adopted, reading as follows:

"1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

"2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate, and to nearness of kin, the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry."

Section 3 of the Political Demands was read as follows:

"3. The gradual reduction of all tariff duties, particularly those on the necessities of life. The government to guarantee the re-employment of wage earners who may be disemployed by reason of changes in tariff schedules."

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): As it appears to me this paragraph concedes the argument of the tariff advocates that tariffs do give employment to working men, and so far as my knowledge goes that is not now true. The infant industries are fat and healthy. For that reason until we have further explanation of the reasons for the retention of this clause from the committee I move that we strike out paragraph 3.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): We have avoided just the very thing that Comrade Barnes is afraid of. We state there that the government shall guarantee re-employment of wage earners who may be disemployed by reason of changes in tariff schedules. Now I would like to see any tariff reformer from Underwood down, stand for anything of this kind. There is no tariff reformer in the cap-

italist world who can touch this clause. We have taken care of an arguer that kind, Comrade Barnes.

DEL. BARNES: You don't answer point at all.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): It seems to me the height of absurdity for the socialist party to be monkeying with tariff. We are not interested in tariff, low tariff or no tariff. The whole gets skinned to a finish, tariff or no tariff. The Democrats and Republicans have blathered about the tariff until the whole country is sick of it. But if I may say you would not have any immediate demands at all.

DEL. IRVIN (Pa.): Clause 3 merely provides as we have provided before where in the development of machinery workers are put on the scrap heap. In the change of tariff whether you believe in high tariff or low tariff workers are put on the scrap heap. That is not be successfully denied. And it merely covers that proposition and nothing else.

DEL. KATE SADLER: I am absolutely opposed to this notion. High tariff or low tariff, it does not concern us. I like where we had no tariff at all and I like just as poor then as I am now under a high protective tariff. I have been just as poor under a low tariff. I do not see why we should bother with such things. The tariff question has become the working class of America is not enough, just as we were fooled in England and Scotland about free trade, open door, protection, reciprocity, and all the other fool things that the different parties have been offering us. Our demand is absolutely opposed to all immediate demands but we will have to swallow them if you force them down our throats. But for goodness sake do not split on the tariff question.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): We have this very thing in our congressional district. John Dalzell, the high priest of protection, was defeated in our district by a tariff revisionist. We have to show the fallacy of revising the tariff. Perhaps if Comrade Berger will get the statement of Senator Cox he will see that he stated on the floor of the United States Senate in his debate with Senator Aldrich that so far as the working class is concerned it doesn't make any difference whether it is high, low or in the middle. We have had this question in certain congressional districts and the man who defeated John Dalzell defeated him because the Republicans in that district had begun to say that it would be a good thing to put the tariff down. They would say to us, you stand for the same thing that Mr. Kelly stands for. Therefore, why should we vote for the Socialists when Mr. Kelly stands for exactly the same proposition. I am in favor of the motion of Comrade Barnes.

DEL. RINGLER (Pa.): I move to the previous question.

The previous question was then adopted.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I very much wish that the committee had vouchsafed the information in advance of my argument why they favored this proposition. "The gradual reduction of all tariff duties, particularly those on the necessities of life; the government to guarantee the re-employment of wage earners who may be disemployed by changes in the tariff schedules." There was an argument presented by Comrade Irvin of Pennsylvania which does not apply, in my

judgment, because I do not concede that the adoption of free trade would throw one man out of work in America. You are providing for that which will not happen. You provide that the government shall re-employ those who are disemployed by reason of the reduction of the tariff, and I hold and believe that it can not be demonstrated that anyone will be thrown out of work, and on the contrary if we had free trade tomorrow it would not throw anybody out of work for more than a week. We are virtually conceding the argument of the tariff supporters in this very paragraph, and that is the reason I am in favor of striking it out. But while I hold to the opinion that we would not bring about disemployment by a reduction of the tariff, I know, you know and the tariff tinkers know that a great number of the products of America are sold in foreign countries far cheaper than they are sold to us in America. You can get a Douglas shoe in London, England, cheaper than you can here. You can get an American sewing machine in England cheaper than you can here. You can get a McCormick reaper cheaper in the City of St. Petersburg than it is sold in the city of Chicago; and it is made in the outskirts of Chicago. In the testimony of Mr. Schwab before the Congressional Committee he admitted that he sold steel cheaper to the Russian government than he did to Uncle Sam. The removal of the tariff would not bring about non-employment but it would reduce their profits. The reduction of the tariff will not disemploy our people but will make the capitalists retrench and cut off some of their unearned increment.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have always held that the tariff issue is not a working man's issue.

DEL. BARNES: That is what I think.

DEL. BERGER: I have always told them that there is always free trade in labor. That while our manufacturers are protected by 300 per cent in some instances, that there is always free trade in labor. However, we are facing a condition and not a theory. We have to take a stand. In all the countries that I know of where we have a Socialist party, the Socialist party as such takes the stand for free trade more or less. That is the international view. However, if we do it in this country we face the following situation: Entire cities, entire communities have been built up by the high tariff. If there should be a sudden reduction many thousands would be thrown out of employment, and we meet this situation by this paragraph. I am not saying that the Socialist party should make free trade or high tariff an issue. We have a thousand better issues. We are simply explaining our stand on this question, and it seems to me that this clause is all right.

DEL. HILLQUIT: How are they to be re-employed?

DEL. BERGER: The government to give them employment. The government can do it. This does not mean that we should go out and preach free trade or that we should take a stand for high tariff. It simply explains our position on the tariff. But for my part I shall never make an issue of the tariff. I do hope that you will accept this as read.

The motion to strike out clause 3 was adopted by a vote of 117 aye and 94 no.

Paragraph 4 was then read as follows: "4. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of

collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties."

The paragraph was adopted as read.

The Secretary then read Section 5 as follows:

"5. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women."

The paragraph as read was adopted.

Section 6 was then read by the Secretary as follows:

"6. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation nationally as well as locally."

DEL. LEWIS (Ore.): I object to the proportional representation. It will only open the way for parties of reform, prohibition parties, labor parties and so forth. Our State legislatures will be full of all kinds of representatives. It is a dangerous proposition. Are we Socialists going to open up the field to give all kinds of freaks to have their representatives in the various bodies? Proportional representation means that we are going to give life to all the parties, including clerical parties. I move to strike out proportional representation.

DEL. SMITH (Mont.): It seems to me that instead of advocating proportional representation the Socialist party ought to be standing for representation by absolute majority. The point of the comrade from Oregon is certainly well taken. If the Socialist party makes as its fundamental declaration that this is a struggle between classes, then we ought to have absolute majority representation. We ought to have either capitalist government or working class government absolutely. I approve of the amendment.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): It is evident that the comrades who spoke in opposition to the recommendation of the committee do not know what they are talking about. They seem to be carried away by a few stock phrases. This proposition will be favorable to some reformers. That is enough. That settles it. As a matter of fact the accepted position of the international Socialist movement of the world has always been in favor of proportional representation. I do not understand how any man who understands the meaning of proportional representation can stand up and oppose it. To begin with there is but one party who can really benefit by it and that is the Socialist party. The comrade from Montana says we should either have a capitalist government or a Socialist government. If that is the case we may as well stop putting up candidates and sending them into the legislative assemblies.

DEL. SMITH (Mont.): I said a capitalist government or a working class government.

DEL. SOLOMON: As I understand the comrades it must be either a capitalist government or a working class government. That is identical with saying a capitalist government or a Socialist government. I cannot conceive of a Socialist government which is not at the same time a working class government. But coming down to this proposition I say there is but one party that can really benefit by this proposition and that is the Socialist party. You find in State after State that already the Socialist party has from five to ten per cent of the total vote cast, but has no representative whatever in the assembly. If we had proportional representation it would be possible for the party to have representation in the assembly in proportion to the vote cast for the party candidates.

DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.): I think this proportional representation should be kept in the platform, not only as an accepted proposition of our party generally, but it opens the way by which the interests of every community, the varied interests of every community may make themselves felt within that community. Now the dominant power in a community certainly asserts itself, with the modification of all the other interests that are able to make themselves felt upon that power. Every law passed by the capitalist class would be modified more or less if our representatives to some extent were within their body. First, because we could uncover the graft. Second, because we are on the ground to modify vicious laws, which always yield in proportion to the power confronting them. Now this is a political party. This proportional representation enables us to take a grip, to the exact extent of our power upon the legislative bodies to which we send our members. When we are in the ascendancy then we, too, may modify our position because of the complicated interests that resist us. But until such time as we can bring about institutions that conform entirely to our views, this is one of the strongest means within our grasp to split the opposition in the legislative halls.

DEL. PEACH (Conn.): I am in favor of keeping proportional representation in the platform. In Connecticut we are in a peculiar position. Perhaps no other State in the Union has this situation to face. In our State we have an industrial city with a population of 102,000. 90 per cent of those are industrial workers. In that city there are 15,000 workers who voted in the last election. That is the city of Bridgeport. Under the State laws we are given two representatives for that 15,000 voters. Up in one corner of the State there is a little town by the name of Union with 87 voters. That has two representatives. It is a complete agricultural town. On any question in the legislature, although we may have captured the city of Bridgeport overwhelmingly, our vote is negated by men who represent 87 voters. We are confronted by the consolidated railroads, who can buy 87 voters much more easily than they can buy 15,000. In one county we polled 16 per cent of the votes on the Socialist ticket, in that county. If we capture every industrial center in that county we have only captured 7,000 voters, and the remaining difference between the 7,000 and the 50,000 can overwhelmingly out-vote us. So I say, keep it in there so we can use it in our State platform, because we are going to use it whether you put it in or not, but we don't want to be in contradiction with the National platform. We want to break up the form of representation that we have in our State where 87 agricultural voters have as much representation as 15,000 industrial workers. How are we going to get a majority on that? Will you tell me that from Montana?

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. LATIMER (Minn.): I am in favor of the amendment to strike out. There seems to be some misapprehension as to what proportional representation means. The comrade who just spoke presents a condition which proportional representation would help. What he needs is reapportionment. We are not discussing that. Proportional representation is perhaps all right from a theoretical point

of view so long as the Socialist party is a minority party and wants a few offices; but when we get to be a majority party we shall not be interested in looking after the interests of the capitalists who happen to be in the minority. We are interested in getting control of the government. We are interested in running the government in the interests of the working class. And it seems to me that while we are a minority party we are interested in the same proposition. It is true that in some communities might land a man or two in the State Legislature. That is what happened in Illinois a few years ago. They had proportional representation where a man could go to the polls and vote for three men or one man. That gave a sort of proportional representation and they sent a few men to the State Legislature, but they are not there today. We find that if we do gain here and there it amounts to practically nothing. The thing we are interested in as a minority party is building up a strong, constructive organization, not to elect men occasionally to the State Legislature. It is our business as a minority party to lay foundation for getting control of the government, for we are not interested in proportional representation. That is all right for the instructor in the class room, studying political economy, but we are organized to dominate the government, we are not interested in minorities, we are interested in that great majority, the working class.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): There is nothing whatever in this clause inconsistent with the constantly maintained international position on this question. It is simply reaffirming the demand of the international Socialist movement of the world. If the Germans at this time had proportional representation they would have a very much larger number of men in the Reichstag. We all know that. There are thousands of them that are disfranchised because of this very fact that they have not proportional representation. The same is true in Belgium and the same is true in some of the communes of France. One of the methods by which our comrades in England have been able to secure seats in the British House of Commons has been through what they call three-cornered fights. What is a three cornered fight? A three cornered fight is a fight in which the proportional representation extends at least to three elements, and I am sure that there have been at least a dozen or fifteen seats attained in the British House of Commons by this process of proportional representation in part. And in the municipal bodies of Great Britain there have been scores of such instances. I want to ask you how was it that Comrade Seidel was elected Mayor of the city of Milwaukee if it had not been by proportional representation so far as it went. I mean that he didn't have a majority of the votes of the city.

A DELEGATE: And how did he lose it?

DEL. WILSON: I am giving you the points in favor of the other view. All right. How did he lose it? He lost it because two of the parties joined and left him without a total majority of the city. If the Socialist party in the city council of the city of Milwaukee were represented according to the number of Socialist voters in the city of Milwaukee they would have a larger representation in the new aldermanic body than they have at the present time.



DEL. KATE SADLER: Well, what does the party in Sweden say?

DEL. WILSON: I don't recall the exact statement of the party in Sweden.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Wilson has the floor.

DEL. KATE SADLER: He doesn't need to answer it. It was turned down in Sweden.

DEL. WILSON: Now comrades, we are at this position that all over the country in cities where they have the commission form of government, which has in a sense an element of this proportional representation, where there is an element of this proportional representation involved in the candidacy for the Legislature, and also in congressional districts it is going to be of great importance to us if we can carry it as a political reform. I hope the comrades will sustain the paragraph just as it is in this statement of Political demands.

The motion to strike out the words "proportional representation" was lost, and paragraph 6, as reported, was adopted.

The Secretary read paragraph 7 as follows:

"7. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President."

The paragraph as read was adopted.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I want to make a motion that we have somewhere here an opportunity, and it might as well be after the veto power is disposed of, I want to make a motion for an anti-military plank.

THE CHAIRMAN: The opportunity will be given later.

Paragraph 8 was then read as follows:

"8. The election of the President and the Vice President by direct vote of the people."

The paragraph as read was adopted.

The Secretary then read paragraph 9:

"9. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. The national laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by referendum vote of the whole people."

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I wish to offer an amendment and I want an opportunity to explain the amendment afterwards. I move to amend by striking out the words "usurped by the Supreme Court," and substituting the "absolute prevention of the Supreme Court of the United States from passing upon the constitutionality of laws."

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. SLAYTON: For years I have contended that the Supreme Court of the United States has never usurped any power. This has been disputed by some comrades. They have cited one or two instances where Congress has passed restrictive laws, and they have tried to make that appear as proof that the Supreme Court had usurped power. The act opposite is the fact. Why should I pass a law to prevent anybody doing something if that body had not the right to do it any way. The other day I got hold of a work upon this same subject which shows that the leaders of the Constitutional Convention deliberately acted that the Supreme Court should have this power, and Alexander Hamilton stated that they should have the power to declare all laws null and void that are contrary to the manifest tenor of the Constitution. The other day I got hold of a work by Professor Baer who quotes of the delegates to the Constitutional

Convention, 16 of whom definitely stated for that that was their construction and hoped that the Supreme Court should have the power to declare all laws null and void which were contrary to the manifest tenor of the Constitution, and they said what they wanted the manifest tenor to be. They said we have to be careful how we use our words lest we frighten the people. The whole object was to make the Constitution a class document; and it was the fertile brain of Alexander Hamilton that devised the Supreme Court. He wanted to make sure that any law that had a measure of democracy in it, if it could pass the lower House, pass the Senate and pass the President, would at least run up against the elite of America and not pass the Supreme Court. I insist the Supreme Court has never usurped any power. Henry Clay, I believe, said: "I am glad the Constitution does not say that the Supreme Court shall not do certain things because they then can act upon the implied power entrusted to them to maintain the intentions of the framers of that document." I hope that you will agree to wipe out these words. If you are right you won't be hurt and if I am right you will be safe. Make it read that the Supreme Court shall not pass upon the constitutionality of laws.

DEL. HOAN (Wis.): I disagree with the comrade who has just spoken. The proposition to permit the Supreme Court of the United States to declare laws unconstitutional was presented three times in the Constitutional Convention and voted down. The first time it was exercised in this country mass meetings were held protesting against the court using that power, and in practically every State in the early history of this country where that proposition was made to give the Supreme Court that power it was voted down. In the early days of American history the people held mass meetings all over this country protesting against this usurpation of power by capitalist judges serving the interests that were backing them up. I hope that the clause as drafted by the committee will be adopted.

The motion of Delegate Slayton was lost and Section 9 was then adopted as reported.

Paragraphs 10, 11, 12 and 13 were then adopted as follows:

"10. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution so that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the States.

"11. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia, with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

"12. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

"13. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a department."

DEL. RUSSELL: The committee has made a slight change in the wording of paragraph 14 since I read it before. As amended by the committee it now reads:

"14. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions as will secure full liberty to all schools of practice."

you will strike out in your printed copies the words "The creation of a Department of Health."

DEL. HILLQUIT: I move to strike out the addition and restore the original form of the paragraph.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I do not see why the committee should have gone out of its way to insert a debated and debatable question on matters pertaining exclusively to the practice of medicine, on which none of us is an authority, and as to which the Socialist party should certainly not take any definite stand. The only purpose of this amendment, so far as I can see, is to place certain medical schools, homeopathic, osteopathic, eclectic, upon the same basis as the recognized school of allopathy. Now, quite likely it is a sound proposition. I know absolutely nothing about it. I do not know whether the conservation of the health of the nation does not require a certain recognized school of medicine. I don't know whether certain reasonable restrictions upon the practice of medicine should not be maintained. But I do say that the Socialist party has absolutely no concern of any kind with it. To demand in the political demands of the Socialist party the recognition of certain schools of medicine, or the removal of restrictions upon the practice of medicine seems to me entirely unnecessary and to open up a large field of debate.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): In supporting the amendment I call your attention to the fact that the international Socialist movement has everywhere stood for the creation of a national department of public health. If there is anything we need in this country it is the creation of such a department. Since the matter has come up and has been forced into the arena of national politics a certain amount of activity has been exerted by some persons who do not believe in any school of medicine, preventative or otherwise. The delegates to this convention have been flooded with reports of speeches delivered in the United States Senate solely from the point of view of one particular religious sect in this country, and this amendment is intended to meet the point of view of that opposition. I am not saying here that we should stand for any particular school of medicine. I have no objection as a Socialist in my capacity as a delegate here to the osteopaths or the homeopaths. I do have certain personal opinions on certain questions insofar as they relate to public sanitation and public health. But when you say we demand the creation of an independent bureau, what do you mean? Why not say frankly that we want a federal department of public health because we want to wipe out the disgrace that is so outrageous in this country, that if there was any hog or cattle disease in this country money would come from the federal government, expert advice at every cost could be had from the federal government on that proposition, but when spinal meningitis broke out in this country if we wanted any assistance, if we want to use our national power to meet that scourge, up until quite recently we could not get a dollar from the federal government, we could not get a man from the federal service unless some Congressman was tricky enough to get in an appropriation for funds for the Bureau of Animal Industry. When we say that we want the creation of a Department of Public Health, we are not saying that

we want a department under the control of a particular school of medicine. We are not saying that we want a department which will exclude a particular school of medical practice; but we do say that we want a Department of Public Health; and if in the creation of that Department of Public Health it is found necessary to prohibit the practice of some people who profess to cure tuberculosis by quack remedies, then we ought to be able to get that very thing.

DEL. RICKER (Kan.): I shall not quibble as to words. On the question of Department of Health or an independent bureau I shall not quibble. But on the matter of putting something in this declaration that will put the Socialist party on record for a full guarantee of liberty to all schools of practice I am decidedly in favor.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Christian Science?

DEL. RICKER: There are several schools of practice. There is a major school. The minor schools don't want this major school of practice to dominate everything in the matter of the care of public health. If there is anything that Socialists stand for it is liberty. In Congress the objections raised against such a bureau have been precisely on the point that it would go into the hands of the major school of practice, who would be in control of this department. There happen to be homeopaths, osteopaths and a great many other paths. The object of the committee in submitting this was simply that we might assure all of them that we stand for full and complete liberty.

DEL. ROSETT: I want to speak in favor of the section as it stands in the printed report. This question of medical liberty is a much agitated question now in America. It is only after great struggles that many reforms have been brought about. The Pure Food and Drug law, the exposing of various medical fakes, of dangerous patent medicines. There is a movement now for what is called medical freedom, not for real medical freedom but to bring forth again the medical fakes that have infested America for a great number of years, the Sarsaparilla fake, the Peruna fake, and a thousand other fakes, that now have a vogue under the name of medical liberty. The idea is simply that these terrible fakes with which we have been infested shall have full swing again. The word freedom is something that can be stretched to an awful extent. Freedom to poison people is not freedom at all. At last it is the kind of freedom that we Socialists must oppose. Socialists all over the world stand for science, for progress, and science and progress are opposed to any medical faker who comes in the name of medical freedom. I hope you will vote in favor of the section as it is printed.

DEL. WHEELER (Cal.): I am against the amendment. We know that laws have been made for the protection of pigs and cattle. This proposition is for the protection of human beings. There is no monopoly in this land, no trust, stronger than the medical trust. We know that the powers of government in Washington today are controlled to that extent by the medical trust that they refuse to allow any other school of medicine or healing to invade the holy of holies; all who enter must bear the marks of one of the great established schools of medicine. We know how the allopaths for 60 or 70 years fought the homeopathic school of medicine. We know that when

osteopaths established themselves how the allopaths and the homeopaths put them, the same as the Democrats and Republicans are combining against Socialists. There are other schools of medicine and other schools of healing besides those recognized by the powers to be in Washington, and the committee in the recommendations say that it is not to be confined to a medical trust.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is upon the adoption of the motion by Comrade Hillquit to strike out the clause read by Comrade Russell and let the motion stand as it is in the printed resolution. An amendment to leave the wording originally printed was lost, the vote being 69 aye and 112 no. The motion was then adopted.

USE 14 was then read as follows: The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor, and its elevation to the rank of a department. The paragraph as read was adopted.

Paragraph 16 was then read as follows:

Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several States and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms."

L. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Why do they want to abolish the federal courts and give more power to the State courts?

L. RUSSELL: We take the federal courts of this country to be a source of evil in the community. Being a source of evil we think we should cut it out.

L. SLOBODIN: I want to speak to you and want to state the reason why this motion does not appeal to me. It gives a certain kind of good character to the state courts. I am familiar with the State courts and I am familiar with the Federal courts and I can't see any distinction between the two. I can see how the little courts will have great trouble in carrying on the State courts in serving people who don't reside in the State. There is absolutely no sense to the proposition made by the committee. They are simply wasting away time, filling up the platform with all sorts of items. I could sit down and draft a hundred similar resolutions which would have just as little chance and have absolutely as little chance. I don't believe this section should be adopted.

HILLQUIT: I make the motion that this section be stricken. It is not a question of saving the state courts. I don't think any deleterious, even if he is a lawyer, has any particular love for the federal court, but it should be some consistency in our demands. We seem to desire to retain the Supreme Court of the United States, but we are merely going to curtail its power and we are to do away with the United States courts. If there was a system of jurisprudence to be proposed limiting jurisdiction entirely to the State courts and if we could see some special advantage in it for the workers, we might stand for it. But there is no advantage in this. It makes no difference with the workers. We are going into an error of which we have had an instance. We are passing matters of medical practice and legal practice and the next thing we

shall take up will be the regulation of civil engineering.

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): Personally I haven't the slightest interest in a single one of these points in this working program. But inasmuch as the committee has got together I am here to speak for this section. I don't believe the Socialist party of America cares very much if the Supreme Court of the United States is left hung up high and dry with no work to do. But there is one thing very certain and that is that the federal courts of this country form one of the most cruel instruments against the working class that we have today, whenever the working class is unfortunate enough to come within the jurisdiction of those Federal courts. I do not suppose that there is one thing that personal injury lawyers try more to avoid than they do getting into the grasp of the Federal courts. I do not believe there is a thing brought up in the Federal courts that could not just as well be tried in the state jurisdiction, if we will only extend the power of the states to try those cases. The Federal courts are for the benefit of foreign corporations. If you wish to sue a foreign corporation you must go into the Federal courts. They will wear you out with their practice. They will wear you out with enormous charges. It is a matter of great hardship to the working class that happen to get into those courts. For these reasons the committee takes this position. It is the opinion of your committee that we should get rid of the whole thing.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am in favor of striking this out—I don't know anything about medicine, and I don't know much about law—but the reason I want to strike this out is this: I had a tapeworm once and I got rid of a whole lot of the links, but I never got rid of the tapeworm until I got rid of the head. Here they come with the proposition to remove the links, but leave the head there. The Supreme Court, the source of all evil, they don't touch. This thing is meaningless. I like immediate demands. I like to have something with which to appeal to the workingman, but whoever does the job the Supreme Court stands ready to chew you up just the same. The committee only deals with the subordinate links. There is no sense in it. It is simply a space filler. I don't think that printer's ink should be used simply for filling space. Everything in our platform should be in response to a real need. I hope you will support the motion to strike it out.

DEL. RICKER (Kan.): Never in my speeches for the party or in the lecture bureau have I ever introduced the name of the Appeal to Reason, but I am going to do so now. The Appeal to Reason is in the Federal Court. You have been pouring your money into the office to help us in this fight. This resolution came from Fred D. Warren. It was brought here by our attorney. Now, most of you, to your credit be it said, are not lawyers. Lawyers may differ. Sheffler says, and he is as good a lawyer as there is in this house, that all these cases may be tried in the state courts. I know, for I have been working on this matter for months, that through the agency of the Federal courts, wherever possible personal injury cases are immediately taken out of the jurisdiction of the state courts, by a twisted interpretation of the constitution, whereby a foreign corporation becomes a citizen, and by virtue of that twist gets out of the state courts and into the Federal Court. We want to do away with this Federal court system. I ask you that you keep

74r.08 Attach the resolution as it comes from the Committee.

The motion of Comrade Hillquit to strike out Section 16 was lost by a vote of 55 aye to 132 no.

Section 16 was then adopted as reported.

Section 17 of the report was adopted, reading as follows:

"17. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions."

Section 18 as reported was read as follows:

"18. The free administration of justice."

It was moved and seconded to strike out the word "justice" from clause 18 and insert the words "the law."

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I am opposed to the amendment that, it seems, has been accepted by a majority of the committee, for the reason that the administration of law is not always the administration of justice. I favor the original declaration of the committee that will stand for the free administration of justice. I have been practicing law 20 years, and I am familiar somewhat with the procedure in our courts, and especially in the Federal courts, where I have appeared time after time, and I assure you that you would do yourselves an injustice if you accept this amendment, which, I am sorry to say, the committee of which I have the honor to be a member saw fit to accept. I hope you will vote it down.

The motion to substitute the words "the law" for the word "justice" was carried.

Section 19 was then adopted as follows:

"19. The calling of a convention for the revision of the Constitution of the United States."

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I want to incorporate into this platform an anti-military plank. I think it is a question of great importance. Everyone of us knows that the militia, and everything that trains with it, is turned against the working class every time there is a conflict between the working class and the master class, and I want a distinct understanding, I want a declaration that everyone will understand that we are opposed to the militia in this country because it is always used in behalf of the capitalist class, and I want the committee to make it as strong as it can be made.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I make the point of order that the delegate has the right to offer a plank in specific terms, but not to call for a plank generally.

DEL. FURMAN: I want the committee to put the plank in there.

A DELEGATE: This should be referred to the Platform Committee to draft particular clause.

DEL. FURMAN: That is my motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready, the motion to refer this to the Committee on Platform?

DEL. FURMAN: I made no motion.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): He said he would like to have incorporated in the platform anti-military plank, but the Secretary is bound to consider that a motion.

DEL. STRICKLAND: I am opposed having this go back now. The military proposition has been taken care of in resolutions introduced by Ohio and already adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion of Delegate Furman is to recommit it to the committee for a plank on anti-militarism.

The motion of Del. Furman was lost.

On motion of Delegate Strickland, seconded by Delegate Berlyn, the platform as a whole was then adopted.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I have tried for minutes to offer a plank.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only question before the house was the adoption of platform as a whole.

DEL. DUFFY (N. Y.): We have struck out the plank on the tariff. Now the tariff is an issue.

A DELEGATE: A point of order. settled that a while ago.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have had a full discussion of the question of tariff.

DEL. GOEBEL: Tomorrow morning of the most important matters coming for consideration will be reported here. ask on behalf of the Constitution Committee that we be permitted to have our report taken up as the first order of business tomorrow morning. We are proposing many changes that are vital, and they should be carefully considered and discussed. I therefore ask that the Committee on Constitution be allowed to report first thing tomorrow morning.

DEL. KOOP (Ill.): I move that the Committee on Constitution be the first committee to report in the morning.

The motion was carried.

The meeting then adjourned until Friday May 17, 1912, at 10 A. M.

## SIXTH DAY'S SESSION.

Del. Carey, Chairman of the previous day, called the convention to order at 10 o'clock.

The following delegates were nominated and accepted for Chairman of the day: Rodriguez, Duncan, Thompson (Wis.).

The following delegates declined nomination: Hogan (Ark.), Berger (Wis.), Hariman, Strelbel.

The vote resulted: Rodriguez 41, Thompson 75, Duncan 84.

Del. Duncan (Mont.) was declared elected Chairman for the day.

The following delegates accepted nomination for Vice-Chairman of the day: Edwards (Tex.), Killingbeck, Latimer, Strickland.

The following delegates declined nomination: Clifford, Thompson (Wis.), Wanhope (N. Y.).

The vote resulted: Edwards 32, Strickland 87, Latimer 19, Killingbeck 66.

Del. Strickland (Ohio) was declared elected Vice-Chairman for the day. The roll call of delegates and the reading of the minutes were, on motion, dispensed with.

### WASHINGTON DELEGATION.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): The rule adopted is that where a state has instructed its delegation to vote on a particular question, their vote shall be recorded as a unit. There are seven delegates in Washington that consider themselves bound by instructions from the state to vote against immediate demands, and they would like to be recorded.

THE SECRETARY: The Washington delegates would like to be recorded as voting against immediate demands in the platform.

DEL. MALEY (Wash.): I wish to have my name recorded there.

DEL. BOEHM (Ohio): I would like to be recorded as individually voting against immediate demands.

### COMMITTEE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I regret the necessity of calling the attention of the delegates to an uncompleted sentence in the report of the Committee on Labor Organizations and Their Relations to the Party. If you will recall, when I was reading this report yesterday, in the second paragraph, I stopped because I came to a wording that did not seem complete. I consulted with the members of the committee, and they recognized that without the addition of the words that were in the original matter that went to the printer this paragraph would be meaningless. I regret the necessity of doing this, but the members of the committee and the delegates will understand that there is no ulterior motive behind it. If you will just follow me I will read that paragraph. The second paragraph reads: "Political organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation." It says nothing, so you see it is uncompleted. It should read: "Political

organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation. The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement, the Socialist Party and the labor unions." I move you that the words "The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the" follow after the word "emancipation" and prior to the words "working class movement," in order to complete the sentence and make it intelligible. (Seconded.)

The motion was unanimously carried.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Constitution, through the Chairman, Del. Hillquit, will now make its report. The report\* is most important, so delegates will please be in order. Comrade Hillquit has the floor.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Comrade Chairman and comrades: I believe the Chairman did not overstate the situation when he expressed the opinion that we are now coming to the most important part of our business. Our resolutions and our platform are very important, but nevertheless they remain only abstract expressions of opinion. Our Constitution will determine our work for many years to come, and every part of it will play a very important role in our practical work as soon as adopted.

Your committee, like the two preceding committees, has the pleasure of submitting to you a unanimous report, or at least one practically unanimous, for out of a hundred and odd sections of the Constitution only two members of the committee moved an addition to one of the sections, not concurred in by the other members of the committee. In all other respects and in all substantial points and features, the committee is unanimous.

We proceeded upon the assumption that our Constitution required radical revision. As it stood or as it stands today it was the Constitution adopted in 1901 upon the formation of this party, with very slight changes adopted from time to time. We found that the machinery of administration which we had provided for a party of 10,000 members or less would not fit a party of 150,000, and perhaps 200,000 or 300,000 by the time we again have an opportunity to re-examine our Constitution. We have reached a point, comrades, where the organization of the Socialist Party has tremendous tasks to perform. From an office

\*Editor's Note: To make the report of the convention upon this subject intelligible to the reader the entire constitution as adopted by the convention is printed as Appendix F. As this differs only in minor details from the committee's report, and these changes are noted in the Proceedings, the original report is not given.

ended to by one National Secretary and one or two assistants, we have now a national office composed of various departments employing scores of people and doing a work which requires the greatest possible efficiency in every way.

We have sought to attain two main objects in drafting this new Constitution which we are now about to submit to you. One was to maintain all features of true democracy in the Socialist organization. The other was to increase the efficiency of the organization. While under the old Constitution we had plenty of democracy, we had, on the whole, very little efficiency. Now there is no conflict between the two. Democracy should not exclude efficiency. On the contrary, democracy properly understood spells efficiency, and we believe we have prepared a large scheme of organization in which both principles unite very well.

The features of our old Constitution which we thought stood most sorely in need of amendment were those relating to the administration of the national organization. What we now have is a National Committee, a National Executive Committee, a National Secretary, convention and referendum. Each one of these five factors in our administration is practically independent of the others, to such an extent, at least, as to interfere very often with each other.

For instance, the National Committee has practically the same powers and the same functions as the National Executive Committee. The difference between the two is that one holds no meetings, and transacts business by correspondence. The other does hold meetings. And very often we have a spectacle of this kind: Of two entirely opposite motions originating in each of the two bodies, sometimes taking effect together, and one nullifying the other; or a case of this kind, where, for instance, a large sum of money is appropriated by the National Committee without consulting or taking into account the appropriations made by the National Executive Committee. The result has been a certain uncertainty. With this we have no sense of responsibility in our national office. The National Executive Committee in its action is subject to, the National Committee, but not fully so, not completely so. It is a body elected by the membership of the party, independent of the National Committee, and hence there is a certain rivalry between the two which is not healthy for our work and for the welfare of the party.

The National Secretary, again, is likewise elected by a general vote. He does not owe his existence to either the National Executive Committee or the National Committee. He is an independent organ of administration, with duties prescribed by the Constitution, and elected directly by the membership.

And there is another conflict, a certain conflict between the National Secretary and the National Committee or the National Executive Committee. There is also a certain laxity in the relations between the Secretary, the National Committee and the National Executive Committee. He is subordinate to the other two bodies; and the question arises very often, to which one primarily? and nothing is determined about that.

We have complicated the situation by the election of an independent National Woman's Committee, likewise elected by general vote, with a Secretary or General Correspondent of this committee. Also that is in a somewhat indefinite status.

Now, this feature, the lack of a center of responsibility for the administration of the party affairs, has not worked well of late, and will certainly work still less so in the future as our party grows bigger and as its task becomes more important.

Furthermore, in the election of these officials and committees, we have not adopted the best method of getting the most efficient comrades to serve. As to the National Committee, we are not concerned with it. The states take care of that. As to the National Executive Committee, the paradox has been this: That while the committee is strictly a business committee to attend to routine work, technical matter of organization and propaganda of the party, holding a position which requires certain well-defined special qualifications, our election by general vote has necessarily degenerated into a sort of a general popularity contest. It could not be otherwise, because when we submit a string of names to 150,000 persons, 100,000 of whom have come into the organization, say within the last two years or thereabout, and when we submit men taken from any part of the country to the voters of the entire country, we cannot expect anything else than that the best known names should be elected. —Now, comrades, as a member of the National Executive Committee, elected under the present mode, I will not be charged with special bias or personal bias against the mode of election. But let us take the last election as a concrete illustration, and what do we find? We have a National Committee composed of comrades who reside, two of them on the Pacific Coast, two on the Atlantic and the rest somewhere in the middle western states. We have elected them in alphabetical order. They were submitted to us in alphabetical order, and they were elected in the order of the vote alphabetically. It may be a coincidence; it may be an accident, but it is still significant that with a single exception, commencing with B—we had no A—the vote was alphabetical; Berger being first; Harriman next; Haywood third; Hill quit fourth; Irvine fifth; O'Hare sixth; Spargo seventh. You can analyze each and every one of them, and you will find that each and every one of them was elected for a reason entirely unrelated to his or her qualifications to be a member of the Executive Committee; one because he did a very clever stunt in getting himself elected to Congress, and a very clever stunt or series of stunts in Congress. (Laughter.) He did well. But, let me tell you right now that Victor L. Berger may happen to be an excellent man for the National Executive Committee; I will testify here as his colleague on the board that he is. But Victor L. Berger, holding the position that he does and having done the work he had in Congress, might not be possessed of a single qualification for member of the National Executive Committee, and yet he would have been elected, anyway.

But I am not going to take up all the individuals; but some have been punished by their friends or enemies for having written books, and we send them to the National Executive Committee; others for editing newspapers; others for other purposes, but not one because the party membership actually know or thought that he or she possessed special qualifications for this particular office. The result is, let me tell you right now, that, facing a national campaign we will be compelled to elect—that is my personal opinion—a National Campaign Committee who can be on the job all the time. The National Executive Committee as elected cannot supervise and handle at

page a national campaign, one of its most important duties.

Now, similarly, the National Secretary Grade Work, may be an excellent man in the position, but I make bold to state that he was elected because he temporarily held that position at the time of the election. And every National Secretary, whether good, bad or indifferent, fit or unfit, is sure of re-election under the present method of procedure so long as he is willing to stand. Now, in some cases it may be an excellent thing; he may be the best man. In other cases he may be the very worst fitted for the position, and still will be re-elected. It is natural. How can you expect 1,000 or 300,000 people from all over the country to know the qualifications of any individual in the party for that particular office? Make no mistake; the question of the National Secretary, his ability and fitness for the office, is more important than that of the National Executive Committee or National Committee, for he is on the job every day and determines the practical work and politics of the party every year.

Now, then, comrades, we say that this is democracy, it is a caricature of democracy. Democracy does not consist in wanting to have everybody do everything simultaneously. (Applause.) It consists in a proper, intelligent arrangement by which the best fitted persons are elected to do certain tasks, subject to the approval of the constituency, and with the power of the constituency to recall them at any time if they do not suit or make good.

Now, your Constitution Committee suggests a general scheme which, in its opinion, will do away with all the objects mentioned. We start out by saying, let us first create a body primarily responsible for the administration of the party affairs. Every other administrative organ derives its powers from that body, be responsible that body, be controlled by that body, that there shall be no conflict between them. Let us devise a method by which in the selection of our Executive Committee officers we will have some intelligent discussion, a meeting face to face of the men chargeable with the duty of making proper selection, an opportunity to go over the qualifications of the candidates, an opportunity to intelligently consider the entire situation, and then make the selection after such consideration.

We suggest that the responsible body, the body of primary power and responsibility, the National Committee of the Socialist Party, elected by the states as heretofore. We suggest that the Executive Committee, as its name indicates, be an executive committee of that National Committee, and not an independent one selected by the members. (Applause.)

We suggest that the National Secretary be the Executive Secretary of the National Committee, and not an independent official. And we suggest, further, that the National Committee become a real, working, functioning body. It is not such a body now. It has practically a mere nominal existence until it comes to some mischief or other, as in the voting of \$1,000 for the victims of mine disasters, which could be used for much more legitimate purposes and functions. Now, we propose to have the National Committee meet regularly in actual session at least once a year, and in such meeting take up and discuss the organization problems and working problems before the party and pose of them in an intelligent way. In other words, have a convention in miniature on the basis of representation which we

propose. That would mean about 75 members at present, probably 100 in a year or two, coming together once a year, receiving all reports, investigating into the condition of the national office, making elections of an Executive Committee, and an Executive Secretary, a Woman's National Committee and a General Correspondent for that Woman's Committee, all after due and proper deliberation.

We have in view also that this will dispense with the biennial congresses, and will at the same time give us a chance to have annual conventions in miniature. (Applause.) Now, comrades, that is one of the most important points. There is not a Socialist Party in the world which does not meet annually in convention for the transaction of business, and if there is any party that needs such meetings most urgently, it is the Socialist Party of the United States, at present in the period of its most rapid growth, for every year presents new problems, new situations, which should be dealt with intelligently and in session and by debate, discussions and deliberations.

Now, we also propose that this National Committee be composed primarily of the state secretaries of the various states, who will act as members-at-large for the state, if you want, and additional members, according to the membership of the respective states. What we expect to achieve by it is the following. When we have our National Committee elected, or even our Congresses, we send the most popular men today to them, but the actual workers of the party, those who will have in their hands the execution of our decision, they very often stay away; they are not elected. Now, the National Committee, or the national organization for that matter, is nothing but a sort of bureau or general agency for the transaction of the business of the Socialist Party in the different state organizations. We have no existence outside of the state organizations. The state organizations compose the physical party. The state organizations do the work of the party. And as we grow that will become more and more the case, and for this reason it is important that the men elected by the state to transact the business of the Socialist Party within the state, first, shall have a voice in the formulation of the general policies of the Socialist Party; and second, shall be in as close a touch with the general work as we can make it possible; for a state secretary, taking part in the national convention and returning to his state, will be best qualified to carry out the general spirit and policy of the party as determined in that meeting of which he constitutes a part.

Now, further, we provide also for a change in the method of conducting the referendum vote. We do not curtail it. We leave it to the extent of requiring the same low percentage, five per cent, of the membership, to initiate a referendum at any time. But we make this change, comrades: Instead of allowing any local to initiate a referendum, we require the state, through the membership of the State Committee or the State Executive Committee, if authorized to do so, to initiate a referendum; and if seconded by similar state organizations representing a total of five per cent of the membership or by any five state organizations, then the referendum will be called.

The reason for doing that is as follows: First, the present method of dealing with locals, where our entire scheme of organization is based upon state division very largely. Second, when we have reached a point of having five thousand locals, as we

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some of them composed of several thousand members, and others of half a dozen members, it is unwise, it is improper to allow each one of these locals to initiate referendum. Whether they will be subsequently supported or not is another question. But in the meanwhile, Local Honolulu may submit for a referendum a motion that we forthwith proceed to socialize all the instruments of wealth and distribution, and other locals may submit similar referendums. The result is that our National Bulletin is clogged every week with dozens of such referendums, carried on from week to week without sense, right or reason. Now, we say that the local which cannot get the support of its own state for any proposition which it originates has no right to come before the national organization and demand its adoption. (Applause.)

Comrades, this is a general outline. We have made other changes, many more which will come up as the Constitution or the draft of it is read to you point by point. What we had in view by the entire scheme was to create a democratic, but nevertheless strong, political organization, which will be in a position and which will be able to take advantage of the great opportunities which unfold themselves before us in our work and propaganda day after day, and which we have been compelled to sorely neglect in the past. (Applause.) If there is no objection, our committee would like to have our very able reading clerk, Comrade Strickland, read the Constitution to the convention.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex.): I move to take up the Constitution seriatim. (Seconded.)

DEL. CALDWELL (Pa.): I move that the Constitution be read as a whole, and then be taken up seriatim. (Seconded.)

DEL. WILLIAMS (Pa.): I make an amendment that we take it up seriatim and read it. (Seconded.)

The amendment was carried.

Article I of the Constitution was read, and there being no objection was declared adopted.

Article II was read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection?

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move to insert after the words "all other political parties" the two words "or organizations." (Seconded.) Under the commission form of government we will not have political parties in the cities where such methods are introduced. It will be political organizations, and therefore we must provide whether a member has a right to vote with non-partisan so-called political organizations. Besides that, there are many political organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee accepts. Is there any objection now as it stands? The words are now in the report.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): A point of information. Will that read "all other political parties and organizations" or "all other political parties and political organizations?"

THE CHAIRMAN: You will have to ask the committee.

DEL. HILLQUIT: What is meant, surely, is political organizations.

DEL. MERRICK: Some comrades raised the question of ambiguity on that, and I believe the committee should accept it.

DEL. HILLQUIT: They will accept "political organizations" to make it perfect.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee's report is "political organizations."

DEL. PATTERSON (Ohio): In the next to the last line, after the various qualifications enumerated, are the words "shall be

eligible to membership in the Socialist Party." I hold that whether he shall or shall not be should be left to the local that there should not be a construction placed upon that to the effect that it comes up to the several political requirements in this section that he is eligible shall be eligible. There are quite a people that, in my opinion, are not eligible even after they have fulfilled this requirement. I want that changed to "may be eligible." Whether he shall be eligible, or question of his eligibility, should be left to the local.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you make a motion? That is not before us unless there is a motion.

DEL. VIERLING (Mo.): I move that last clause be changed to read as follows: "May be admitted to membership in party." (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready to vote on the amendment as made by Vierling of Missouri?

DEL. MOORE (Pa.): I oppose changing a word. I think all that the delegates want in the amendment is to cover it a new reads. I don't want to put anything there that would give anyone a chance point out in the Constitution and "This is what I am actually for." I think we already have enough without specifying a lot of other requirements. When it comes to dealing with people that are objectionable in any branch or in any local, we have the power to defeat them by our vote. I do not think we would strengthen that putting this in. I believe if we give people a chance to start a trial for heresy we would probably keep eligible people out of the party.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): It is very important that we safeguard our organization at this stage of its career. We have persons in the city of Cleveland that under circumstances would we admit to our party organization. We know positively, beyond a doubt, that if they sought admission into the party organization, they would have sinister motives. There are some people in this world who are beyond redemption. (Laughter.) I stand for that amendment so that the admission of these people shall be at the discretion of the local, the members of the party who are on the firing line right there in that locality and who know all about the raw material.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I am in favor of this provision, too. That is exactly the way they are working at present. There is no reason to fear that somebody may come into the Socialist Party that is not wanted. It is a fact that we have the power to prevent on the admission of members in the local organization. Up to this time we have always been able to keep out undesirable elements from the party, and if you accept this you thereby make it so that they may be eligible. The point raised by Comrade Moore of Pennsylvania is correct. It leaves it possible for the local organization to keep undesirable elements out of the party. I therefore vote in favor of the report of the committee.

DEL. TAYLOR (Ill.): A point of information. Is it not true that the part of the article that is printed in plain type is the old Constitution as it stands, and that the black-faced type is new material?

DEL. HILLQUIT: The statement shown have been made by the chairman of the committee before, but you will hear in minutes that all which is in light type represents sections taken over bodily from our



stitution, while the heavy type contains sections amended or new sections.

EL. VIERLING (Mo.): I would like to see that the word "shall" makes it obligatory upon the local to admit the member, may come within the scope of the preceding words. The Constitution of the Socialist Party says that they may be admitted if they conform to those words. You say they shall be eligible, it is an obligation to the applicant, and I believe that the local on the ground, that is, the local to which the application is made, should be the authority to say who shall be admitted to membership. You here in national convention assembled may state in general terms what the qualifications shall be but after all it is the people to whom application is made who should say whether or not he shall be admitted. I am not sure that you will vote for the amendment, because it leaves this power with the local where the application is made, and we are only then exercising the right which the comrade has spoken about.

EL. REILLY (N. J.): It seems to me that the delegates who are afraid that undesirable people will come in are unduly timid. What this Constitution really means is that no local shall make any other use as a requisite for membership. We are on applications for membership individually. We can appoint, if we want, committees to investigate the candidate. We can if we want, vote against admitting people to membership, and we do not have to give a reason. What this means is that no local or no local can draw the color line or draw the religious line, or draw any other line except as provided here, and for this reason I favor the report of the committee.

The previous question was moved.

EL. PRIESTAP (Ohio): I am for the amendment. I am from Lima, Ohio, and I want to explain to you the difference between "may" and "shall." We had quite a battle in our local, which you all know, the difference came right here. We had a lawyer who was nominated for the Board of Safety, and you all know that we dumped the whole bunch because they were not carrying the mandates of the Socialist Party. The trial turned on just exactly such words. They pay close attention to them, and when they say "shall," he sticks right to it. I think that not all the members of the Socialist Party in our locals have just exactly the same kind of milk in their cocoanuts, when one of these fellows who are able to make trouble gets started he will make a deal out of the difference between "may" and "shall." This word "may" I remain in that article.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to give the matter to the committee, following the present. The committee has a right to take five minutes in favor of the matter stands without amendment.

EL. GOEBEL (N. J.): It seems to me utterly unnecessary to debate this question. In the first place, I am not a master of authority on English, but I think many of the comrades are mistaking the word "eligible" for the word "elective." I want to call your attention to this fact: We have had this clause precisely as it stands many years. (Applause.) We have over 6,000 locals, and in all those years not even one of those 6,000 locals has asked for a change in this word. That is the best proof that it has worked all right throughout the United States. Let it stand.

The amendment to substitute "may" for "shall" was put and lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now going to vote on Section 1 as reported.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I am very much at sea if we are going to vote on the whole section. I was under the impression that we are voting on this amendment. I have a very important amendment to add in there. I was simply waiting patiently till this other amendment was disposed of. I have a very important matter to offer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair stands corrected. We will listen to the amendment.

DEL. BESSEMER: I wish to add in the third line, after the word "creed" the words "or affiliation with any other labor organization or movement." (Seconded.)

The previous question was moved.

DEL. BESSEMER: I have a right to speak on my motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair has ruled that the amendment was permitted, but not to be discussed.

Del. Bessemer appealed from the decision of the Chair, and the appeal was sustained.

DEL. BESSEMER: My reason for making that amendment is that I know of one specific case at least where a member had been a member of the Socialist Party for three years, with his card with the due stamps on it, and he had been away from the city or out of the local for a year or two, and in that time had been very active or had advocated industrial organization. He came back to that town and appealed to the party to re-admit him. In the meantime there had been considerable discussion in the local over the tactics of labor organizations, and it seemed that those who were opposed to industrial organization, for no other reason than they admittedly said they would not allow a man in their organization or in that local that would work or speak for industrial organization, and they voted against admitting that man to the party. We know that is not fair. This clause in here is no harm, will do no injury whatsoever, but it safeguards a man who wants to join any labor organization from being expelled or put out of the Socialist Party for that reason. We have gone on record here as being in favor of insisting upon members of the Socialist Party belonging to labor organizations, and why are we afraid of putting a clause in there so that no man can be denied the right given him to belong, when we ask him to belong. I think it is a very sensible thing to put it in. It can injure nobody and may be a benefit. In case a man was denied the right to go into a local, if this clause is in there he has a good cause to appeal to the membership at large of the state for protection, and if they would not give it he could appeal to the membership of the United States.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I want to speak against the amendment, and in speaking I will use the argument of Comrade Bessemer himself. He shows you the membership card of a comrade that has been a member of the party, and he tried to join the party again. As a matter of fact, he has been a member of the party all the time, and only has to go and pay his dues and he will be a member in good standing and will not require a new application. It is not a good argument to say you are going to insert something new in the Constitution. If we are going to make an amendment to cover every particular case, then we might as well provide what kind of clothes he shall wear in order to belong to the party. As to the objection raised by Comrade Bessemer in regard to appealing

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the state organization, there is plenty of opportunity to cover all that.

The question was then put on the Bessemer amendment, and it was lost.

DEL. MALKIEL (N. Y.): I move to insert after "political action" the words "for both men and women." (Seconded.)

DEL. LONDON (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. The amendment is meaningless.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order. You will decide on that by voting on it.

DEL. MALKIEL: I have made this amendment for this reason: Last year when the Woman's National Committee had the petition that Comrade Berger presented in Congress, we found that there were people who refused to sign it. We had circulated the petition among our party membership, and more than once we were confronted with our party members who refused to sign the petition, on the ground that they did not believe in woman suffrage. In our platforms we have declared for equal suffrage for both men and women for the last thirty or forty years or more, and it has remained until now. The time has come when woman suffrage, woman's enfranchisement, is a live issue. If we stand for it let the men and women joining the party pledge themselves to support it. I ask you to accept that, but I think the delegates will vote in favor of it.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ (Ill.): I want to speak against the amendment. A person may be a member of the Socialist Party and may oppose woman suffrage. I have spoken in favor of it at women's meetings time and time again. I have always advocated it, at all times and in all places. I think there should be such a plank in the Socialist platform, and when an applicant for membership in the Socialist Party signs his name he agrees with the platform of the party, but the question of woman suffrage, in my opinion, is not a fundamental question of the class struggle. In other words, I do not believe that in order for a man to believe that the class struggle is in existence and that it is necessary for him to organize politically in order to capture the powers of government—I do not believe that he must agree necessarily that that is impossible unless he also favors woman suffrage. I believe our constitutional requirements should be broad enough to permit men and women to be members of the party even if they do not see fit to agree with me on woman suffrage. There are men in the Socialist Party that I know who do not favor woman suffrage, and I honestly believe that they are good Socialists; but for various reasons they do not favor it. We have some comrades in this convention that do not agree with the immediate demands in our platform. We agree with the platform, but I do not believe it should be made a requirement in our Constitution that a man should absolutely say, "I believe in woman suffrage" before he can be admitted to membership in the Socialist Party.

DEL. SPARGO: I want to offer an amendment. The amendment I offer is this: To amend the latter part of the article which reads "and subscribes to the principles of the Socialist party, including political action" by deleting the last three words, and to insert the words "platform and" before "principles," so that it will read, "and subscribes to the platform and principles of the Socialist party, shall be eligible to membership in the party." If I get a second I will explain why.

(Amendment Seconded.)

DEL. SPARGO: I think that it is entirely superfluous to say "any person who

subscribes to the principles of the party, including political action." Where we had a controversy in our party between those who say that the Socialist party ought to turn to Sabotage, and direct action—where we have had a controversy—

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): A point of order. Comrade Spargo is not talking to the motion. He is introducing irrelevant matter here.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Spargo is talking to his motion.

DEL. SPARGO: Where we have that discussion, when I have said to comrades, "You are violating the decalogue they have turned back to it and said, 'It is the article which provides the terms of admission to the party and membership in the party, and it says 'including political action.'" What does that mean if it does not mean that there are other kinds of action sanctioned by the party? I have heard men stand up to defend Sabotage and say, "So long as I believe in political action of some kind, I am within my rights in the Socialist party in advocating Sabotage." I want this party today to go on record, not that political action is subordinate in our party, in its platform, in its rules. I want it to take this position. We are a political party, and any person who comes into the political party must necessarily accept the principle of political action as a condition of membership. I know why it was inserted in 1908. I know the abnormal condition under which that sentence was introduced into that rule. I tell you that what we ought to demand of every applicant for membership in the Socialist party is an unqualified declaration that he accepts the principles of the Socialist party as set forth in its platform and its program. (Applause.)

DEL. HILLQUIT: The reason why I speak against this proposition is not that I disagree with the spirit of Comrade Spargo's remarks, but because I think his proposition does not properly carry out the spirit in which it is made. We have now in our platform a demand for political action to be recognized by applicants before they can be qualified for membership. The striking out of that phrase will be and should be interpreted as dispensing with that requirement. (Applause.) Now, we are dispensing with this requirement. Furthermore, the substitution of "platform" so as to make the section read that candidate subscribes to the platform and principles, is near repetition. The principles are expressed in the platform.

A DELEGATE: Not at all. They are expressed in the resolutions.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Well, I think the platform does represent our principles. It does not, I do not know what does. I think our principles are expressed in the platform. I therefore think we would be leaving it in as it is.

The amendment of Del. Spargo was lost. Del Goebel moved the adoption of the section as read. Seconded.

DEL. MALEY (Wash.): I rise to propose an amendment covering the intention of Comrade Malkiel but inserting after the words "political action" the phrase "and unrestricted political rights for both sexes."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MALEY: I don't expect that the amendment will be carried. But I bring the matter before the convention with the hope that the necessity for any member of the Socialist party of America bringing such an amendment to our party convention

tion shall be made forever unnecessary. The fact of the matter is this, that Del. Malkiel of New York knows exactly where she stands from and what she is talking about. She asks for an amendment including women's rights in our party pledge because here are Socialist locals that have refused to sign women's suffrage petitions that were presented to Congress by Comrade Berger this year. I speak not as a woman, not as a feminist. I speak as a party man (loud cheers) and an organization man (cheers) when I tell you that if you don't put your women into this fight the capitalists will do it for you; and they will put not only the women into this fight, but here will be unrestricted suffrage for the negroes of the south, and for every element in this nation that your masters think can be used as a plug to destroy you as a political factor. I certainly trust that we shall have at least a strong expression from this convention to the effect that no man is a Socialist—get it?—no man is a Socialist, and I give it back to Rodriguez; he is not a Socialist, he is only a half baked politician if he stands against the right of women to vote, or pats on the back any other half baked working man who stands against the right of his working class sister to come into the political field and make her fight for justice.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ (Ill.): I rise to a matter of personal privilege.

(Cries of "take the platform.")

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: I don't desire to take the platform at all. I think you can all hear me, and I think if Comrade Maley had listened before she would have heard me and understood me. It seems that she did not. I have always stood for universal suffrage, but in view of the remarks of Comrade Maley perhaps it is necessary to repeat what I said before. I have always stood, ever since I became a member of this party for equal and unrestricted rights for men and women. My wife happens to be a member of this party; every one of my wife's family are for women's suffrage, and all of my family are for women's suffrage. What I said was this, that I did not believe that it was absolutely necessary as a requirement before any man became a member of the party that he should first unrestrictedly and absolutely believe that woman should have an equal ballot with man. That is what I said. Furthermore I said that we should have a plank in our platform declaring for equal rights for men and women. I am sorry that Comrade Maley did not hear that. I stand just as strongly for woman's suffrage as does Comrade Maley.

DEL. MENG (Ark.): He did say a man could be a good Socialist and opposed to woman's suffrage.

DEL. MALKIEL (N. Y.): I want to say that Delegate Rodriguez did say that a man could be a good Socialist and not believe in equal suffrage.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): The statement has been made on this floor that a branch in Local New York is opposed to woman's suffrage because they refused to sign a petition that was to be presented by Comrade Berger. If there was such a branch the reason they did not sign such a petition was because they were utterly opposed to the idea of petitioning a capitalist congress to grant the vote to women; they did not believe that anything could be achieved by petitioning. That does not show that there is any local in New York opposed to giving woman political equality with man.

The amendment by Comrade Maley, k for insert the words "and unrestricted political rights for both sexes" was carried. age

A division being called for "the chairman said:

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment you have just carried is to insert the words "and unrestricted political rights for both sexes," after the words "political action." A division has been called for.

DEL. ENDRES (N. Y.): I believe there are a good many of us who do not understand this situation. What does the introduction of this clause mean?

THE CHAIRMAN: There should not be any doubt about what this means but the secretary will read it again. Read the whole section as amended.

THE SECRETARY (reading): "Article 2, Section 1. Every person, resident of the United States of the age of 18 years and upwards without discrimination as to sex, race, color or creed who has severed his connection with all other political parties and subscribe to the principles of the Socialist party, including political action, and unrestricted political rights for both sexes, shall be eligible to membership in the party."

Upon a division the amendment by Comrade Maley was carried; 135 aye, 86 no.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): Are not the committee willing to change the word "his" to "their."

THE CHAIRMAN: The masculine pronoun carries both sexes according to the Chair's interpretation.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): Do I understand that on every amendment that comes before the convention now on this article there can be no more than two speeches?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the Chair's understanding.

DEL. WILSON: I object. Every amendment that comes as a distinct motion on every one of these sections ought to be open to debate until the previous question is called.

DEL. BRUCE (Pa.): I appeal from the ruling of the Chair.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: An appeal has been taken. The question is, shall the Chair be sustained.

DEL. WHEELER (Cal.): At the early part of the session the presiding officer ruled that when an amendment offered by one of the delegates was before the house and another delegate offered an amendment the Chair ruled that in order not to confuse the question they would deal with one amendment at a time; and when that amendment was disposed of the other amendment could be put. That was the ruling of the Chair. That was the absolute understanding of every delegate in the house. And whether the Chair ruled otherwise or not I hold it is simply fair that every amendment should be open to discussion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair simply understands that the previous question being ordered, amendments are still in order, but the discussion is limited. I simply act under my understanding of the rule.

On a division the decision of the Chair was overruled.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am every glad to hear it.

DEL. PATTERSON (Ohio): I ask that the committee include the following words, and I offer as an amendment if they won't accept it that at the end of the first clause where it says "membership in the party," add the words "of the state in which he is a resident."

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te motion was seconded.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): A point of information. Does the four hour rule apply to the report of this committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it does.

DEL. HOGAN: I want to say then that we have consumed two hours already in the discussion of the first section and at this rate we will never get anywhere.

DEL. PATTERSON: The reason I bring this to your attention is that on many occasions men who have been expelled from the membership in one state have gone over the border line into the next state and joined the organization in that state. A member being denied membership at Toledo, Ohio, went down into Florida, and there he has exploited the Socialists by selling swamp lands, after joining the Local, as I was told by a member of this convention—a Local which has since perished, and which only worked harm to the bona fide Socialist organization while it existed. That member was taken into membership in Florida, and there is no provision at the present time to prevent his being taken in, by making it compulsory that a state shall only accept those who are residents of the state. Residence qualifications are determined politically, so there is no trouble about that, and by making it binding that a man is only eligible in the state in which he votes you save the organization all kinds of trouble. On the other hand, there is nothing preventing that fellow from posing as a Socialist, holding a Socialist card in the party Local, opposing the regularly organized Socialist party, or becoming a candidate for office.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): If we are going to do this thing let's do it right, let us take each individual word in this constitution and submit an amendment to it. I am not here to fight for this committee, but I am a member of the committee and I know that we have done our duty. I know there has not been a point presented so far that was not carefully considered and debated in the committee. The last comrade for instance, seems to forget that we have a provision in the constitution reiterated year after year that the membership of each state shall have absolute control over its own membership. If a state can not take care of this thing the state ought to have all the trouble coming to it so far as I am concerned. We have had this provision year after year and the party has not gone to smash. The party is stronger today, immensely stronger than ever before, and if you take up every article in the constitution that we have been living under for years and try to amend them word for word, what are you going to do with the new provisions that are vital to the life of this organization. Let us get down to business. Vote down this amendment and consider something that is essential.

DEL. BOSWELL (W. Va.): I move that the motion be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was carried.

DEL. EDWARDS: I move that Section 1, Article 2, be adopted as amended by Comrade Maley. And upon that I move the previous question.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I think this motion is unnecessary. I think the Chair ought to adopt the rule that where there are no objections to a section the Chairman ought to declare the report of the committee accepted as was done with the report of the Platform Committee.

Section 1, Article 2 was then adopted as amended.

Section 2, Article 2 was then read.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move to strike out in the first sentence the word "without the consent of the state organization," and that the next sentence shall read, "No party member shall be a candidate for public office of any party other than the Socialist party."

THE SECRETARY: Del. Bostrom of Washington offers this amendment: That the section shall read, "No person occupying a position honorary or remunerative by gift of any party other than the Socialist party (civil service positions excepted) and no person whose principal source of income is derived from rent interest and profit, shall be eligible to membership in the Socialist party. No party member shall be a candidate for public office without the consent of the city, county or state organization according to the nature of the office."

DEL. BOSTROM: The Socialist party proclaims itself to be the political expression of the interests of the working class. In the platform debate last night we had an expression like this, "All political parties are the expression of economic class interests," and in another place, "The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers." You say this in one breath and in the next breath you are willing to accept into the party capitalists, people whose interests are practically antagonistic to the interests of the working class. I know that the plea is made that members coming in here are sincere although they may be connected with the Rockefeller interests, but he comes in here because he is carried away by the speech of Comrade Spargo or some other great orator of the party. But you know that every trouble that exists anywhere comes from the clash of economic interests. You know that was the trouble right here last night on the immediate demands. You see it there. Immediate demands are for the benefit of the tax paying class, for the farmers, for the business man. In the twelve years that I have been in the Socialist party I have noticed that economic determinism operates in the decision of questions in the Socialist party as everywhere else. The only cause of disturbance in this party has been economic interests. You can not make a party out of a lion and a lamb. I tell you that earnest as a man may be, sincere as a man may be when his economic interests are concerned he is going to look out for them. I realize that the opinion of this convention is not in favor of this amendment. I don't expect it to carry, but I do want every man here recorded as standing for or against the working class on this question and I shall demand a roll call on my amendment.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I move to table the motion of Delegate Bostrom.

The motion to table was carried.

DEL. NAGLE (Okla.): I wish to call the attention of the delegate from New York that when he asks to strike out the words "without the consent of the state organization" if that amendment is carried then no Socialist can accept office under any circumstances. Now in Oklahoma and other southwestern states we have what is called the Goble election law; and they have what is called a state election board, a county election board and a precinct election board. If that amendment is carried we are entirely at the mercy of the state election board. We may possibly get representation on those elec-

on boards if that article stands as it is written by the committee. The same thing is true of the second amendment. In many of the states they have the commission form of government. If that section as it is allowed to stand then we will be able to get action politically under the commission form of government, but if you amend it as the second amendment suggests we are cut off from that. Now it is evident that the committee—I am not acquainted with any of them except by reputation—but it is evident that they were broad enough to understand the entire situation; and I ask in behalf of our state especially that that section be allowed to stand just as written and it will amply protect us under the election laws of the state.

**DEL. HICKEY (Tex.):** I move that the last words of section 2 read as follows—“at the following words be added: ‘And no member holding political office shall hold an executive office in the party at the same time.’”

The motion was seconded.

**DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.):** This amendment does not belong here. We are not discussing eligibility to office. That comes under a separate section. If we want to reserve order in debate let us take up the different subjects logically.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The point of order is well taken.

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** As to Comrade Slobodin's amendment, if you adopt that it would prohibit the acceptance of any appointive office, whether the state organization of the Socialist party was in favor of accepting it or not. What the committee had in mind was certain instances that are cited to it. One is mentioned by Comrade Nagle, where a mayor of the city or other officer may appoint a Socialist election official, not because the law compels him to do so, in which case it could not be a gift, but because in fairness, in recognition of the growth and importance of the Socialist movement he feels that that would be the proper thing to do. Under this amendment he would have to decline it no matter whether the state committee or the local committee of the party deemed it of the utmost importance. Another instance was a case in Illinois where the governor had the appointing of a commission on workmen's compensation, to investigate that subject. A position on that commission was offered to a member of the party, a labor union man who accepted it. Under the old constitution he accepted it in violation of the constitution, and the state committee of Illinois closed one eye to it. It was perfectly proper that he should accept, but it should not be left to him alone to determine. It was up to the state committee to determine and this section would give the state committee power to determine in what cases he might sit on industrial commissions, for instance, that are being appointed in all the states, where it is highly important that if the Socialist party can be represented they should be represented, not to compromise, but on the contrary to bring out the most radical proposition that can be obtained. We don't want to cut off this possibility. If it should be a purely political office we have guarded against that in other sections, and it can not be done without the consent of the state organization, and none of you expect a state organization of the Socialist party to consent to the accepting of a purely political office.

On this second point I think Slobak for misapprehended the object of it. He says it was self evident. It is just the contrary. We provide that no party member shall be a candidate for a political office without the consent of the Socialist organization. He wants it to read “The candidate of any other party than the Socialist party.” Our object was to restrict the rights of a member to become a candidate claiming to represent the Socialist party, without the consent of the organization. Under the laws of several states the selection of candidates does not rest with the party organization but rests with bodies of voters who call themselves Socialist voters at the primaries, and thus a party member who does not answer the qualification and is not desired by the party may get himself nominated on a ticket by persons not constituting the party organization of the state. Such a candidate provide that no one can accept the nomination on even a Socialist party ticket, without the consent of the local or state organization.

**DEL. SLOBODIN:** I will speak now. I have been national secretary, state secretary, in every position in the party from national committeeman down; I know the politics of the party thoroughly. I say it is not in the interest of the party that any member of the party should take an appointive office, even when given by capitalist politicians. It is not in the interest of the working class. It is against the interests of the working class. I do not say that every man who accepts such an office will work against the interest of the working class deliberately; but it is against the interest of the working class in that it confuses class lines. I know that Mayor Gaynor would readily offer prominent Socialists that I have in mind a position on some committee, for the purpose of representing, we will say, the interests of the working class; but if he accepts it will finally be against the interests of the working class insofar as it tends to confuse the class lines and insofar as the working class will be taught that they can accept benefits from the capitalist politicians. That is why it should be prohibited absolutely. As to the second point, that was not intended for this purpose at all. If it was intended to prohibit Socialists from accepting offices in the Socialist party without the consent of the state or local organization that would be a good provision. The provision which I referred to is another one. It is a better one, and this is the reason for it, that they shall not accept any public office, or stand as candidates for any public office, other than in the Socialist party. The first provision is not necessary in the national constitution. That may be left to the state organization to deal with. If a party member not nominated by your state or local organization designedly stands as a candidate at the primary election, or stands as a candidate against the decision of your local or state organization you yourselves will know how to deal with it. The provision which I contend is this that he shall not be a candidate of any party or organization other than the Socialist party.

The amendment of Delegate Slobodin was then defeated, and Section 2 of Article 2 was passed as reported by the committee.

**DEL. WHEELER (Cal.):** Will the committee consent to put in the sixth line without the consent of the state or local organization?

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EL. HILLQUIT: The committee de-

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee has refused your request. The section as reported is adopted. Proceed with the next section.

Article 2, Section 3 was then adopted as read.

Article 2, Section 4 was also adopted without objection.

Article 2, Section 5 was adopted without objection.

Article 2, Section 6 was then read.

DEL. GARVER (MO.): I move to amend by striking out the words "against the person" in the second line and inserting the word "sabotage." As amended it will then read: "Every member of the party who, in Florida, and in any other state, or in any territory, or in any foreign country, or in any other methods of violence, or by the use of any weapon of the working class to join the party, shall be expelled from the membership in the party." I desire to say that the qualifying words "harm to the person" imply that if the while it is against property it might be permitted. Under such a construction we might be considered as advocates of arson; under that construction we might be considered advocates of dynamite; under that construction we might be considered advocates of railroad wrecking. I contend that it is high time for this convention to take a distinct stand and declare that it is opposed to every form of crime and violence (great cheering). Why this committee composed as it is of representative men of the convention should put in a qualifying clause implying that crime must be against the person to be denounced I can not understand. You all know that Jim McNamara said that he didn't intend to kill any one in Los Angeles; that he simply intended to injure the building that was blown up. I want to say that that line can not be drawn. It is high time that this convention should go on record on this subject. In inserting this word "sabotage" I will say that I have been asked the meaning of the word. The meaning that I have in mind was given to me by one that was qualified to define it, a member of this convention having the right to a voice and vote. I think it is pretty thoroughly understood and that there will be no confusion in the mind of any delegate and that this amendment will be adopted.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I move to strike out this whole section 6. The last delegate in his remarks has proven that he is not clear in his own mind as to what he wants done. He has admitted that there is a question as to what the word sabotage means. Yesterday afternoon the delegates in this convention did the greatest thing that was ever done in the history of the Socialist party. Now after you have adopted a section to which we all agreed, that the members of the Socialist party must stand for political action in every sense, is somebody going to drag in something here, raise a bugaboo and overthrow everything that we did yesterday? That section of Article 2 should be stricken out.

A DELEGATE: The syndicalists will have to go.

DEL. MERRICK: The proposition of what is meant by violence, and what is meant by these different terms would be dragged in here; there will be recriminations back and forth. I want to say to you that it is absolutely superfluous, and even if you thought it ought to go in it should not be in that section but should be in Article 2, Section 1. It has no relevancy here whatever. It is entirely superfluous

and is a proposition that will make serious dissension in the convention, and then you are through you won't be agreed on then. Every delegate in the convention will have a different idea what it means. You will go back to your state wrangling and jangling over that section. I prefer there won't be a member in any local who will agree with any other member as to what this meant when it went in. Let all get together and strike out this section. Let us proceed in the spirit that was manifested yesterday afternoon and last night.

DEL. STALLARD (Kan.): I wish to move and to speak in support of the amendment, that we strike out the following words, "or advocates crime against person or other methods of violence."

THE CHAIRMAN: That amendment out of order. We have two amendments now.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I expected to exact motion. The situation developed yesterday was too smooth. It was so general so all inclusive—

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate must speak to the subject. I do not propose to permit the speakers to wander so far from the subject.

DEL. GAYLORD: Now, Mr. Chairman, I am a judge of words, and I know that I am talking to the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, do so, and ahead.

DEL. GAYLORD: I am doing so, if you will keep quiet and let me.

Comrades, I say it, and I say again, because it is pertinent that the situation yesterday called for more definition. It was understood very well by those who knew the forces at work in this convention that the moment must come, before we left the hall to go home, when there should be a definition of what was meant in this resolution. We will have it; and so will you. I shall not consent, nor will the Wisconsin delegation, to leave in the platform and constitution of this party any uncertain phrases which will be interpreted one way by one group and another way by another group; and in this way lay the foundation for interminable turmoil and disagreement, confusion and the destruction at the wrong time, of this organization.

A DELEGATE: I would like to know what the delegate from Wisconsin is talking about.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is talking to the motion to substitute—

DEL. GAYLORD: I am talking to the motion to strike out the whole paragraph. That is what I said I was talking about, and I am not going to be confused about that.

I am sorry the committee put in those words "against the person." The distinction has well been made on the floor of the convention already, that the crime against property is a thing that this party cannot stand for. No crime. We cannot stand for any crime. We definitely repudiate crime of any kind; and since the question has been raised we dare not evade it with an absolutely definite expression on that point.

However, to go further and to come immediately within the range of that which the chairman will doubtless understand, neither dare we permit our party organization to present its principles, the basis of this organization, the platform and program to the people of this country, to the working class, who are looking for something that is clear cut, except in language that is decisive and easily understood. Neither dare we present ourselves to them in language

concerning it which is of doubtful interpretation. I for one shall not and cannot stand for any quibbling and evasion. I know whereof I speak when I speak of quibbling and evasion. In the mountains of Pennsylvania have I met it. Out on the coast, in halls hired by the Socialist party for me to speak in, have I met it. All the way in between, from the prairies of Texas far up into the factory districts of the cities have I met it. I know what I am talking about when I talk about quibbling and evasion, and uses of words that are given double meanings. No. We know what we want. A political party having for its principles and foundation the acquirement and intelligent use of political power. And those whom I have met, and they are on this floor, those whom I have met who have quibbled about this, evaded, and split hairs when they were in my presence and afterwards were plain enough to suit the devil himself, these cannot fool me. You fool others but you cannot fool me. I know what the workers of this nation are talking about. They do not stand for crimes against property, not even in the name of the labor unions. Crimes against property are all closely identified physically with danger to life of the working men. We want no chances taken. Property is a thing that we use. The use of it is our livelihood. The use of it properly is our labor, our living. Property is the product of human labor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your time is up. On motion Del. Gaylord's time was extended five minutes, and he proceeded: Now, to come just to the point. I stand for striking out the words "against the person," and inserting the word "sabotage." Some will object that they do not know what that word means. I did not originate its use. Let us take the use of it as they do, subtle and insinuating and suggestive rather than definitive. Let us take the meaning and meanings and all the meanings given the word. We do not want any of it. None of it. We don't want the touch of it on us. We do not want the hint of it connected with us. We repudiate it in every fibre of us. I know it is capable of double meanings, just because those who have adopted its use ask us "what do you mean by sabotage?" What do we mean? We mean what you mean, and we do not want it. Political action undertaken as a method of the working class battle, accepts for the time being the present definition of crime. It includes and implies the right of the majority to change its definitions of crime in so far as we may be able when we have the power, according to such light and knowledge as may come to us on the basis of our experience, but for the present, for the maintaining of the social order which we have, and under which we live, and under which we must live, for the maintaining of such personal safeguards for liberty and life, and the pursuit of happiness as we have, and I am frank to say that I prefer to take those that we have rather than ask for those which may not be granted by the advocates of direct action and sabotage. These safeguards we know and understand. They do not suit us and we propose to increase them, to increase the personal use of personal liberty, the personal use of personal powers, but we do not propose to destroy them. Though they do not suit us they are protections in some degree. We propose to increase expression in them by increasing the imperfect facilities of social action for the common welfare. This is my understanding of the matter, and in

this I feel safe in saying that I speak for the comrades from Wisconsin.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): Probably I won't have the beautiful flow of language or use as many words as the delegate from Wisconsin has used. I am in absolute harmony with the clause in the constitution brought forward by the committee. I am also in harmony with the amendment proposed by the comrade here, putting in the word "sabotage."

A DELEGATE: What are you talking about, then?

DEL. SADLER: I object to any individual attacking any member of this organization by misrepresentation and words that do not mean anything.

A DELEGATE: What do you mean? Who is talking?

THE CHAIRMAN: Order in the house. Let the Chair regulate this. The comrade will talk to the motion or yield the floor.

DEL. SADLER: I will speak to the motion. Comrades, there is no subtle meaning to the phrase as has been suggested by the delegate from Wisconsin. There are no two members of the Socialist party who agree on the word sabotage. Not only that, but I think it is out of place in the Socialist constitution and political organization, striving to get political power. For this reason: The Socialist party, a political organization, has no use for sabotage, crime, or anything else of that kind. As a political organization it is not within our jurisdiction to use sabotage, and therefore it has no place in our programme. It is only an economic organization that can use it, and not a political organization. Therefore, it seems to me, out of place, and I am sure that the committee was intelligent enough, broad enough, and had experience enough to know that if it had a place in there they would have put it in. So, therefore, I am opposed to the insertion of the word "sabotage" in our constitution.

DEL. GOEBEL: I am speaking now as an individual and not as a member of the committee. On the committee we were divided on the use of that word "sabotage." Those are the members of the committee who were better trained in English, used a term that they said meant the same thing, so that after all there was no real division. I think that all nine members of the committee stood directly against that thing that is meant by those who use the word "sabotage." For myself, I know that I stand against it. This is a political organization. If we are a political organization and stand for certain things, and do not stand for certain other things, let us say so. Why not? What is lost by being honest? Now, I am perfectly frank in telling you what I am after, what I am driving at. I want to say that when a man speaks for the Socialist party, in a hall which is paid for by Socialists, that he ought to talk what we mean by Socialism. (Applause.) I speak again, as Comrade Gaylord spoke, from bitter experience. I have traveled in the service of this Socialist party in practically every part of the United States, and what do I find? I find the movement in locality after locality disorganized, I find them fighting amongst themselves. Why? Because men have come into the Socialist party and instead of advocating the principles and tactics of the Socialist political organization, they have advocated the tactics of an economic organization—sabotage. This is the point, get it. If they are amongst those that want to talk sabotage, let them go out on an-

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other platform and talk it. I for one much as I disagree with them, am perfectly frank to say it. Sabotage means jack-ass methods of fighting capitalism. In the end it spells but the philosophy of anarchism, the philosophy of the individualist that takes upon himself to know better than the organization, the collectivity, can know. To me, it is a jack-ass method of fighting capitalism.

But after that, and this is the only question before the house, shall we say what we mean by political organization, and thereby make it possible for the good loyal comrades all over the country to have an interpretation that will enable them to say whether a member of the party is talking political organization, or whether they are advocating what they are pleased to call the economic weapon in the fight against capitalism.

Now, what did happen in regard to those resolutions, precisely the same resolutions that were adopted four years ago, on labor organizations? We have seen that some of our comrades got up on this platform, and approving these same resolutions that were adopted two years ago—four years ago—they have put on them an interpretation that would allow them to go out tomorrow and say, "They endorsed sabotage; they have endorsed all that we have been doing and saying in the name of Socialism." It was as smooth a political trick as I have ever seen in a political convention in all my experience. What I shall do in my economic organization, what I am liable to do, that is my business. It is not a subject for discussion here; but, what I shall do in the political organization as an expression of my economic interest, is a subject for discussion here. This is what we are trying to say: Do we believe in sabotage as a weapon along political lines? If not, let us say so.

DEL. MAX HAYES of Cleveland: What I have to say I will try to make very brief. I understand that it costs something like \$500 an hour to conduct this convention. I haven't taken much time and I don't intend to take any more than I can help. When I came to this convention as a delegate elected by Socialists in the city of Cleveland, I believed that I was coming to a gathering that was purely political in its nature, that this is a political party, a political organization, with which we are affiliated that has no right to dictate to or take part in the affairs, the politics, or principles of organizations on the economic

field. But apparently there is a split growing in the Socialist Party that soon or later, in the not very distant future, unless we proceed along the same lines that the Socialists throughout the civilized world who are in the vanguard in the political movement to overthrow capitalism, and that adhere to the same principles and policies that we do, that have been a success in these other nations than we are, as I say, confronted by a new spirit that has arisen which attempts to draw the political organization in behind the economic organization. In some parts of the country this spirit is rapidly developing to the anarchistic point where if men like Johann Most were still on earth, they would undoubtedly make application to join. I want you comrades, and particularly those of you who have not practical experience in the every day struggles in the industrial field, to go slow and I refer particularly to some of our so-called parlor variety of Socialists. Some of the intellectuals who have never been in the labor movement, but sit in their parlors and theorize and write books that tell the industrial workers what to do. The point that I wish to make is simply this: You yesterday adopted a declaration regarding the matter of organization on the industrial field, which certainly ought to be satisfactory to every right thinking, honest minded man and woman in the Socialist movement. Let us stand by that. Keep your hands off the A. F. of L. Keep your hands off the I. W. W. Keep your hands off any labor organization. As far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, no resolution that you would adopt here would be sufficient to drive me to join the I. W. W. if I didn't see fit to do so. We can take care of our own affairs on the industrial field. We do not want you to butt in. Leave the industrial field to the unions.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original motion is the adoption of the report of the committee, Article 2, Section 6. An amendment is offered by Garver of Missouri, to strike out in this particular section the words "against the person," and to insert the word "sabotage" in the same place. The amendment to the amendment is offered by Merrick of Pennsylvania to strike out the entire section. That is the status quo just now.

The convention will be adjourned until 2:30 this afternoon.

Whereupon the convention adjourned until 2:30 o'clock p. m., same day.



## AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Duncan called the convention to order at 2:30 p. m. Consideration of the Constitution was resumed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before the house is on the amendment offered by Del. Garver of Missouri, to strike from Section 6 the words "against the person," and insert the word "Sabotage," and on the substitute offered by Del. Merrick of Pennsylvania to strike out the entire Section 6. The Chair recognizes Del. Berlyn of Illinois.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I wish to make a motion relating to the special order. You know that this afternoon at three o'clock, according to the previous action, we are going to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. I wish to make this motion: That when we take up the nominations, a roll call of states be made, giving each state an opportunity to nominate. (Seconded.)

DEL. SPARGO: I offer an amendment to the motion. The amendment is that instead of going into the nominations at three o'clock, we go into the nominations as soon as the business before us is disposed of, that is, as soon as the report of the Constitution Committee is disposed of.

DEL. BARNES: I accept that.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): I offer a substitute that we have a special session tonight, beginning at eight o'clock, the special order of which shall be the nomination of presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

On motion of Del. Prevey of Ohio the motion of Del. Barnes was laid on the table.

## CONSTITUTION.

Consideration of the Constitution was then resumed.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I desire to state to the comrades that this is the time for clearness. The motion to strike out that entire paragraph is liable to becloud. There have been aspersions cast that we are yellow. We want to go on record where we stand. I am in favor of putting the word "sabotage" in. I will vote with the committee if they will consent to it and I will tell you why. I know what sabotage means. I know why I became a Socialist. I was a trade unionist before I was a Socialist, and the methods used by the trade unionists did not appeal to me, and I wanted a better way. "Sabotage" comes from the French word "sabot," wooden shoes—putting the boots to them. Now, you will say that is one definition. That is true.

What does "boycott" mean, and where did it come from? It is Irish, and it meant Englishman who was oppressing the Irish, and they set an example of isolation. Everybody understands now what Captain Boycott stands for—boycott. And today "sabotage" has its positive significance just the same.

Now I am not trying to dictate to the economic movement. When they will come in actual contact with the capitalist class they will adopt such methods and manners of fighting as they deem proper. That is their business, and I do not want to interfere with them, but as a Socialist who has found a better way, in our party, when this thing has been thrust on us we should have the courage to say where we stand. There is no duck-

ing in this. I won't duck. The Socialist party is organized. It has a better way, because it tries to do things for the whole working class—and the best that the economic movement does is to carry on a guerilla warfare. But that is the evidence of the class struggle. We should not suppress them, and in all their struggles, whatever they do, they do what seems right to them, and we will give them support. But that does not permit a man to preach sabotage or violence from our platform.

We make the propaganda for the capture of the public powers, to realize the declaration of principles and the various planks in our platform. What we Socialists appeal to the workmen to do is to unite and get all you can until you get all. And to do this, and to speak plain English, is not yellow.

To some of these boys who talk about being yellow, I would like to say if they were in some of the scrapes that I was they would know something about who is yellow and who is not. Ask the boys in Colorado, when I went out there six years ago, if I was yellow, if I didn't go anywhere, wherever they told me. I would go to hell if they told me. Isn't that so, Floaten? I went to Trinidad and I went to Cripple Creek, and I was the first fellow that spoke there after the deportations. I didn't hesitate. I had the gun put to my nose in Chicago, and I made fun of the fellow that did it. But that is neither here nor there. The question is a question of party policy. We are striving to realize ideals and propositions responsive to the needs and aspirations of the working class. There are elements that have intruded and have used our party as a stalking place to preach anarchy. I won't weaken and we won't have anarchy preached in our platform. We are not going to do it.

DEL. CASSIDY (N. Y.): In my opinion there have been, during my eleven years in the Socialist party, different times when our movement has been threatened from two different directions. At one time it seemed as if it was threatened from the opportunist end. But I want to say tonight—and I am not usually a positivist on most things—that the great danger, the tremendous danger that faces the movement today is from the end that smacks of, that smells of violence and anarchy. (Applause.) I want, comrades, to give you some facts to show you how imminent this danger is to the movement at this time. Most of you have read about the May day demonstration and parade in Union Square, New York, on the first day of this month, and what happened at that meeting. I was the Chairman of that meeting, and I think I can speak with authority. What happened? In the first place, I want to precede this by telling you that for years the New York Socialists and labor organizations have combined in a conference and have carried out a parade on the first of May, which was followed by a mass meeting, usually in Union Square. Heretofore we have had no trouble. Heretofore the anarchists have kept their hands off. The most they have done has been to stand on the sidewalk as we passed by on parade, to stand on the edge of the crowd, sneering at us; because we have no more bitter and vicious enemies today than the anarchists. (Applause.) When the parade arrived in

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Union Square, I was on the platform, about as big as this platform here, with a little projecting space about as big as this for the speaker.

DEL. BESSMER (Ohio): A point of order. Are we discussing what happened in New York, or this amendment to strike this out?

THE CHAIRMAN: I rule that the comrade is talking to the question, and citing this as an illustration of the point he wishes to make.

DEL. CASSIDY: No unusual preparation had been made for this meeting. We did not anticipate, we did not suspect what happened that day. There were two entrances to the platform. When the meeting was about to open, the anarchists, about fifty or sixty of them, all Italian immigrants, began to act. Fifteen or twenty, like a big wedge, came up the stairway on this side. Another fifteen or twenty rushed up on this side of the platform. As our platform was a little higher than this from the ground, they climbed up to the top and took possession of the speakers' stand. I realized that we were up against something. I realized that that was a moment that might have been turned into another Haymarket affair and used to discredit the Socialist movement throughout this country. (Applause.) I went to these men standing on the platform and taking the full space up. I went to the first man and said, "I am Chairman of this meeting, and I ask you to stand back for the speakers." He says, "No, no, no, this is workingman's meeting." "Well," I says, "yes, that is true; this is a workingman's meeting, but we have got to have order at a workingman's meeting." "No, no, no, this workingman's meeting." I went and got three or four committeemen, and we came back again and pleaded with them and asked them to get back. They said no. The only answer was, "Workingman's meeting," and there was nothing too bitter, there was nothing too vile for them to hurl at the Socialist movement. Now, comrades, I am going to state that. Let me tell you another peculiar incident about this meeting; a significant incident. Heretofore at meetings the police department of New York has given us so many police that we were defended. There were police on the right, front and rear. But on this occasion, for some reason that you can guess at and attach whatever significance you like to it, there was no police on the platform. On this occasion, for the first time in the history of any kind of parade in New York, not even one policeman was sent along to escort the parade, and even the police along the road said, "What is the matter? Why haven't you got a police escort?" Under that situation we stayed there, and these ugly, vicious men stayed there. And you must remember that these men do not fight with their fists. They have a knife, or worst of all, there is a bomb, for they are the class that want to use force. One of our committee said, "We can send out in the Square and get fifty husky trade union Socialists and throw them off the platform." I said, "No, let not one comrade hit anybody or do any act of violence." I was afraid, not for myself, but afraid for the movement. (Applause.) These men stayed there. The organizer of Local New York, Comrade Gerber, telephoned to police headquarters for men, but they sent us no men. The policeman in charge of the police employed in the Square refused to come on the platform. Under these con-

ditions I permitted these men to stay there as the best way out of the difficulty. Now, let me show you—(confusion, interrupting the speaker.) No, I am not going to waste your time; I am keeping straight to the point. I want to show you where we are drifting, unless we take a hitch-up. Why did these Italian anarchists have the courage to do something that they did not attempt before? Of course, a comrade here asks "What did they do?" You have read the description. One of the things they did was to hiss at the speakers and so on. Another thing that they did was that a bunch of them in front said, "Take down that flag." I says, "What flag?" He says, "The American flag." I says, "You will not take it down, damn you; you will not take it down." (Applause.) And they wedged toward the flag, and we got our comrades and we stood back and held them back. I said, "Comrades, don't strike, don't strike." Because I did not think they would strike back with their fists. It might have been with a weapon, and then I did not know what might happen. We talked and argued with them, and finally appealed. Socialists tried to protect the flag, and anarchists tried to tear it down. It managed to go down, although it was not trampled by anybody. Now, to my point. Why did they get the courage to do that? Why? Let me show you, comrades. I am only giving you these facts the way I see the thing. When the Lawrence hunger strike started out it brought the Socialist party in connection with the local I. W. W. in New York, and it brought the I. W. W. in connection with the Italian Socialist Federation. The Italian Socialist Federation took these men as members. As to what we call the Italian Socialist Federation I will explain.

(Del. Carey of Massachusetts moved to extend the speaker's time five minutes.)

DEL. HICKEY (Tex.): A point of order. Under the rules the time for nominations is here now. It is three o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not yet three o'clock, the motion is that the time of the speaker be extended five minutes. In two minutes it will be three o'clock.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I move to amend that the time be extended two minutes.

The amendment was carried and the speaker's time was extended two minutes.

DEL. CASSIDY: When the Lawrence strike broke out, what did we Socialists do? In every struggle of the working people for better conditions, we go to their rescue. In this particular case we came in contact with the local I. W. W. and through that with this Italian Socialist Federation. Now, let me explain what this Italian Socialist Federation is. The Italian Socialist Federation, so-called, is an organization that is not affiliated, nor can it be, nor does it desire to be, with the Socialist party in any respect. They frankly tell you that they are anarchists. The Italian anarchists, the Socialist Federation, took an active part in the Lawrence strike. They sent finances. They were the chief agency in bringing the Lawrence children to New York City. In that way many members of our party, through the I. W. W. got mixed up in this once case. Now, comrades, in this way is the danger. Now, about the local I. W. W. I am telling you facts now, and you can draw your own conclusion. When this attack on the Socialist party May day meeting was made, the local I. W. W. called a meeting, and a motion was

le at that meeting, that they repudiate actions of these men who took the reform and threw down the national flag, and the vote repudiating the action these men was taken, and it was only decided by a vote of 28 to 31.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex.): I move to suspend the rules and continue the discussion. (Seconded.)

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I move to amend that we change the order of the day so that this pending discussion on this section of the Constitution shall be shelved and disposed of before we proceed with the regular order. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: That motion has already been laid upon the table.

DEL. ALEXANDER: A point of order. There has been business transacted since the motion to lay on the table was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion at this time is that the rules be suspended and that we proceed with the discussion of this motion before the house, this particular section.

DEL. MERRICK: I wish to speak against suspending the rules.

DEL. ALEXANDER: I wish to speak for suspending the rules.

DEL. MERRICK: At the beginning of this convention, you recognized the importance of providing for the nominations some definite time, in the interest of accomplishing the best interests of this convention. You knew that such situations as this were going to come, and that is the reason you put that rule in there. Now, are you going to change the role order of business and bring about confusion here and produce a situation at your better judgment showed you at the beginning of this convention might flow? There were several motions and amendments made here for the purpose of placing the nominations earlier in the convention, and as a compromise you finally fixed Friday afternoon at three o'clock. Now that time is here. If you begin to suspend the rules I can tell you at that you do not know what you are going to do or where you are going to land. Pick to the program and vote this down. On motion of Del. Richardson (Cal.) the previous question was ordered.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): The way to do this is to finish what you have in hand before you proceed to the next business. This Constitution is the result of five days' work in the committee, and the issues involved in this discussion are very likely to affect the decision of the convention, and to bear upon the decision, certainly, with reference to the nominations.

THE CHAIRMAN: As many as are in favor of suspending the rules and continuing the discussion will signify it by saying aye. Contrary, no. The Chair is in doubt.

DEL. KOOP (Ill.): A point of order. The Chair would state that it only means this clause, I think we would all agree.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is what the Chair stated.

DEL. KOOP: He did not state it the last time.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair did not state it the last time, because he supposed it was perfectly well understood that it means this section. As many as are in favor of suspending the rules and continuing this discussion until this section of the Constitution is disposed of will raise their hands. Those opposed will raise their hands. The motion is carried; for, 168; against, 81.

DEL. PREVEY (Ohio): I wish we might be able to discuss this particular clause without showing such prejudice in our discussion. This clause is very important to the working class. Many of those who have already spoken on this particular clause seem to think that we are now meeting the same issues in our movement as we did four, five or ten years ago. Let me call your attention to the fact that as the working class draw up closer and encroach more and more upon the material interests of the capitalist class, the class struggle is growing more intense. The capitalist class is going to devise new ways and means of beating down the power of the working class. The working class, on the other hand, as they realize that they must meet the greater power of the capitalist class, are also adopting new tactics. Now, then, we did not hear anything about Sabotage four years ago in our national convention. We did not know anything about the word. I do not know anything about it now, because I have not had occasion to fight in the ranks of the workers in a strike or anything of that kind. If I had, maybe I would know something about Sabotage. Let me call your attention to another thing. We did not know anything about the working class being accessories before the fact in every case where there is a strike, as we do now. (Applause.) The capitalist class are so interpreting the laws of this country now that they are convicting workmen of crimes everywhere in the United States for being accessories before the fact. Don't forget that. Now, then, in the interpretation of this word "Sabotage" as given by Delegate Gaylord, from Wisconsin, this morning, he said that it meant a destruction of property. Comrades, I am surprised that the Boston delegation did not rise en masse, because they come from a city where the earlier patriots destroyed property in the American Revolution. (Applause.) In Boston, when the rebels threw the tea over in the harbor, that was Sabotage. We have a monument in Akron, Ohio, built to the memory of John Brown, who was also a rebel. Now, the capitalist class are interpreting the laws so that in every strike where there is any property destroyed, the working men who are out on strike may be indicted for being accessories before the fact and be jailed, when they had no part in destroying this property that was destroyed while they were on strike. If we adopt this clause, which as Delegate Gaylord interprets it means the destruction of property, are we, the Socialist party, going to expel from the party a workman convicted by the capitalist courts of destroying property? (Voices, "No.") Now, don't let us render any assistance to the capitalist class. They are convicting the workers everywhere of destruction of property. How can we determine whether the workmen destroyed the property or not? How can we? I am in favor of striking out this entire clause for this reason. I am heartily in favor of this part of Section 1 of Article II that we adopted with reference to political action. It says that all who subscribe to the principles of the Socialist party, including political action, shall be eligible to membership in the party. I have no sympathy with anybody that joins the party for the purpose of using the Socialist party to further the interests of some other organization. (Applause.) I do not care whether that other organization is the A. F. of L., the I. W.

W. or an independent organization of any kind. When we come into the Socialist party we fight the political battle. But the destruction of property will not take place by political socialists. As one comrade said, that will be done in the economic organizations. Now if the political organization is going to back up the working class on the economic field, we must back them up and we must not discriminate when the capitalist class says they have destroyed property somewhere, somehow. Let us stick to the working class. (Applause.)

DEL. DOBBS (Ky.): The comrade who has just preceded me has inadvertently given the strongest possible reason why you should leave this clause as reported by the committee, when she instances the case of the Boston Tea Party. Now, anyone who knows the significance of that event knows that it was an outburst on the part of John Hancock and a band of smugglers who used their own selfish interests to accomplish their purposes. (Applause.) Here is just the point: if you fail to include in the Constitution this clause as reported, you are going to furnish the basis for "provoking agents." It means that if you strike out the clause, or if you do not leave this clause in there, it means that the capitalist agents in the organizations will start expeditions of sabotage and make the working class responsible. (Applause.) There is the point. There may be exhibitions of violence as the comrade from Ohio has instanced, but they are the exceptions, and we cannot, in fairness to ourselves, base our actions on these exceptional outbursts which in the dim future may prove to be approvable. We, in this convention, represent, it seems to me, the high tide of Socialism. Heretofore we have been in something of a chaos. Now we have come to a position where we are a force in civilization, and if the socialist movement is to realize all that is best in it, it must now and here irrevocably put the stamp of its disapproval upon any anti-social, anti-constructive proceeding. (Applause.) We have got not only to allow the old members of this party, who have been fighting in it from the beginning, to go back to our respective constituencies with a declaration such as this in the Constitution, but we have a larger and wider duty. The working class is entitled to the best that there is in our civilization, and I protest against this attitude upon the part of some members of this party that, because there are not more good things in capitalism and civilization as it exists, therefore, we should repudiate capitalism and civilization and all its work. The working class is entitled to the best, and if the capitalist class desires to stain its hands with fraud and to practice violence, let us, who represent a new and constructive force, take our stand in favor of order as against chaos. (Applause.)

DEL. BENTALL: I am speaking against this section because of the discussion that has arisen. Not because I am in favor of violence, or in favor of any crime against any person; but I am against putting the Socialist party in a position where we have to put out something like this to the world, throwing a suspicion over us: the same as we did two years ago, or four years ago, when we told the world we were neutral on religion. We had no business telling the world that; they ought to have known that anyway. This year I understand that is not in the platform, and nowhere in our lit-

erature. We have learned a lesson. I should we now go on record, doing same fool thing over again.

The reason for all this is not because there are some Socialists who stand violence, or because there is a tendency towards Sabotage in the Socialist party—not for a moment. There are speakers who have not been on the square in this business. They are trying to throw dust in the fact of the people, in the face of the rank and file of the Socialist party. This is the kernel of the whole business. There is an element in the Socialist party today that is progressive and wants to go forward, wants to move and go ahead and use the best possible methods, so that we may do something and there is another element that stands conservative, reactionary, monkeying with the old, outworn machinery. There is the division and you talk for ten months, and that is the only thing, and not Sabotage or violence, anything of the kind. Now, come out square, every last one of you fellows. When I was on the board of the Chicago Daily Socialist, I fought against the horrible thing of violence, and mentioned a specific instance; when a little girl came down from her day's work and scabbed and in the corridor were two great men. They knocked in three of her ribs, they crushed her jaw, and put her in hospital for several months, and she a cripple for life. I said, "I stand against that sort of thing," and every other member of the board of the Chicago Daily Socialist said: "Oh, you are foolish; on and let them do it." Barney Berlym, member of the board himself, and G. Koop, one of them, and Mary O'Reilly.

DEL. KOOP: I deny it.

DEL. O'REILLY: I deny it.

DEL. BENTALL: I am not going behind the bush.

THE CHAIRMAN: Stick to the subject.  
DEL. BENTALL: This is the subject. In spite of the fact that I have stood all the peaceful means without advocating the slightest violence, because I advocate this form of organization that says that violence may be absolutely unnecessary; because of that, they say that I am a direct actionist, and want violence. That is the reason that we have to come squarely, and not come with things thrown dust in one another's eyes. So, we have said before, we stand for political action, and that we stand for the things that make it possible for us to gain our purpose through our intelligence, through our ballot, through our organization, and not through bloodshed and you don't need any of these things.

A DELEGATE: Move to extend time.

DEL. BENTALL: I don't need more time. I have done enough now to keep the other fellows quiet for a while.

DEL. O'REILLY (Ill.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. When I rose to a question of personal privilege, the attack that was made upon me, that was made upon the Daily Socialist Board of Directors and upon some of us named specifically and upon me especially, won't be able to talk upon the question now before the house—so don't call down for not talking to the question. However, I shall come as close to talking to the question as the last comrade from Illinois.

I say, as I always have said, not only must we stand against sabotage and violence in our platform and in our principles, but we must stand against it in our

ctics when we face the practical issues the time of the strikes.

Now we had a personal controversy on a Board of Directors of the Daily Socialist in Chicago, with which controversy you have no business to be bothered at this time, and with which I would not bother you were it not for the personal attack which has been made upon me and which I must answer.

This is the first time Bentall has ever ceced me with such a statement, such a charge, because he dare not face me with such an accusation in Chicago where everybody knows better, and knows that I am right in that controversy.

We had a strike in Chicago. Comrade Bentall blundered as editor of the Daily Socialist, not because he took one side or the other—he never takes sides—he blundered because he tried to be on both sides of the question, and because he knew nothing whatever of the issue.

THE CHAIRMAN: Speak to your question of personal privilege.

DEL. O'REILLY: Comrades, I have been attacked, and I would not care at all if it was merely an attack on me, but you are not going to attack the position of the Daily Socialist on the subject of labor unions; you are not going to attack the Board of Directors of the Daily Socialist; you are not going to misrepresent Mary O'Reilly without my talking back.

At the time of our strike, the Garment Workers' strike in Chicago I went to Bentall as a friend—I thought he was a friend of mine—and begged him not to stand for the labor leaders at the head of that strike. I knew they were crooked; I know it today. Robert Norine, President of the Garment Workers there in Chicago, and their National President were the type of leaders for which we could not stand. Bentall refused to take any information from the trade unionists who knew the situation. He went from meeting to meeting during that strike begging for votes for the Socialist party. You never saw such catering to trade unions in all your life as Comrade Bentall went through during that strike.

THE CHAIRMAN: Defend your own position.

DEL. O'REILLY: This is my position. He took an automobile and took in Robert Norine and the crooked officers of the Garment Workers' Union, and with them he went out vote begging, vote getting in the cheapest clap-trap kind of a way. He sent that bill for the automobile to the Executive Committee of the Socialist party and after a protest they paid that bill. Then he came out in an attack upon the people who had tried their very best to save those poor hungry garment worker girls from being defeated by that grafting crowd of trade unionists, and Comrade Bentall did this because he did not understand the situation. I answered him in the Daily Socialist and the Daily Socialist repudiated the position he had taken and withdrew him from his position on the editorial committee of the paper. That is the history of the Daily Socialist trouble that he bases his attack on. I have a copy of the article in my hand in which I review the whole thing and that was printed in the Daily Socialist. This is the first time Bentall ever had the nerve to face me and attempt to answer, and I think it will be his last.

DEL. KOOP (Ill.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. Bentall attacked me.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have passed that question now.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): Koop was named directly by Bentall.

THE CHAIRMAN: If we are going to allow every person whose name is mentioned to rise to a question of personal privilege we may take up all of the time of the convention, which costs \$5 a minute, and we shall get no business done. We shall have a big bill to pay for these personalities. If the convention wants the Chair to allow all of this dirty linen to be washed in public, the Chair will let them wash it.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): It is not dirty linen. But it is my opinion that it is going out of the road of this convention.

DEL. KOOP: If the Chair had called Bentall down at the start this would not have happened.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair did call him down as soon as he got into personalities.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): The other day a man who is not a delegate here permitted the same rights that Delegate Koop now asks for. I don't believe this is a washing of dirty linen. This had better be thrashed now than to be held in abeyance. It will have to be thrashed out some time. I think it is only fair and just that a comrade who has served in the ranks as many years as Koop should be given a hearing in this case. I move that Comrade Koop be granted a hearing on the question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will allow Comrade Koop the floor on the question of personal privilege.

DEL. KOOP (Ill.): I want to stand before you here and deny the statement made by Comrade Bentall that we stood for slugging a girl or anyone else. We have never advocated that. We have always opposed it. Just now we have the example in Chicago where men of wealth, the Lawsons, the Hearsts, who have the police department back of them, who have the thugs that they can buy with their money back of the police courts, hired to slug union printers, that are scabbing on the pressmen and stereotypers at the present time. I have seen this myself; and you can't do a thing. This rule as it is put forth by the committee should be adopted. The capitalist class have the power; they have the army, the militia, the police back of them who will put sabotage into use, not when the I. W. W. wants it, but when the capitalist class wants it. Adopt the report of the committee.

DEL. BREWER (Kan.): On the square, wouldn't it be a beautiful thing if we should split over a word that only 5 per cent of us know anything about. That is exactly what this word sabotage amounts to in this convention. If it is inserted, or if it is not inserted in this Constitution, the capitalist press will probably be compelled to notice it and give a definition of it in explanation. To my mind it is a word that is unnecessary in this document. It is quite evident that it is this word that is creating the friction, and I want to submit to Comrade Gaylord, the man who injected it here, that yesterday in the constitutional committee meeting he practically endorsed the ideas that we presented when we agreed to eliminate it from our report. My position as a Socialist is quite clear. I am sorry that there was not placed in our platform a declaration for industrial unionism, or the industrial form of organization; and yet I am not a direct actionist; I am not an anarchist; I am not in sympathy with many of the tactics of

the present I. W. W. But I have found myself confronted with this same trouble that so many other Socialists who have traveled over the country have found themselves confronted with. I realize that there is a disrupting element in the I. W. W. in the direct actionists; as there is a disrupting element even in the Socialist party. But I am convinced that if this document had been adopted, before this discussion which has terminated in personalities, the use of personal epithets, and going into personal histories with which this convention has no concern, I believe that every man and woman in this convention would have gone from here with a new-born hope in their hearts regarding the onrushing National Socialist movement. I believe that we would have had a keener feeling of fellowship, of comradeship for each other, than we can possibly have after this difficulty that has been engendered by this particular specific word, around which so much seems to hinge. Frankly, I want to say that those who have injected it into this report have simply raised hell. I feel that if this is voted down, and if it is adopted as it stands, it will answer all the purposes that it is intended to answer. If it is knocked out entirely I am satisfied that there will be a substitute that will cover the ground even better than the present one.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Our Milwaukee movement is short on phrases, but long on action. Let us be perfectly sincere about this matter—perfectly sincere. The time has come when the two opposite trends of thought that we have had in our party must clash again. And the parting of the ways has come again.

There is no bridge between Socialism and Anarchism. There was no bridge when Karl Marx and Bakunin were fighting to a finish. There never can be any such bridge.

Those of you who stand for political action and for an effective and sane economic movement—who stand against the bomb, the dagger and every other form of violence—will know how to vote on this amendment without any further parley.

Comrades, the trouble with our party is that we have men in our councils who claim to be in favor of political action when they are not. We have a number of men who use our political organization—our Socialist party—as a cloak for what they call direct action, for I. W. W.ism, sabotage and syndicalism. It is anarchism by a new name.

Now, Comrades, anarchy as such may be a beautiful philosophy. I don't blame anybody for proclaiming himself an anarchist; that is his privilege. But he ought not to foist himself upon the Socialist party.

I have known John Most personally. When nobody dared to preside in one of his meetings in Milwaukee in 1888 after the hanging of the anarchists in Chicago, and he asked me to take the chair, I did so. I told the audience that I did not agree with Most in anything, but that I believed in free speech. And I give John Most credit that he did not try to fasten himself upon the Socialist party. He started a group of his own. Those who believe in the same principles as John Most did, should do as he did—leave the Socialist party and join the Anarchists. (Loud cheers.)

I desire to say that articles in the Industrial Worker, of Spokane, the official organ of the I. W. W. breathe the same

spirit, are as anarchistic as anything that John Most has ever written.

I want to say to you, comrades, that for one do not believe in murder as a means of propaganda; I do not believe in theft as a means of expropriation; nor in a continuous riot as a free speech agitation.

Every true Socialist will agree with me when I say that those who believe that we should substitute "Hallelujah, I'm a bum," for the Marseillaise, and for the "International," should start a "Bum Organization" of their own. (Loud laughter and great cheering.)

Comrades, I have gone through a number of splits in this party. It was no always a fight against anarchism in the past. In the past we often had to fight Utopianism and fanaticism. Now it is anarchism again that is eating away at the vitals of our party.

If there is to be a parting of the ways if there is to be a split—and it seems that you will have it, and must have it—then I am ready to split right here. I am ready to go back to Milwaukee and appeal to the Socialists all over the country to cut this cancer out of our organization.

The objection that the word "sabotage" is not known is a subterfuge. We all understand it. It is a French word, meaning—willful destruction of products, of machinery or means of production. You know the French have also given us the word Socialism, but they were also the first to use the word Anarchism.

You know where Anarchism leads to. You know where it led in 1886 in our country. It led to the Hay Market riots and to the gallows. In France in 1894 the anarchist Ravachol headed a band of highwaymen and robbers in the name of the proletariat and expropriation for the benefit of his gang. You know what anarchism has accomplished this year in London and in Paris. It made individual brigandage possible under the cloak of an idea. I am not willing that our party should stand godfather for any business of that kind.

Some of the comrades over there said, that sabotage is a matter for the industrial organization to take up or not to take up. They contend that some members may have to commit it because their economic organization—their union wants them to. My answer is that any Socialist who is willing to commit such insane acts for his industrial organization, should quit our party. I would rather have such a man belong to the Malitia of Christ, like the McNamaras. I would prefer that a man committing murder or theft should have a membership card of the Knights of Columbus than show the "red card." My time is up I see.

A NUMBER OF DELEGATES: Move that the time be extended.

DEL. BERGER: I don't need any more time. I hope this convention will overwhelmingly vote for the insertion of the word "sabotage" in this section. I want to put it up to every delegate to take a stand for either one side or the other.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): Leaving out this word was a most egregious mistake. Ever since this discussion arose I have been studying in my own mind what would be the best thing for the Socialist party to do. But about forty minutes ago I came to the conclusion, and I will give you the reasons why I have made up my mind that the best thing to do is to strike out the whole clause.

In the first place the Socialist Party has never declared for violence. It has never been a party of violence. It has never been accused of any such thing by those who were acquainted with its history. There is no reason why we should blazon it to the world that we stand against a thing when there was never a suspicion among ourselves or among those who knew us that we stood for it. It would be equally ridiculous as it would be for Job Harriman's wife from the glorious State of California to place upon his back a placard reading "My husband has solemnly pledged me that he will not get drunk during the National convention." If we could read such a sign on Harriman's at the suspicion would immediately arise that he was in the habit of getting drunk, every time he went away from home. Now we are going to put the whole moral code in the constitution then I ask you to be equally consistent and put in a specific declaration against larceny, put in a specific declaration against polygamy, put in a specific declaration against free love. We have never stood for larceny; we have never stood for polygamy; we have never stood for free love. We have never stood for what some of our friends are pleased to call direct action. This is a political party, and this assertion has no place in our constitution. Who ever heard of political sabotage? It is absolutely ridiculous. My friend Hayes of Ohio made a splendid speech in favor of striking out this whole action, although he didn't seem to realize it. He stood here speaking for the autonomy of the trades unions and the labor unions, beginning this convention that we could not interfere with their business. At this constitutional committee comes here and proposes to tell the trade unions that they should do and what they should not do. I am of the opinion it is none of our business.

A DELEGATE: Read it again.  
 DEL. HOGAN: I have read it and I can understand English. Now don't be alarmed about this threat of my big-hearted friend Berger, that he is going to split. That is a periodical threat of Berger's at every convention. Every time something doesn't go to suit Comrade Berger he goes up in the air and threatens to split. There is no danger of Berger splitting. He is loyal to the American Socialist movement and so are we. There is no need here for acrimonious discussion. There was no need for Berger or any other speaker who got on this floor to state that his was an effort to curb an anarchistic movement. I believe this is a united party. I believe it stands for political action. I believe it stands for all that is best in the working class. We don't have to be labeled by a clause in the constitution. We don't need to tell people that we stand for law and order.

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): Those who insist that we do not understand the meaning of this word and therefore we ought to take out the planks; those who insist that by leaving it in we will negatively accuse ourselves of having stood for those things previously and that we are now endeavoring to get out of it by an apology, entirely overlook the facts involved. If they don't understand the meaning of this word I am able to quote for their benefits from a man whom I believe they will accept as second, if not first, in the organization that is alleged to practice these things. At least he advocates them and that ought to make it plain to you that those who use the word have an idea what the word means. Let us see if I can de-

fine it. Direct action means exactly what it says. A mechanic knows that in order to get the best results the more directly you apply your power the more successful you will be. Direct action means that the workers shall be so organized that they can act directly for themselves in the place where they are employed without having to depend upon any one else. Sabotage as it prevails today means interfering with the machinery of production, without going on strike. It means to strike but stay on the pay roll. It means that instead of leaving the machine the workers will stay at the machine and turn out poor work, slow down their work, and in every other way that may be practicable interfere with the profits of the boss, and interfere to such an extent that the boss will have to come around and ask, what is wrong; what can I do to satisfy you people. That is a line of action that is not new, although the term may be new in this country. Vincent St. John in a speech in a Pittsburgh theater on the 27th of last month—

DEL. HICKEY (Tex.): Does he belong to the Socialist party?

DEL. SLAYTON: I don't know whether he does or not, but I agree with the definition of the word as he gave it. I am not dealing in personalities. Comrade Hogan says that we have not been accused of these things. Comrade Hogan ought to have the capitalist papers on his exchange list, for nearly all of them try to insist on that very thing and the hired man of a certain religious organization did insist that it was the philosophy of Socialism, the doctrines preached by the Socialist party that were responsible for the acts of the McNamaras. I know that the Socialist party has been accused of these things for years. We are told that the Socialist party ought not to dictate to the labor unions what they should do. We had a love feast yesterday in the debate on the party policy toward the unions, because it gave to those who have been asking us to endorse the substance of their form of organization a general statement with which they could agree. But now today when we say if we stand for you on the industrial field, if we back you up in your struggles regardless of the particular organizations to which you belong, we want you to say that you stand for certain things that we stand for. Then we are told that we are dictating. Suppose you want me to be a foster father to a child but you tell me that I must not tell the child what to do. You want us to go to their assistance in time of trouble but when we say here are certain things which we want you to endorse we are told that we are dictating. When it goes your way you want us to endorse your actions, but when we want you to go our way you say we are dictating. The fact is that these things have been done in the industrial field, and the fact is that some men who advocate doing them come on our platform after we have billed the meeting and have hired the hall, and tell the people that they do not believe in political Socialism. We political Socialists have the right to tell the world some of the things that we don't stand for, some of the things that I don't stand for, the things that you don't stand for, and among the things that we don't stand for is that a worker shall be foolish enough to destroy things. The other day a comrade said "Oh, what profound love you have for capitalist property." Well, I have profound love for the property that the working class has produced and that the capitalist system have stolen from them; I have profound love for

that property because we want to get it back for the working class. But you can't get it back if you destroy it. You will have nothing to get back. I have profound love for the property produced by the working class. It is a splendid thing. It represents the crystallization of the world's great labor power, the crystallization of our civilization. I have respect for it. I have respect for the men whose lives have been crystallized in those machines. I don't want men who have put their very life into those machines to destroy them. If I was in Russia I would be for sabotage. I would be for it there because there is no other way to carry on the fight. My sympathies are engaged by the struggle in Russia, but when those people come to this country I for one shall do all in my power to keep the working class as far away from the things involved in this sort of strife as possible.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I am very sorry that it has become necessary for this convention that yesterday held such a beautiful love feast to get into such a state as we are in now. Yesterday some men in this convention were telling you how they agreed with every other man in the convention; that the impossible had happened; that men who had fought each other for twenty years had shaken hands and we were to have harmony forever. Today they are going on the platform and charging that a lot of us are anarchists. Now I want to divide my remarks into two parts. First I want to speak on the advisability of putting a clause of this kind in the constitution at all. But if we are going to put a clause in the constitution saying that we don't stand for something that no one has ever said the Socialist party did stand for, why for Heaven's sake let us put everything in the constitution that the capitalist class has ever charged us with, let us say that we don't intend to break up the home; that we don't intend to destroy incentive; that we don't believe in free love; that we would not destroy the institution of marriage, and a whole lot of other fool things that they say we advocate. If we are going to defend one point let us defend them all. Nobody has ever said that the Socialist party believed in sabotage.

A NUMBER OF DELEGATES: Oh, yes, they have.

DEL. BESSEMER: We are a political party trying to lay down a working program for the labor movement, and a great many of the speakers who have been on the platform this afternoon have taken a slam at the I. W. W. I want to say that I belong to the Retail Clerks Protective Association one of the A. F. of L. organizations. I don't belong to the I. W. W. When I stand here and take exception to the remarks made by some of you people I am not doing it as a member of that organization. You would think that every bit of violence ever committed in the United States in working class struggles have been done by the I. W. W.; you would imagine that the McNamaras were I. W. W. men. They were not I. W. W. men. It is unfair and it is not a pertinent question here today. It is simply a question before the convention as to whether we shall interfere with a matter that belongs to the labor organizations. I maintain that we have not. We should throw out the entire thing.

I want to say in regard to this word, if what Comrade Haywood said is right and his idea is correct, that sabotage means destroying property, if that is so, Comrade Gaylord when he went out and appealed

for votes to be elected to the Legislature of Wisconsin meant to go down there and interfere with the established views of property that the capitalist class had embodied in the legislation of Wisconsin then he was guilty of sabotage. It would seem that some of you in this convention think it is the duty of the working class to permit the capitalist class to interfere with your property, that is your stomach to reduce the part of the product of your labor that you get so much that you suffer, and that in place of going back to them and protecting yourselves you should just calmly and suavely submit to it and let them grind you down without using any opportunity that you have at your hands to defend your property which is your stomach. I believe in political action, first, last and all the time. I believe that political action is direct action.

DEL. KRAFFT (N. J.): I wish to inquire whether the International Congress declared against sabotage or not.

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't know anything about it.

DEL. O'NEAL (Ind.): We are not here to defend ourselves against anything that has been charged by capitalist politicians or the capitalist press. The question is whether anything has arisen in the labor movement involving an endorsement of acts that come under the designation sabotage or syndicalism; and whether we shall take a stand upon those tactics the extent of repudiating them. It has been said that no one knows what sabotage and syndicalism means. It seems to me that those of us who have read anything of the development of the Socialist movement in France, where those methods have had their classic development, when the theoretical considerations that support them have been analyzed and developed will get this one fact which is fundamental for Socialists that every last one of the writers who have formulated the theoretical basis and defense of sabotage and syndicalism, to the very last man, is an avowed anarchist; is an anarchist, and opposed to all political action.

Another significant fact is that Jules Guesde, the foremost representative of the Marxian wing in the French Socialist movement has been the one man who first of all and all the time has been identified with the opposition to sabotage and syndicalism in general. Furthermore, the tactics supported by the Frenchmen who are the foremost representatives of these principles are directly connected with the anarchist ideal of society, a future that has absolutely no relation to the economic development of our time. It is a historic fact that a number of the men who developed criminal careers—Comrade Berg has mentioned one, Ravachol, who has been guilty of two brutal murders in the Southern part of France, coming up to Paris in the early 90's, when anarchist terrorism was at its height, when bombing was of frequent occurrences—Ravachol, in the name of the revolution, the name of sabotage, in the name of direct action, became a party to the development of those tactics, became associated with men who were in favor of them, and the whole thing was exposed when they finally indicted Ravachol for those murders, and he was finally executed for them.

Now to take up another phase of those of you who have read the best work ever produced in the international movement regarding the antagonism between anarchism and socialism, that written by our Russian comrade, Plechanoff, know that he draws a contrast between the fa-



s of the Socialist party and the anarchists, and he points out the fact that in the development of tactics which lead to violence it is difficult to determine where as direct actionist ends and the bandit begins. That is what we have got to settle here this afternoon. We are a political organization. The adoption of this clause does not say to the labor organizations of this country, you shall do this, that or the other thing. It simply says that if a man makes application to the Socialist party of America for membership that in making that application he shall declare that he is set in favor of these tactics in any part of an organization. If he advocates these tactics then we simply will not admit him to membership in the Socialist party.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): First I want to insist that the Socialist party is a political party organized expressly to carry out a certain program with an ultimate object in view, viz., the establishment of a new order of society. I contend that in no instance has the Socialist party been or ever will be an organization for the suppression of crime. That is the duty of the present order of society and its constituted officials.

Now, I want to throw a little light in this. I want to go back to yesterday. I want to remind the members of the committee, of which I was a member, the committee on the Relationship of the Socialist party to the Trades Union movement, that when we met as a unit to report back to this body, we agreed to eliminate other matters that we expected to report; in other words, when we agreed upon our report there was only one thing in the hands of the majority, a resolution tactically of the same import as incorporated in that resolution there, and we the minority objected to it, and we prepared a counter-resolution, defending our class against the aspersions cast upon it. Now, we dropped these things yesterday for the sake of peace and harmony, and today some one has injected that section into this Constitution for a purpose. Now, I have got something here that perhaps is going to astonish a few members of this Convention. I have a matter of record here. Comrade Berger has a record in this Magazine, "The Common Cause." I am going to show you, and I will give Comrade Berger an opportunity to deny that he wrote this paragraph. I am reading this for the express purpose of showing you that even intellectual socialists cannot at times refrain from giving their allegiance, their sympathy, to the working class even when they are going to commit actual violence: "In view of the plutocratic law-making of the present day, it is easy to predict that the safety and hope of this country will finally lie in one direction only—that of violent and bloody revolution, therefore I say that each of the 500,000 socialist voters and of the 2,000,000 workmen who instinctively incline our way, should, besides doing much reading and still more thinking, also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home." Now, let me repeat this: "Therefore, I say, each of the 500,000 Socialist voters, and of the 2,000,000 workmen who instinctively incline our way, should, besides doing much reading and still more thinking, also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home, and be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullets, if necessary."

Now, I am not accusing Comrade Berger of inciting "sabotage." I know he is in sympathy with the struggles of his class.

I know I have said rash things myself under provocation. I am one of those who, while I deplore violence, knowing its disastrous consequences in the outcome, yet if my class does commit violence, I am with them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

The previous question was called for.

Del. Berger rose to a question of personal privilege.

Cries of "Berger," from all over the house.

Motion for the previous question was put, and declared lost.

Division was called for and the previous question carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Del. Berger rises on a question of personal privilege. The previous question has been called for. On division, there is an absolute majority in favor of the previous question being put, —159 in favor. Before the previous question is put I will allow Comrade Berger the floor, on a question of personal privilege.

DEL. BERGER: Comrades, what I want to explain is, that the Socialist movement is undoubtedly revolutionary; that the Milwaukee movement is also revolutionary, of course, and that if it ever comes down to do real fighting, we will be there without question. But we do not mistake a riot for a revolution, nor murder for propaganda. We do not suggest theft as a means of expropriation. We do not preach the revolution in that way.

I also want to state that my article has not been quoted as a whole. The comrade over there, I believe it was Comrade Clifford just tore out a piece. I believe that is unfair to ourselves.

DEL. CLIFFORD: I will show you the whole editorial clipped out of your own paper.

DEL. BERGER: Well, Tom, you didn't read it. That editorial is good reading. (Laughter.) But this is not a time to read my editorials. This is the time to draw the line between a real Socialist revolution on one side and anarchy, murder and sabotage, on the other.

THE CHAIRMAN: I recognize Del. Harriman to speak for the insertion of the word sabotage.

DEL. HARRIMAN: In reply to Clifford, it is true there were other resolutions before the committee when we made our report yesterday, and we postponed those resolutions until the committee should meet. That committee has not yet had a session, and the resolutions are, therefore, in the air. In the meantime, the question arose. When I opened the argument yesterday, I said we had had many weary hours over the discussion of our differences, and that the excitement prevailing just before I took the platform was the evidence of a fundamental difference here. There is a difference here. Don't you think it is sugar-coated over in the words of that resolution. What we did yesterday in that resolution was to gobble up industrial unionism with the variations as they are provided in the labor movement of today. There is industrial unionism and industrial unionism. There is a difference between them. What we did, I want to call your attention to it, men, and to call it plainly, there is a reason for this difference. I told you yesterday. I repeat it; it is caused by the separation of the two great movements of America. They are weak; and the weakness begets a hopelessness, and the hopelessness begets the fight. There you are. Every blessed man who doesn't want this "sabotage" in our plat-

form or in our constitution, comes in— not every one of them but many of them —comes into our party and teaches it on the platform.

Now, listen, boys. You cannot find a trades union Constitution in America that puts it in there. Why? They don't dare to put their sabotage in, but you propagate it upon our platform, you commit the great Socialist party to it, and we must defend ourselves against it, because, between the two movements, is being born today the Syndicalist movement. I tell you the heart and the soul and the blood of the Syndicalist movement is sabotage. There isn't a man that believes in it that dares to stand up and say I did it. Of course not. I know what the conditions are; I know that the men oftentimes have to fight for their lives, and when the struggle is on there is no telling what will be done, but we must say, we cannot teach it, nor countenance it. If you do, and you permit it to absorb you, it will dissolve you and destroy you. Just look at it for a moment, look at what you are up against. On top of it comes the detective, back of it the police, back of it the judge to construe the law; all the evidence would be against us. You are expecting us to stand for a thing that not only will dissolve us, but that will put all the weapons in the hands of the other man. Why is it, men, that the great German movement has practically no syndicalism? Why is it? One of my friends here last night laughed and said it was because they were of the Teutonic race, and the other fellow was of the Italian race? Partly yes, but not all. Whenever you are separated, whenever you are weak, any weapon is a weapon of the man in despair, and this is the weapon of the boys that have lost hope in political action and are losing hope. The evidence is, that they stand here between us striking at political action, as they cheered yesterday when I made the statement against striking it out. They have lost their hope and the birth of Syndicalism is right here in our convention if we do not understand the facts.

THE CHAIRMAN: I recognize Delegate Hickey who will speak on the motion to strike out the whole paragraph.

DEL. HICKEY (Tex.): There is a feeling through the convention at this moment that I, Clifford, and Tom Lewis are bad bridge builders, and the logic and philosophy that kept Harriman and myself apart for twenty years seems to be still working through its usual channels. Yesterday after leaving this platform I said that Indianapolis will be historic in this, that it had two unity conventions, and I still hope that this is going to be a second unity convention. The impossible happened yesterday; we had come together, and Gaylord of Wisconsin, said that there was very smooth work. Well, I didn't find any smoothness. I didn't write a line; I didn't dictate a paragraph, not even a semi-colon. All came from the other side that has injected this thing now. Why? Well, if we had nominated our candidate for the presidency at 3 o'clock this thing would not have happened at all. Peanut politics, that is what it is of course. Now, then, I don't know, I cannot understand the spirit that underlies that resolution, that section. I cannot understand it. I have had, with the other two Toms, to fight it from the start, and I will show you why. It was practically proposed the other night at a quarter to 12, that we should repudiate violence and advise the working class to

that end. I picked up the resolution and said: "Why don't you advise the capital class not to use violence?" Sabotage who can define it; why, they are not even able to pronounce it, with the Milwaukee accent. Sabotage; there are fifty-seven different varieties of pronunciations from the intellectual variety that says "sabotage" right down to the Irish pronunciation that says "sabbatage." The fact that sabotage is in the air and sometimes it is down on the ground very strong, and we have nothing to do with it. We are political party, and in the course of our development we come to have men of the times upon labor committees, upon constitutional committees that have earned the right to sit upon them by belonging to organized labor, and then they will produce the anaemic things that the intellectuals have produced this afternoon.

However, and this is not from "The Common Cause," "in view of the plutocratic law making of the present day it is easy to predict that the safety and hope of this country will finally lie in one direction only, that of a violent and blood revolution."

(Signed) "Victor L. Berger."

This is from the Social Democrat Herald.

I object to the introduction of this entire section. I object to anything that says, we warn the working class against anything. It is the working class, the class that has patiently carried the cross through the centuries. I say, you had better cut it all out and destroy the paragraph. I make the suggestion that Bill Haywood say a word or two.

DEL. HILLQUIT: In behalf of the committee, I wish to state that with the exception of Comrade Brewer who spoke of the subject and expressed his own beliefs, the committee unanimously accepts the amendment to insert the word "sabotage" instead of the words "against the person." The committee is opposed to the amendment to strike out the entire clause. I will tell you why in a minute. Before we proceed to that, however, I want to state that the committee is not wantonly injecting this subject. The section under consideration is an enlargement of the section we have had in the constitution now in force. We have had the provision that a member who opposes political action shall be expelled from the party. We have added the definition of political action. We have added the provision against advocating crime, or, as it will now be "sabotage," or other methods of violence.

Del. Brewer raised a point of order that Del. Hillquit was now speaking for the report of the Committee, and Del. Harriman had already done so.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I had a distinct understanding with the Chairman that I would have the closing word in support of this paragraph, and have therefore refrained from trying to get the floor in the mean time.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chairman of the Committee is correct in his statement with this exception: he did not inform the chairman of the meeting that the Committee had accepted the word "sabotage." Had that been the case, Comrade Hillquit should have had the floor in the first instance in place of Comrade Harriman. The rule that the point of order made by Comrade Brewer is well taken.

DEL. HILLQUIT: From which I duly appeal.

THE CHAIRMAN: An appeal is taken from the decision of the Chair. The Chair rules that inasmuch as the committee has

accepted the amendment using the word "sabotage" as a part of its original motion, and inasmuch as Harriman has already spoken on that side of the question, the chairman of the committee has no right to discuss that side of the question at this time.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Which side of the question?

THE CHAIRMAN: What you are doing. The committee's position has already been stated.

DEL. HILLQUIT: In support of my appeal I will say that I do not know of any procedure by which the Chairman can place a delegate, not a member of the committee, to state the position of the committee. I do not know of anything stated by the Chairman which would show that by any act or assent I had waived the right of the committee to be heard last on the subject. On the contrary, it is admitted that we had a specific agreement that I should have the last word on the subject; and I claim, Comrades, since there have been so many insinuations against the action of the committee in submitting that report to you, it is no more than fair that you should hear from the committee on the modification and on the meaning of this clause.

The appeal was sustained and the decision of the Chair reversed.

A DELEGATE: Now that Comrade Hillquit is speaking on this section as amended, will one delegate who is in favor of the report as it originally stood, be allowed to speak on it.

THE CHAIRMAN: No; the action of the committee in accepting Garver's amendment takes the original paragraph out of the discussion of the convention.

DEL. HILLQUIT: It is important that we get to understand each other before we take a vote.

I wish to call your attention to the fact that an attempt has been made here to interpret the language before you as applying only to the Socialist party platform, in other words, several delegates have stated that all those who favor or advocate crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon in the working class struggle, may advocate this method in union meetings, but not on a Socialist party platform. I want it to go on record that there is no such understanding of the committee which drafted this clause, as far as I know. It prohibits the advocacy of crime or sabotage or violence as a method of working class struggle, under any and all circumstances, and everywhere. We cannot be Socialists within the Socialist party and anarchists on other occasions. I wish you to understand that, while you vote on it. There has been an assertion here that in adopting or approving this clause, we attempt to dictate to the working class or to the labor movement, the use of its methods or weapons. We do not. We are dealing here with members of our own party and with no one else. We merely attempt to lay down a rule as to who shall be qualified to hold membership in this political organization of ours. We do not attempt to prescribe anything to labor unions.

Some comrades also claim that the mere mention of sabotage, violence and crime would lead to the imputation that the Socialist members may be advocating that. That is why they want it stricken

out. How about the paragraph we have just adopted, prohibiting distinction of race, color, creed, etc. Why didn't they raise an objection then? Why didn't they move to strike that out for fear it might otherwise be supposed that the Socialists have race or class or religious prejudices?

I will state furthermore, comrades, of the labor unions; let us be frank with each other on the subject. If there had not been any Socialists advocating these measures we would not be discussing it here now. Is it a pure accident that all these comrades who think the word "sabotage" irrelevant, happen to be the same who may perhaps be suspected of a fondness for these matters? I know personally of instances where prominent members of the party on public platforms did advocate just these things. Everyone of you knows. Why hide from it? I fear that our self-styled revolutionary comrades haven't always got the courage of their convictions. Why, comrades, if this is so absolutely improper for a Socialist constitution, why don't you simply vote against it? Why do you want to strike out the section entirely? Why don't you put it to the test? Why don't you stand up for it?

Now, comrades I will say this: This is an exceedingly serious matter and should not be straddled. Vote it up or vote it down, but express yourselves on it. It has taken this movement about thirty-five years to come to the point where we are beginning at last to see the fruit of a generation's work, and I say, if there is one thing in this country that can now check or disrupt the Socialist movement, it is not the capitalist class, it is not the Catholic Church; it is our own injudicious friends from within.

Del. Cumbie of Oklahoma moved that the vote be taken by roll call. Carried.

On motion of Del. Bruce of Pennsylvania, the delegates in the corridor were notified that there was to be a vote by roll call.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Three of the Massachusetts delegates are compelled to leave in fifteen minutes, and we would like to be recorded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule that in the calling of the roll, the call will be made by states and the spokesman of each state will record the vote.

The decision of the Chair was appealed from, and reversed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is to strike out the whole paragraph, Section 6 of Article II; that is the question before the house. The vote yes, strikes it out. To vote no, does not strike it out; it retains it.

DEL. ENDRES (N. Y.): If we vote no, not to strike out, does that mean that the word "sabotage" is stricken out?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will make this ruling: The vote is on the committee's recommendation which includes the word "sabotage." The substitute motion is to strike out the whole section. You either strike it out or you do not strike it out.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Is it the understanding of the Chair that this vote will be succeeded by another vote on the adoption of the committee's report? We want to know whether there will be an opportunity to vote for the adoption of the report as originally presented.

THE CHAIRMAN: Except later by agreement? No.

# NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

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sulted as follows:

		Yes.	No.		Yes.	No.
Ala.				Mich.	Jas. Hoogerhyde	Frank Aaltonen
Ariz.					H. S. McMaster	Guy H. Lockwood
Ark.	Erma H. Allen				Etta Menton	J. A. C. Menton
	Ida Callery			Minn.	J. H. McFarland	J. H. Grant
	Dan Hogan				Marietta F. Fournier	Nels S. Hillman
Cal.					Morris Kaplan	J. S. Ingalls
					J. G. Maatala	Olaus Jacobson
					A. O. Devold	T. E. Latimer
						David Morgan
						Jay E. Nash
				Miss.	E. H. Mizner	O. S. Watkins
				Mo.	R. A. Maynard	M. E. Fritz
					A. W. Harris	E. T. Behrens
					E. L. Reguin	Wm. L. Garver
					N. A. Richardson	Caleb Lipscomb
					H. C. Tuck	Geo. W. O'Dam
					J. W. Wells	Otto Vierling
					F. C. Wheeler	W. A. Ward
					Ethel Whitehead	
				Mont.	T. W. Williams	
					J. Stitt Wilson	
					Frank E. Wolfe	
					H. C. Wright	
Colo.				Neb.		Fred J. Warren
						C. R. Oyler
						Clyde J. Wright
						Grant Miller
				Nev.		John P. Burke
Conn.				N. H.		Wm. A. McCall
						M. C. Jones
				N. J.	C. J. Cosgrove	George H. Goebel
					W. B. Killingbeck	Harry F. Kopp
					Gustave Theimer	Frederick Krafft
						James M. Reilly
Dela.						J. B. Lang
D. of C.				N. M.		C. J. Ball, Jr.
Fla.	Fred Stanley			N. Y.	Henry Slobodin	Fred Bennetts
					E. Lindgren	Theresa Malkiel
					Albert Pauly	William Burckle
Ga.	A. F. Castlebury					Edw. A. Mansett
Ida.	G. W. Beloit					Edward F. Cassid
						Wm. E. Duffy
						Otto L. Endres
						C. L. Furman
						Morris Hillquit
						Algernon Lee
						Meyer London
						Herbert M. Merrill
						Clinton H. Pierce
						G. Rothmund
						Chas. E. Russell
						H. A. Simmons
						U. Solomon
						Gustave A. Strebe
						Joshua Wanhope
				N. C.	Benj. T. Tiller	A. E. Bowen, Jr.
				N. D.		Robert Grant
						Chas. D. Kelso
						Arthur LeSueur
						Max S. Hayes
						F. G. Strickland
				Ohio	J. L. Bachman	
					M. J. Beery	
					Wm. Bessemer	
					Max Boehm	
					T. Clifford	
					D. Lewis Davis	
					D. J. Farrell	
					E. J. Jones	
					W. Hinkle	
					F. N. Prevey	
					Dan McCarten	
					Wm. Patterson	
					Edgar E. Powell	
					Marguerite Prevey	
					Chas. M. Priestap	
					C. E. Ruthenberg	
					Anna Storck	
					Lawrence A. Zitt	
				Okla.	John G. Wills	Ernest Schilling
						O. F. Branstetter
						Allen Fields
						J. T. Cumble
						R. E. Dooley
						L. B. Irvin
						Patrick S. Nagle

Yes.

No.

The motion was put and lost.

Geo. E. Owen  
Oscar Ameringer  
M. F. Parker

# NOMINATIONS.

DEL. BARTH: I move that the convention suspend the rules and proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house is that we proceed to nominate. It was moved to amend that the convention continue in session until the nominations have been completed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion now before the house is that we proceed to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): And that the roll of states be called and each state be given a chance to nominate.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved that the roll be called and each state be given an opportunity to make its nominations.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion as amended is before you, that we suspend the rules and proceed to the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, that the roll of States be called and each state given an opportunity to name its candidate, and that the convention remain in session until the nominees shall have been selected.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): There are delegations that are divided.

(Cries of "Nominate them all.")

THE CHAIRMAN: When a state is called any delegate will have an opportunity to nominate a candidate. Any state not wishing to nominate or electing to give their time to some other state may do so.

The roll call for nominations for candidates for President of the United States was then had and resulted in the nomination of Eugene V. Debs, Emil Seidel and Charles Edward Russell.

A DELEGATE: It has been circulated in the hall that Gene Debs is in physical ill health. I want to know whether there is any truth in that report?

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): A point of order. The rule prohibits nominating speeches but does not prohibit, and on the contrary encourages the discussion of nominees and their respective merits and availability when the nominations are completed.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominating speeches will not be allowed.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): A point of order. If we can not make nominating speeches we can discuss the respective merits of the candidates.

DEL. MILLER (Nev.): I have been assured by a dozen men that Debs is all right.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair rules that no nominating speeches or discussions of the merits of candidates is in order under the rules of the convention.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I appeal from the ruling of the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: State the ground of the appeal.

(Cries of "roll call.")

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will be in order. We will hear the appeal.

DEL. HILLQUIT: You will not howl me down. I have taken an appeal from the Chair for this reason: A motion was made to cut out nominating speeches, and for a very good reason, because nominating speeches are in most instances of such a character as to turn the convention from a deliberative body into a howling

a. M. E. Dorfman  
John Hayden  
Tom J. Lewis  
Floyd C. Ramp  
C. W. Sherman  
nn. L. R. Bruce  
Gertrude B. Hunt  
C. W. Ervin  
F. H. Merrick  
Edward Moore  
William Parker  
C. F. Foley  
A. G. Ward  
Robert J. Wheeler

George W. Bacon  
J. Mahlon Barnes  
Cora M. Bixler  
Dan M. Caldwell  
Anna Cohen  
Jos. E. Cohen  
Frank A. Davis  
Lewis Goazliou

R. L. Grainger  
James C. Hogan  
W. A. Prosser  
C. A. Maurer  
J. H. Maurer  
R. B. Ringler  
John W. Slayton  
David Williams  
L. B. Wilson, Jr.  
John C. Young

I. Not Voting

Wm. Eberhard

C. Benjamin Dempsey  
D. C. G. Harold  
nn. Ed. A. Green  
xas Thos. A. Hickey  
Ernest R. Meltzen  
Will S. Noble  
J. C. Rhodes

Richey Alexander  
Geo. C. Edwards  
Chas. A. Byrd  
L. L. Rhodes  
M. A. Smith  
J. C. Thompson  
B. Williams  
Homer P. Burt  
James A. Smith  
Wm. M. Wesley  
John Spargo  
G. M. Norris  
Edwin J. Brown  
Wm. H. Waynick  
Emma D. Cory  
H. C. Cupples  
Anna A. Maley  
Henry Hensefer  
C. H. Boswell

ash. Leslie E. Aller  
Adam H. Barth  
Frans Bostrom  
Kate Sadler  
Samuel Sadler  
Hulet M. Wells  
Va. H. W. Houston  
E. H. Kintzer

Victor L. Berger  
Dan W. Hoan  
W. R. Gaylord  
W. A. Jacobs  
Thomas Minkeln  
Emil Seidel  
Eliz. H. Thomas  
Carl D. Thompson  
Antony Carlson

is. Paul J. Paulsen  
J. Suaja

The motion to strike out was declared st. the vote standing 90 for to 191 ainst.

On motion of Del. Brewer of Kansas, e original motion to adopt the report made by the committee, was put and rried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour set by the les of the convention, for adjournment, s arrived, and unless there is a motion suspend the rules—

DEL. CALDWELL (Mass.): I move that e rules be suspended and that we pro- eed to the regular order of business for hich this convention was called, the mination for candidates of President d Vice-President of the United States.

DEL. BERGER: I rise to a point of der and I want a ruling upon it. Under e rules we adjourn at 5:30, and the tion just made is not in a nature to spend the rules. It requires a two- irds vote to suspend.

DEL. WARD (Miss.): I move that we ourn to 8 o'clock.

# NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

mob. But I claim there is no word in the rule against the discussion of the merits of the candidates, and on the contrary if we want to carry out the spirit of the rule in not making nominating speeches which is that we want to be a deliberative, sensible body, then I claim that I have the right to discuss on the floor of the convention whether one or the other of the members whose names have been placed before us would be the best standard bearer for the Socialist party. I claim that I owe this to my constituents who have instructed me on this matter.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Chair stands simply on the rules of the convention and their interpretation in what he believes to have been the spirit of those rules.

The motion to sustain the Chair was carried.

It was then moved and seconded that the roll call be made of the individual delegates. The motion was carried.

**A DELEGATE:** How are we to know that Comrade Debs will accept?

**DEL. BERGER:** Before we vote we ought to know whether Comrade Debs will accept.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The question has been asked whether there is any certainty whether Comrade Debs will accept the nomination. It is stated positively that he will by people who claim to know what they are talking about.

**DEL. BERGER:** Do they?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** They do.

The roll call on the vote upon the nominations was then had as follows:

## ROLL CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT.

	DEBS.	SEIDEL.	RUSSELL.
Alabama—	G. L. Cox		
Arizona—	E. H. Allen		
	E. Johnston		
Arkansas—	Ida Callery		
	Dan Hogan		
	J. A. C. Meng		
	A. R. Finks		
California—	Edw. A. Cantrell	A. E. Briggs	Mary E. Garbutt
	H. C. Tuck	Geo. W. Downing	
	H. E. Wright	Job Harriman	
		E. H. Mizner	
		R. A. Maynard	
		A. W. Harris	
		Ernest L. Reguin	
		N. A. Richardson	
		J. W. Wells	
		Fred C. Wheeler	
		Ethel Whitehead	
		Thos. W. Williams	
		J. Stitt Wilson	
		Frank E. Wolfe	
Colorado—	W. P. Collins		A. H. Floaten
	Mary L. Goffs		
	Thomas M. Todd		
	John Troxell		
Connecticut—			S. E. Beardsley
			Ernest Berger
			E. P. Clark
			Chas. T. Peach
			Jasper McLevy
Georgia—		A. F. Castleberry	
Delaware—		Frank A. Houck	
D. of C.—		W. J. Ghent	
Florida—	Fred Stanley	C. C. Allen	
Idaho—	G. W. Beloit		
	Thos. J. Coonrod		
	Sidney W. Motley		
	Isaac F. Stewart		
Illinois—	J. O. Bentall	Jas. P. Larsen	Bernard Berlyn
	Joseph R. Burge	Mary O'Reilly	
	Louis F. Haemer	W. E. Rodriguez	
	John C. Sjoden		
	Caroline A. Lowe		
	J. C. Kennedy		
	M. E. Kirkpatrick		
	Geo. Koop		
	George North Taylor		
	F. T. Maxwell		
	Guy Underwood		
Indiana—	S. S. Condo		
	W. W. Farmer		
	Janet Fenimore		
	Stephen C. Garrison		
	Wm. H. Henry		
	James Oneal		
	S. M. Reynolds		
	William Sheffler		
	Florence Wattles		
Iowa—	Jas. Baxter	John J. Jacobsen	
	Lee W. Lang	Margaret D. Brown	
		Irving S. McCrillis	

# AFTERNOON SESSION, MAY 17, 1912

	DEFS.	SEIDEL	RUSSELL
Kansas—	Oscar H. Blase Geo. D. Brewer A. W. Ricker May Wood-Simons S. M. Stallard Benj. F. Wilson		
Kentucky—	Chas. Dobbs Walter Lanfersiek		
Louisiana—	J. R. Jones		
Maine—			Geo. A. England
Maryland—			Chas. B. Backman Dr. J. Rosett C. W. Staub Robt. Lawrence G. E. Roewer, Jr.
Massachusetts—	Alex Coleman Chas. E. Fenner J. M. Caldwell Dan A. White Rose Fenner J. G. Ohsol		
Michigan—	Frank Aaltonen Jas. Hoogerhyde Guy H. Lockwood H. S. McMaster Etta Menton J. A. C. Menton Jas. H. McFarland		
Minnesota—	Marietta E. Fournier John H. Grant J. S. Ingalls Olaus Jacobson Morris Kaplan Thos. E. Latimer J. G. Maattala A. O. Devold O. S. Watkins M. E. Fritz	Nels S. Hillman David Morgan Jay F. Nash	
Mississippi—			
Missouri—		E. T. Behrens Wm. L. Garver Caleb Lipscomb George W. O'Dam Otto Vierling W. A. Ward	
Montana—	Lewis J. Duncan Clarence A. Smith Jacob M. Kruse James B. Scott		Philip H. Christian
Nebraska—	Fred J. Warren C. R. Oyler Clyde J. Wright Grant Miller		
Nevada—	John F. Burke Wm. A. McCall		
New Hampshire—	J. R. Jones Christopher J. Cosgrove George H. Goebel W. B. Killingbeck Harry F. Kopp James M. Reilly Gustave Theimer	Frederick Krafft	
New Jersey			
New Mexico—	J. B. Lang		
New York—	E. Lindgren Albert Pauly		Henry Slobodin C. J. Ball, Jr. Fred Bennetts Theresa Malkiel Wm. Burckle Jas. A. Mansett Ed. F. Cassidy Wm. E. Duffy Otto L. Endres C. L. Furman Morris Hillquit Algernon Lee Meyer London H. M. Merrill C. H. Pierce G. Rothmund H. A. Simmons U. Solomon Gustave A. Strelbel Joshua Wanhope Benjamin T. Tiller
North Carolina—			
North Dakota—	A. E. Bowen, Jr. Robert Grant Chas. D. Kelso Arthur LeSueur		

# NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

Ohio—	<b>DEBS.</b> Jacob L. Bachman M. J. Beery Wm. Bessemer Max Boehm T. Clifford D. J. Farrell Edw. J. Jones F. N. Prevey Dan McCarten Wm. Patterson E. E. Powell Marguerite Prevey C. M. Priestap C. E. Ruthenberg Anna K. Storck Lawrence A. Zitt John G. Willis M. F. Barker	<b>SEIDEL.</b> D. L. Davis M. S. Hayes F. G. Strickland	<b>RUSSELL.</b> W. Hinkle
Oklahoma—		O. Ameringer Otto F. Branstetter R. E. Dooley Patrick S. Nagle Geo. E. Owen Allen Fields	J. T. Cumble L. B. Irvin E. Schilling
Oregon—	Maurice E. Dorfman John Hayden Tom J. Lewis Floyd C. Ramp C. W. Sherman G. W. Bacon J. M. Barnes Cora Mae Bixler Leroy R. Bruce Anna Cohen Jos. E. Cohen Lewis Goazliou Richard L. Grainger James C. Hogan Gertrude B. Hunt J. H. Maurer C. W. Irvin F. H. Merrick Edward Moore Wm. Parker C. E. Foley J. W. Slayton A. G. Ward R. J. Wheeler David Williams John C. Young James P. Reid E. W. Theinert		
Pennsylvania—			Dan M. Caldwell Frank A. Davis Chas. H. Maurer L. B. Wilson, Jr. W. A. Prosser
Rhode Island—		Wm. Eberhard	B. Dempsey
South Carolina—			
South Dakota—			
Tennessee—	C. G. Harold Ed. A. Green T. A. Hickey E. R. Meitzen W. S. Noble J. C. Rhodes L. L. Rhodes M. A. Smith J. C. Thompson B. Williams	R. Alexander G. C. Edwards C. A. Byrd	
Texas—			
Utah—			H. P. Burt J. A. Smith W. M. Wesley John Spargo
Vermont—			
Virginia—	G. M. Norris L. E. Aller A. H. Barth Frans Bostrom Emma D. Cory Kate Sadler Samuel Sadler Hulet M. Wells C. H. Boswell H. W. Houston E. H. Kintzer	E. J. Brown W. H. Waynick H. C. Cupples Henry Hensefer	
Washington—			
West Virginia—			
Wisconsin—		Victor L. Berger Dan W. Hoan W. R. Gaylord W. A. Jacobs T. Minklein Elizabeth H. Thomas Carl D. Thompson	Emil Seidel
Wyoming—	Antony Carlson Paul J. Paulsen J. Suaja		



The roll call showed the following results:

Eugene V. Debs, 165; Emil Seidel, 56; Charles Edward Russell, 54.

DEL. SEIDEL (Wis.): I wish to thank those that cast their votes for Seidel, as suggested by Wisconsin, for the confidence that they have placed in the Wisconsin spirit. On the other hand, in behalf of Mrs. Seidel, I wish to thank those who have voted against me, because Mrs. Seidel wished that I should not be nominated. I desire to make a motion at this time, which I believe will be seconded by Comrade Russell, that we make the nomination of Comrade Debs unanimous.

DEL. RUSSELL (N. Y.): I never had greater joy in my life than I have when I second that motion.

On the motion being put the nomination of Comrade Debs was made unanimous.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move that a despatch be sent to Comrade E. V. Debs notifying him on his nomination.

It was so ordered.

DEL. SPARGO: I move that we now proceed with the nomination for Vice-President in the same manner that we nominated for President.

The motion was carried.

The roll call on nominations for Vice-President and resulted in the nomination of Dan Hogan, J. W. Slayton and Emil Seidel.

DEL. RUSSELL (N. Y.): In order to save the time of this convention which has now grown somewhat valuable, let me say that for reasons which I can state but which I would prefer not to state, it will be impossible for me to accept this nomination, although I appreciate very much the kindness of those who have urged it upon you.

All of the nominees declined except Delegates Seidel, Slayton and Hogan.

The roll was then called for the selection of the vice-presidential candidate.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

	HOGAN.	SLAYTON.	SEIDEL.
Alabama—			G. L. Cox
Arizona—			Erma Hyatt
			E. Johnson
Arkansas—	Ida Callery		
	J. A. C. Meng		
	A. R. Finks		
California—	Ernest L. Reguin		
			A. E. Briggs
			E. A. Cantrell
			G. W. Downing
			Mary E. Garbutt
			Job Harriman
			E. H. Mizner
			R. A. Maynard
			A. W. Harris
			N. A. Richardson
			H. C. Tuck
			J. W. Wells
			Fred C. Wheeler
			Ethel Whitehead
			T. W. Williams
			J. S. Wilson
			Frank E. Wolfe
			H. E. Wright
			W. P. Collins
			A. H. Floaten
			Mary L. Geffs
			Thos. M. Todd
			John Troxell
Colorado—			Sam E. Beardsley
			Ernest Berger
			E. P. Clarke
			Chas. T. Peach
			Jasper McLevy
			Frank A. Houck
			W. J. Ghent
Connecticut—			
			A. F. Castleberry
			T. J. Coonrod
			S. W. Motley
			Bernard Berlyn
			J. R. Burge
			J. C. Sjoden
			J. C. Kennedy
			M. E. Kirkpatrick
			George Koop
			James P. Larsen
			Caroline A. Lowe
			F. T. Maxwell
			Mary O'Reilly
			W. E. Rodriguez
			Seymour Stedman
			G. N. Taylor
			Guy Underwood
			Samuel Condo
			W. W. Farmer
			Janet Fenimore
			S. C. Garrison
Delaware—			
D. of C.—			
Florida—			
Georgia—			
Idaho—	G. W. Beloit		
	I. F. Stewart		
Illinois—	J. O. Bentall		
		Fred Stanley	
Illinois—			
Indiana—			

## NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

## HOGAN.

## SLAYTON.

## SEIDEL.

Iowa—

Kansas—

Kentucky—

Louisiana—

Maine—

Maryland—

Massachusetts— Charles E. Fenner  
Rose Fenner

Michigan—

Minnesota—

Mississippi—

Missouri—

Montana—

Nebraska—

Nevada—

New Hampshire—J. P. Burke

New Jersey— C. J. Cosgrove

W. B. Killingbeck

New Mexico—

New York—

North Carolina—

North Dakota—

Ohio—

Jacob L. Bachman

M. J. Beery

Wm. Bessemer

Max Boehm

T. Clifford

Dominick J. Farrell

A. W. Ricker

A. R. Hartig  
C. W. Staub  
J. M. Caldwell

J. A. C. Menton

W. A. McCall

Fred Bennetts  
C. L. Furman  
Clinton H. Pierce  
G. Rothmund

Arthur LeSueur

F. G. Strickland

Wm. H. Henry  
S. M. Reynolds  
Wm. Sheffler  
Florence Wattles  
Margaret D. Brown  
J. J. Jacobsen  
Lee W. Lang  
Irving S. McCrillis  
Benj. F. Wilson  
May Wood-SimonsChas. Dobbs  
J. R. Jones  
G. A. England  
Dr. J. RosettAlex. Coleman  
Robt. Lawrence  
G. E. Roewer, Jr.  
Dan A. White  
J. G. OhsolM. F. Fournier  
J. H. Grant  
N. S. Hillman  
J. S. Ingalls  
Olaus Jacobson  
Morris Kaplan  
Thos. E. Latimer  
J. G. Maattala  
David Morgan  
Jay E. Nash  
A. O. Devold  
O. S. Watkins  
M. E. Fritz  
E. T. Behrens  
W. L. Garver  
C. Lipscomb  
G. W. O'Dam  
Otto Vierling  
W. A. WardF. J. Warren  
C. R. Oylor  
Grant MillerJ. R. Jones  
H. F. Kopp  
F. Kraft  
J. M. Reilly  
Gustave ThelmerWm. Burckle  
Jas. A. Mansett  
E. F. Cassidy  
Wm. L. Duffy  
O. L. Endres  
Morris Hillquit  
Algernon Lee  
Meyer London  
H. M. Merrill  
C. E. Russell  
H. A. Simmons  
U. Solomon  
G. A. Strebel  
J. Wanhope  
B. T. Tiller  
A. E. Bowen, Jr.  
Robert Grant  
Chas. D. Kelso  
D. L. Davis  
M. S. Hayes  
W. Hinkle  
Marguerite Prevey

## HOGAN.

E. J. Jones  
F. N. Prevey  
Wm. Patterson  
Chas. M. Priestap  
C. E. Ruthenberg  
Anna K. Storck  
Lawrence A. Zitt  
Dan McCartan

## SLAYTON.

## SEIDEL.

Oklahoma—

Oregon—

Tom J. Lewis

Pennsylvania—

Leroy R. Bruce  
James C. Hogan  
C. W. Ervin  
F. H. Merrick  
Wm. Parker  
A. G. Ward  
R. J. Wheeler

G. W. Bacon  
Dan M. Caldwell  
Frank A. Davis  
Lewis Goaziou  
Chas. A. Maurer  
R. B. Ringler  
John C. Young

Rhode Island—

James P. Reid  
E. W. Theinert

S. Carolina—

Benjamin Dempsey

S. Dakota—

C. G. Harold

Tennessee—

E. A. Green

Texas—

T. A. Hickey

E. R. Meltzen

W. S. Noble

J. C. Rhodes

L. L. Rhodes

M. A. Smith

J. C. Thompson

B. William

Wm. M. Wesley

Utah—

Vermont—

Virginia—

Washington—

Leslie E. Aller

A. H. Barth

Frans Bostrom

Kate Sadler

Samuel Sadler

Hulet M. Wells

West Va.—

H. W. Houston

Emil Seidel

E. H. Kintzer

Wisconsin—

H. W. Houston

Emil Seidel

Wyoming—

Paul J. Paulsen

J. Suaja

E. Schilling  
O. F. Branstetter  
S. T. Cumble  
R. E. Dooley  
L. B. Irvin  
P. S. Nagle  
G. E. Owen  
Oscar Ameringer  
M. F. Barker  
J. G. Wills  
M. E. Dorfman  
J. Hayden  
F. C. Ramp  
C. W. Sherman  
Cora M. Bixler  
J. E. Cohen  
R. L. Grainger  
Jas. H. Maurer  
J. W. Slayton  
David Williams  
L. B. Wilson, Jr.  
W. A. Prosser

Wm. Eberhard

Richey Alexander  
G. C. Edwards  
C. A. Byrd

John Spargo  
G. M. Norris  
E. J. Brown  
W. H. Wing  
Emma D. Cory  
H. C. Cupples  
Anna A. Maley  
Henry Henseler  
C. H. Boswell  
Dan W. Hoan  
W. R. Gaylord  
W. A. Jacobs  
Thos. Minklein  
Elizabeth H. Thomas  
C. D. Thompson  
Antony Carlson

The result of the roll call was announced as follows: Emil Seidel, 159; Hogan, 73; John W. Slayton, 24.

DEL. HOGAN: Appreciating the unexpected honor given me by the 73 comrades who voted for me for the second place on the ticket I move that the nomination of Emil Seidel be made unanimous.

DEL. SLAYTON: I need not repeat what Comrade Hogan has said. The honor to me is not quite so large in numbers, but then he is a larger man. I second his motion to make the nomination of Comrade Seidel unanimous.

The motion was unanimously carried.

A DELEGATE: I move that we adjourn and join the parade.

DEL. SPARGO: With all deference to the local comrades that have arranged this parade, I submit that parading the streets is less important to the party than doing

the business for which we have been called together. Most of us have arranged so that we must get through tomorrow night. Some of our most important committees have not yet reported. We have still the immigration matter and three-quarters of the Constitution to adopt. I move as an amendment that we adjourn until 9:30 o'clock tonight.

At this point there were cries for a speech from Comrade Seidel, who at the request of the Chairman took the platform.

DEL. SEIDEL: I do not intend to delay you for any length of time. But I want to make it clear to you that I shall do everything in my power to give the opposition, the capitalist parties, as warm a fight as they have ever had. From what I know of Comrade Debs I believe that he will be heart and soul with me in this. The little differences that we have had

on the floor of the convention only concern themselves with questions of tactics. Let me say that I believe that the Washington comrades as well as the California comrades and the comrades of Ohio, as well as those of Pennsylvania, New York and Wisconsin, all stand together for that one big thing, the final abolition of this wage slave system. We differ a little bit in the way of getting there. We of Wisconsin believe that we should try to do everything that we can to strengthen our class. Some of the other comrades, quite as sincere, believe that we dissipate our forces if we pay any attention to the immediate questions before us. But whatever our differences on that line let us see that the enemy get no comfort out of those differences. While I believe in fighting for the immediate things, as well as the ultimate goal let me say that I stand squarely on the platform. Every one of the Wisconsin comrades hopes and works, and those that pray, pray for the final and absolute dissolution of this wage system, for the day when we may see the manhood and womanhood made free to develop into a higher and better manhood and womanhood. We hope for that and we all work for that. When this convention is over let us go out and begin the fight. Let us show the enemy that there is the same spirit of liberty in our ranks; let them understand that they cannot yet have everything their own way; let them understand that the American working class is developing its intelligence, is growing in strength numerically and that the day is rapidly coming when that working class will get

control of all that it should control and get for itself all that it produces.

Now I am not going to make a campaign speech here. We must reserve strength for the enemy. We must fight each other too hard in the few remaining hours, but reserve our strength for the enemy. Let us have our li squabbles, and when we are through let them get together and pitch right in the middle of the battle.

I want to thank you one and all for this vote of confidence that you have cast for a Wisconsin nominee, for I don't consider it a personal victory; but I do promise you that everything that I can do shall be done to make this next campaign the liveliest fight the enemy has ever known.

I thank you one and all.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The question before the house is on the motion of Comrade Spargo that we adjourn to meet at nine o'clock tonight.

**DEL. MERRICK (Pa.):** Is it understood that we may also take part in the parade?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** You may do what you please about the parade.

**DEL. BESSEMER:** If a parade has been arranged it is discourteous to the local committee to ignore them. I move to amend that we meet at 8:30 for the parade and to hear speeches from our presidential and vice-presidential candidates at the end of which time we shall resume the business of the convention.

The amendment as offered by Delegate Bessemer was carried and the convention adjourned to meet at 8:30 o'clock.

## EVENING SESSION.

Chairman Duncan called the convention to order at 8:30 p. m.

Consideration of the report of the Committee on Constitution.

### CONSTITUTION.

Article III of the Constitution was read by the Secretary, and there being no objection it was adopted.

Article IV was read.

**DEL. RUTHENBERG (Ohio):** I move that the words "shall consist of the State Secretaries of all organized states and territories" be stricken out and the words "or major fraction thereof" be inserted after "3,000 members." (Seconded.) In order to get the amendment clear, I simply want to return to the former section, Article IV, Section 1. If the Secretary will take the old Constitution, I will read it so as to make it clear: "Sec. 1. Each organized state or territory shall be represented on the National Committee by one member and by an addition member for every 2,000 members or major fraction thereof in good standing in the party." The object of this amendment is to take the State Secretaries off the National Committee. I do not believe it is good policy to make the State Secretaries members of our National Committee. When we select a man in a state to serve us as State Secretary, we select him because of his executive ability and not particularly because of his knowledge in regard to the organization at large in the entire country. And I submit that the average State Secretary, at least in a state where there is a large organization such as we have in Ohio, is too busy to keep in touch with and study the affairs of the national organization, because his

hands are full with the affairs of the local organization. I do not believe we should elect a man to one office and impose on him the duties of another office. We should select our National Committee members because we think they are fitted for that office, and not for State Secretary, as a provision which the committee has submitted to us implies. I believe, therefore, that we should return to the old provision and strike out the reference to State Secretaries.

**DEL. WILSON (Cal.):** I wish to support the amendment of the comrade delegate from Ohio. Further on in this Constitution large and extended important powers are given to the National Committee, if the proposals of the committee carry, and I believe that it is the greatest importance that the most able and qualified men in each state, men that are intimate with the whole movement, not only of the state, but of the nation, should find their way eventually to the National Committee. Hitherto, the National Committee of our party has been comparatively a perfunctory body. Its duties may be specified, but they have been formal duties. They have not the responsibility placed upon them. By the new Constitution, the intention is to make the National Committee the real administrative body of the Socialist party. Not in some states—in all our states—we are looking more and more for the best qualified executives; men that can handle the details; men that are intimate with all the little things that arise in the state administration; men of capacity for local work. In the State of California we have recently revised our State Constitution making our State Secretary appointive

ate Board of Control, and not elector for the purpose of finding a capable, efficient, administrative official. I believe that it would be a misfortune to have the State Secretaries of the United States of America on the National Committee. I hope that the amendment of the constitution from Ohio will pass, and we will return to the old Constitution in this respect, with the change of it to 3,000 in order that it shall be adapted to the growing conditions of the

2. SOLOMON (N. Y.): As one of the Secretaries who, by virtue of the provisions of this new Constitution, will be a part of the National Committee, I want to support the amendment offered by Mr. Ruthenberg. While I do not agree with the comrade in so far as the election of the State Secretaries and their exclusion of the organization outside of their own state is concerned, at the same time, nevertheless, fail to see any reason, whatever why they ought necessarily be made members of the National Committee. I contend that in many places the State Secretary, if he wishes to be a member of the National Committee, can be elected in his own state without making it necessary by a mere Constitutional provision to make him a member of the committee, whether he be a member of the committee or not. In view of the extraordinary importance to be conferred on the National Committee, and the fact that this committee is to become a real, active body instead of a mere figurehead under our organization, it is very important to make a member of that committee elected by referendum vote in their respective states; and also in view of the fact that in some states, in fact the most important states, the State Secretary is not elected by referendum vote, but his membership in the State Committee is subject to recall by the state, it is not a very wise move to have him become a member of the National Committee; because, to understand it, it is making the National Committee elected by the rank and file subject to recall by the rank and file and from the fact that a number of State Secretaries are appointed instead of being elected by the rank and file is not very advisable to make them members of the National Committee.

The previous question was then ordered.

3. PANKIN (of the Jewish Agitation Committee): I believe it a very unwise thing to make it mandatory by the Convention that the state officers of the National Committee shall constitute the National Committee. It seems to me that the State Secretaries have sufficient work to do in their respective states without burdening them with the work of the National Committee, and therefore I am in favor of the amendment made by Mr. Ruthenberg from the state of Ohio that we have a body entirely different from the State Secretaries to constitute the National Committee. Let us not turn over the party to the petty officers of the state. Let us have it managed by the rank and file.

4. GOEBEL (N. J.): I want to beg pardon to go very slow in voting for the amendment. As far as I am concerned I think I speak for every member of the committee. If you adopt the amendment we say to you, "Tear up the Constitution. You have taken the heart out of it. Don't say no. For twelve years

Hillquit and certain other members, and myself and certain other members have been on opposite sides. Hillquit and others have claimed in the name of efficiency that we wanted to do away with a certain amount of the referendum. On the other hand, I have always stood, and others with me, for giving all power into the hands of the rank and file. Now, we are compromised and we got together because we thought we found a way of putting the national organization into direct touch and control of the rank and file, and at the same time getting efficiency. Now, you comrades and you State Secretaries, you go slow before you vote in favor of this amendment. Time and time again we have had complaint of lack of harmony between the state offices and the national offices. We have had open conflict, or we have had indifference on the part of the State Secretaries. Under our plan we make the state organization and the national organization one as far as being able to get in touch with each other and understand each other. What do we propose? Once a year a gathering of those men, in the first place, that are able to talk for their states because no man in the state like the State Secretary knows that movement in that state. He knows the workers. The comrade who proposed this amendment said they elected for their State Secretaries men of executive ability. That is exactly what we are trying to put on this National Committee; not the men who happen, because they are speakers or writers, to be the best known in the state and be able to get elected on the National Committee; but the men that are on the job, the Jimmy Higginsons, the Billy Baxters, that know the crowd because they are in touch with the crowd, we want them on that National Committee so that when they meet once a year when it comes to the question of routing speakers or the best distribution of literature and a better way of carrying on the work and getting every possible dollar's worth of value for every penny we spend, we will have a man that can within a week go out of that town and arrange a national meeting, that will arrange for practically an entire year's work and who will understand the plan because he helped to make the plan. I beg you not to stand for this amendment, because if you do stand for this amendment you are only going back to the time when every Tom, Dick and Harry could be elected to the National Committee and you did not know anything about the condition of things. The National Committeemen have the duties of planning the general work. Yes, and who can do it better than the State Secretaries. What are their duties? To talk to the men and women as National Secretaries, to run the party between meetings, who is better acquainted, better able to judge as to who will make a good National Secretary than those men and those women who as State Secretaries have learned what a National Secretary ought to be; people who know how to do it? There is another thing we have in mind. Gradually as this party develops we are going to develop—not the speakers, for we have speakers; not necessarily the writers, but the fellows that know how to organize and take the forces and put them together. We are hoping that out of this we will get a method of promoting and bringing up the work and gradually developing it until we have experts along every line. Now, as far as I am concerned, I am only one and I have only

the voice and influence of one; but having sat on this committee and worked over it as we have done in the committee, I want to say that when you adopt the amendment I take no further heart in the thing, because, now, we have taken the old machine with the old inefficiency, and in addition to that we have taken the control of the national organization, out of the rank and file; because the only thing that connects that directly with the rank and file, after all, are these State Secretaries. They are in daily touch with the rank and file. That was the reason I was willing to accept it; that was the reason Comrade Brewer was willing to accept it; because we said these men are right in touch with the rank and file. We have through them a daily referendum, a weekly referendum, a monthly referendum. I beg of you to vote down the amendment. You have appointed men to do this work of revising the Constitution. There is not a line there but what is related to every other line. We do not take one paragraph by itself, we build this thing like you build a house from the basement to the roof. Try out the plan, and if it don't work out in a year, then it will be time to make the changes that my comrade over there presents for you to make. (Applause.)

The question was then put on the amendment of Del. Ruthenberg, and the amendment was lost by a vote of 65 to 153.

DEL. J. E. COHEN (Pa.): I move that in place of the first sentence of Section 1 the following be substituted: "The National Committee shall consist of 100 members, to be apportioned among the states and territories in the following manner: State Secretaries from all organized states and territories, and additional members in proportion to the average national dues paid by the organization in such states and territories during the preceding year. (Seconded.) On Page 9, Section 4 of Article IX, reads: "Delegates to be apportioned among the states," etc. That is a very good proposition because it comes from Pennsylvania, was adopted by the Pennsylvania convention, and the delegates were instructed to vote to that effect. I think it is a very good proposition that the National Committee shall consist of a definite number who shall be competent to do the executive work, and not of a number that varies from year to year according to how the membership changes. And therefore I hope that you will vote for this new proposition making a definite number who shall be competent to do the executive work of the party from year to year, to be reviewed by the National Convention, which is a much larger number and which meets only once in four years; and thereby your work will be done in an efficient manner as the Constitution desires.

Del. Smith (Mont.) took the floor.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): Permit me to make a statement that may have something to do with Comrade Smith's talk. I want to say that we figured out the probable number of members we would have on the committee. At the beginning we will have from 68 to 74, and we figured that with the present rate of progress, when the next National Convention meets it will be about 95 to 100, which is practically what you want, without changing this as we have it in the Constitution there.

DEL. SMITH (Mont.): I seconded the amendment chiefly because discussion was stopped on the previous amendment. I

wish to discuss the principle involved in the plan outlined by this new Constitution, and not particularly in favor of a particular or specific change in the plan as outlined; except that I shall support the amendment proposed by the comrade here because no other change is provided at this time. I should be in favor of an amendment. The plan as outlined by the Committee on Constitution is this; and we cannot discuss any part of that plan without understanding and considering the entire plan. The plan is that the National Committee—

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): A point of order, that we are discussing the amendment, with a motion to adopt the section as a whole, and not discussing this amendment which he manifestly states he is not much interest in.

THE CHAIRMAN: The comrade says he will link up the support of this amendment to the matters he is presenting now.

DEL. SMITH: The proposition is that the State Secretaries shall constitute the National Committee; that the National Executive Committee of five members shall be selected by the National Committee, which is composed of the State Secretaries. The Executive Secretary shall also be selected in like manner. Now, I want to say that not only are the National Secretaries not all elected by referendum vote, the State Secretaries are not all elected by referendum vote, as has been shown by the comrade from New York, but I want to show another evil in this system. The Executive Committee, while it is elected by the National Committee, is not subject to recall by the membership large.

DEL. HOAN (Wis.): It is.

DEL. SMITH: Show me where. Here is the proposition that Comrade Goebel called attention to: The members of the Executive Committee, Woman's National Committee and Executive Secretary and general correspondent may at any time and on proper motion be temporarily suspended from office by the National Committee and by nobody else.

DEL. HOAN: There is another provision.

DEL. SMITH: Members of the Executive Committee, Woman's National Committee, the Executive Secretary, General Correspondent, etc., may be recalled any time by the membership in the party and may be temporarily suspended during the initiation and taking of a national referendum. I confess I am wrong on that point, which is due to not having read the entire thing through. (Applause.) Now, I trust you will have patience. This is the first time during this convention that I have asked for the privilege of the floor and it is not because I want to show myself, but because I am interested in this proposition. Now, I want to call your attention to the chief points involved in this proposition. The State Secretaries of the Socialist party are the executives of the party within their respective states. They are, as has been stated here, in daily communication with the majority of the state, and without regard to the good faith of the different state organizations they are the persons who have a tremendous personal influence with the states. They are the ones whose decisions on any referendum, should they become interested on either side of a referendum, would have great influence in carrying that referendum out or defeating it, the case might be. These people are not the people who should constitute the National Committee of the Socialist party.

a National Committee of the Socialist party should consist of such men or women, as the case may be, as have no greater influence with the membership in the state, by virtue of any official position, than any other members of the Socialist party within their respective states. Now, we will suppose that the National Executive Committee, selected by the National Committee of State Secretaries, should pursue a course that might be contrary to the judgment of a large proportion of members within certain states and they would be required to initiate a referendum against it. Then they would be confronted with this situation: The State Secretaries, who constitute the National Committee and who are instrumental in electing the National Executive Committee, would be charged with the work of taking a referendum against their own policies, and I maintain that absolute impartiality could not be maintained under those circumstances. We ought not to have referendums conducted by people who are interested particularly in those referendums (applause), especially by people who are in daily communication with the entire membership of the party throughout the entire nation. The State Secretaries are in communication with all of the members of the entire Socialist party, and I maintain that a machine can be built up by a National Executive Committee and a majority of the National Committee, composed of State Secretaries, which no power on earth can break down. (Applause.) Comrades, I say this from having had experience as Secretary of an organization. I am not going to say what organization it is, or anything about it, but I have had sufficient experience to know that the Secretary of an organization can wield a tremendous influence. The chairman of this committee has already called your attention to the fact that the National Secretary, simply because he is National Secretary, can be re-elected National Secretary unless there are some very extraordinary circumstances connected with the election or the nominations. It is almost impossible to defeat a National Secretary. As a State Secretary, I might add, even though he did not use undue influence; and I want to say that when all of the influence that a State Secretary may have may be used, there is no power in the Socialist party that can defeat the State Secretary or the measures in which the State Secretary may be interested.

DEL. PATTERSON (Ohio): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment. Here it says that the National Committee shall consist of State Secretaries. I wish to add in there "or such other persons as the state may designate."

THE CHAIRMAN: This is hardly an amendment to the amendment. That is the nature of an original amendment to the proposition of the Committee.

DEL. PATTERSON: What I want to do is to leave this part optional with the state.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will have an opportunity to present that later, but it is not in the nature of an amendment to the amendment.

The previous question was ordered on the amendment offered by Del. Cohen.

DEL. SPARGO: I am opposed to the idea of making it a condition of the membership of the National Committee that the representatives shall be the State Secretaries. I am, in other words, opposed to making the State Secretary, by virtue of his position as State Secretary, a member of the National Committee. I believe that is a very dangerous power and a very dangerous precedent to set in our party.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Just two points about the amendment and the motion before you leaving the State Secretaries as members of the National Committee. The only thing the Cohen amendment seeks to do is to fix the membership of the National Committee. Now, the Constitution Committee did not deem that expedient, for this reason: That on the basis proposed, one committeeman for every three thousand members, will have today about seventy-five members of the National Committee. There is no reason why we should today increase it to 100. That will simply mean more expense and a little more cumbersome machinery when the party has grown till it automatically reaches the 100 mark, and when it threatens to become unwieldy, as our conventions begin to threaten already, then we can always limit it. At present there is no such danger. I may also say, although the question is not directly involved but was nearly brought up, that we considered very carefully the danger or alleged danger that may come from the influence of the State Secretaries, and we came to this conclusion, that the State Secretaries represent the interests of their states, and when a majority of the State Secretaries come together on any one plan or proposition it is no more a clique, it is an expression of the will of a majority of a majority of the party, and they are welcome to it. (Applause.)

The Cohen amendment was then put to a vote and was lost.

At this point, on motion, consideration of the Constitution was suspended and Comrade Emil Seidel, of Milwaukee, nominee for Vice-President, and Comrade Charles Edward Russell, Delegate from New York, were called on and addressed the convention and visitors.

At the conclusion of the campaign speeches, the convention resumed consideration of the Constitution.

DEL. PATTERSON (Ohio): In the first section it says the national committee shall consist of state secretaries, and so on. I wish to offer the following amendment: "The national committee shall consist of one representative from each state, and an additional delegate for every 2,500 members, or major fraction thereof." (Seconded.)

Del. Branstetter made a point of order that substantially the same proposition had been voted down. The point of order was sustained by the Chair.

DEL. STITT WILSON (Cal.): I move an amendment, as follows: "The national committee shall consist of the state secretaries of all organized states and territories, or such other persons as the members of the party in the states shall elect by referendum vote," and so on. (Seconded.)

At this point, on motion of Del. Hogan (Ark.) the convention adjourned until 9:00 o'clock Saturday morning.

## SEVENTH DAY'S SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 9 a. m. by Chairman Duncan.

The following were nominated as chairman for the day:

Goebel, N. J.; Killingbeck, N. J.; Hogan, Ark.; Thompson, Wis.; Gaylord, Wis.; Slayton, Pa.

All declined excepting Comrades Gaylord, Goebel and Slayton.

The vote resulted as follows: Gaylord, 61; Goebel, 62; Slayton, 19.

Comrade Goebel of New Jersey was declared elected chairman of the day.

CHAIRMAN GOEBEL: On the last day of the convention there is always a rush and pressure of business. We have the Constitution Committee report to finish, the report of the Woman's Committee, the Committee on Party Owned Press, and many other important matters. We also have the rule adjourning this convention at midnight tonight. This all means that we must be as quick as possible, and very likely the chairman in trying to get through with business at times will seem to be arbitrary. If you think injustice is done I want you to appeal at once from the Chair. I am going to do the best I can to complete the business of the convention and I want you all to help me out.

Nominations for vice chairman were then made as follows: Thompson, Wis.; Slayton, Pa.; Strebel, N. Y.; Hogan, Ark.; Ruthenberg, Ohio; Collins, Colo.

Delegates Ruthenberg and Collins were the only delegates who accepted.

The vote resulted as follows:

Ruthenberg, 59; Collins, 57. Delegate Ruthenberg was elected vice chairman of the day.

On motion the roll call and the reading of minutes were dispensed with.

The secretary reported that John Edward Russell had been seated by the New York delegation as alternate for Charles Edward Russell.

C. L. Brunier was seated in place of E. L. Reguin of California.

S. A. Benbrook was seated in place of M. A. Smith, Texas.

### COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications were read from Caspar Bauer, San Diego.

J. D. Osborn, Oakland, Cal.

Young People's Socialist Educational and Dramatic Club, Brooklyn.

Workmen's Circle, New York.

Board of Directors, Labor League, Boston, Mass.

Jacob S. Rosenberg, Worcester, Mass.

Branch 4 Socialist Party, Worcester, Mass.

Local Rochester, New York.

Bohemian Daily, New York.

Bohemian Workingmen's Gymnastic Union of America.

G. E. Daniels, Augusta, Ga.

William Voss, Chairman, Winnipeg, Man.

A. C. Wyman, Boston, Mass.

Organizer E. Kaplan, Hartford, Conn.

N. Mahlon, Pittsburg, Pa.

Syracuse Local, N. Y.

Educational League, Cleveland, Ohio.

C. R. Metcalfe, Sioux City, Ia.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Constitution, Article 4, Section 1.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I propose the following amendment: "The National Committee shall consist of the state secretaries of all organized states and territories, or in place of said secretaries such other parties as the members of that state shall elect by referendum vote."

The rest to follow as it is in the report.

DEL. BRANSTETTER (Okla.): A point of order. Yesterday they voted down an amendment that made it optional to select a member in place of the state secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is made that this amendment is in effect a duplication of the amendment defeated last evening. I rule that Comrade Branstetter's point is well taken and the amendment is out of order.

DEL. WILSON: Will you permit me to word my amendment in another way.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let the Chair say that he will not accept any amendment by which the state secretaries are excluded.

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): I appeal from the decision of the Chair, and the ground for my appeal is that the chairman has no right to gag an amendment to this article in any respect. The amendment now offered is not the same as the amendment offered yesterday. I think the convention should demand that every possible point of view should be given an opportunity to be heard and the proposal voted upon.

THE CHAIRMAN. The Chair's position is that this very matter involved in this amendment was debated and voted upon. Chairman Duncan yesterday ruled precisely as the chairman has ruled this morning.

(Cries of "Oh, no.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, yes, he did. The proper method of procedure would be to move to re-consider.

On a vote the Chair's ruling was not sustained and the amendment offered by Delegate Wilson was declared in order.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I am very loath to offer an amendment here after the consideration that has been given to this matter by the seven wise men. They have labored over this and have doubtless prepared a better instrument than the one with which we have been working. But I fear that this is lodging altogether too much power in the hands of state secretaries. This national committee will consist of probably 65 or 70 members to begin with and between 40 and 50 of them will be state secretaries. The various states differ in their method of electing state secretaries. Some are elected by a referendum of the entire state membership. Some



re elected by nine or ten committeemen of the state. Some of them are appointed by the state boards of control. In the state of California we follow the method of hiring for our state secretary a man specially capable of handling the details of the office. We hire him and fire him by a vote of a limited number of people whom we elect to carry on the policy of the party in the state.

There is another point in this. The National Committee always meets in national convention years. That will mean that in the national convention every state secretary will be a delegate to the national convention. That will not do. People will not send some one else to this convention, they will save the fare of one man and the man who will have to come will be the state secretary, with the result that we shall have fifty state secretaries in our next national convention. That is a dangerous concentration of power in those men and it ought to be voted down.

There is still another point. Under this new constitution the state secretaries, if they form a majority of the national committee would elect the national executive committee. It is easy to see that the national executive committee could be selected from the state secretaries and very likely it would be. If the state secretaries are the most capable men for the national committee by the same reasoning five or six or seven state secretaries are likely to be the most capable men for the national executive committee. Now, I submit to you that the state secretaries are not necessarily the men most capable of determining the policy of the national movement of the national Socialist party. They are not elected in our states to determine policies. They are elected to carry out the policies determined by the state; they are elected we may say as our clerks, not as determining factors in our policies. In California when they seek to determine our policy we determine them out of office. Have we not had to discipline state secretaries all over this nation for assuming power and trying to determine the policy of the Socialist party. So I say to you that fifty of these secretaries in the national committee would not be men qualified to determine the policy of the national party when they are not the men elected to determine our policy in the several states. I hope that you will not permit this section of the constitution as recommended by the committee to stand.

A DELEGATE: Tell us what your motion is.

DEL. WILSON: "The National Committee shall consist of the State Secretaries of all organized states and territories or such other person as the members of the party in the state shall elect by referendum vote." I will add one provision with the consent of my second. "Provided that the State Secretary shall always by virtue of his office be a nominee for election to the National Committee." That will make it possible for the state membership to elect the State Secretary if they see fit. I believe if my second will consent this will save us from a difficulty that is involved. I would like to see men as familiar with our affairs as are the State Secretaries on this National Committee but to pack the National Committee with State Secretaries is a dangerous concentration of power.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the second accept the addition?

DEL. PATTERSON (O.): I refuse to accept the amendment.

DEL. BRANSTETTER (Okla.): Don't be deceived by this cry of bosses or boss rule because the constitution expressly states that no member of the National Committee is eligible on the National Executive Committee.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will Comrade Branstetter read the clause that he thinks is there.

DEL. BRANSTETTER: That was my understanding. It is stated that we have perhaps a better constitution than the one we have been working under. If we have a better constitution it is because the state organizations and the National Committee and the National Executive Committee are to be brought into closer touch and harmony with each other than ever before. The trouble with our present organization is that there is constant friction between the state organizations, between the state secretaries and the executive committee, between the state secretaries and the national secretary. The purpose of this proposed constitution is to get harmonious work between the state and national organization. Some one has said that about the only purpose of the national organization is to administer affairs between the states. There is nobody so well fitted to represent the interests of the separate states as the State Secretaries. They are in actual touch with the state affairs. In the smaller states with only one or two thousand members the State Secretary is not a clerk merely hired to keep the books, but in all the smaller state organizations he is the man who more than any other does know the needs of that organization. He is not a clerk, he is their spokesman, he is their organizer. In the smaller states the State Secretary is generally the only man in the state who knows the needs of the organization. Where the state has ten or twelve thousand members, where the State Secretary may be largely a clerk, hired for his executive ability, there will be three or four others as representatives on the National Committee, and therefore no injustice will be worked, while in the smaller states the most efficient man will be elected. It has been said here that the State Secretaries will arrogate power to themselves. That can be attended to by the state organization. If you have a man in your state that you can't unseat the rest of us can't help you. But I am sure that when the rest of the members are ready to unseat him he will be unseated. But so long as he is the State Secretary and so long as the transactions between the state and national bodies are carried on by the State Secretaries it will help towards a harmonious relationship if this is adopted. I believe a majority of the state will remove a secretary who is not satisfactory when the time comes.

Again they argue that many of the State Secretaries are only executive officers. What is this National Committee? We haven't formed a committee to control the policies of the organization. The national convention and the referendum declare the policy of the party. The purpose of the National Committee is not to declare the principles of this organization. The purpose of the National Committee is to carry out the plans, dictated by referendum and by our national conventions. And I do not know anybody so well fitted to help in carrying out, to formulate methods of carrying out the plans of the national organization as the State Secretaries under whose

direction in the respective states those plans are to be carried out.

The previous question was moved and carried.

DEL. STRICKLAND (Ohio.): It seems to me that one point has been overlooked. In the acceptance of this amendment we are still going out from here if it is adopted, in that form, with the committee already elected, but we are merely leaving it optional to the states to make a change afterwards if they desire. We are not spoiling the plan; we are not taking the heart out of the constitution, but we are making it optional with the states to change that requirement if later they find it necessary or desirable. We go out from here with the plan in force if this be adopted by the referendum vote following the convention, as it will undoubtedly do. Then the committee is already elected, at least the State Secretaries are elected and you already have your National Committee under the new plan. Now under the plan of state autonomy if later any state desires to change the arrangement and choose a different member of the committee by referendum they have the right to do it. Not only that but in the larger states they have to do it any way. So we are not spoiling the plan, but we are allowing larger scope for state autonomy, and we are allowing the comrades in every state an opportunity to adapt themselves to this plan in the very best way. We are not spoiling the plan. We are making it possible for all the states, regardless of the method by which they elect a State Secretary, we are giving each state the chance to thoroughly cooperate with the plan that has been offered by the seven wise men on the platform.

DEL. KELSO (N. D.): Suppose a State Secretary is elected a member of the National Committee, can he be recalled as a member of the National Committee? If he is not recalled as State Secretary and is recalled as National Committeeman what condition are you in?

DEL. HILLQUIT: As the National Committeeman he is an officer of his state, not of the national organization. He could be recalled by his state but not by general referendum.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): There is a good deal of undue excitement about this. Every point that has been mentioned here was thrashed out from A to Z in the committee. Some one brought up every one of these objections. See some of the mistakes that have been made. The comrade that spoke last tells you that these secretaries go into office at once. That is because he hasn't read the constitution. It provides that between the time when this constitution takes effect and the first day of April, 1913, all the state organizations shall elect members of the National Committee in accordance with the provisions of this constitution. They do not come in until the regular term of office is up. Comrade Wilson tells you that nobody would go to the conventions, or to meetings of the National Committee except the State Secretaries because the states would want to save the fare and would not send anybody but the secretary.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I didn't state that.

DEL. RICHARDSON: Very well, you said they would be the only ones that would go. Now the fares are paid for the national committeemen.

Now it is said that the State Secretaries would constitute a majority. I have looked over a great many votes that have been taken on important questions and if you are as familiar with that as I am you know

on the average of 50 per cent do not vote. They don't know anything about the question. Now we want these things in the hands of men who will pay attention to what is going on, men through whose hands all this business must go. The State Secretary is in touch with the business of the national office. He necessarily has to be in touch with it. He is the man who knows most about it.

Another thing, we know what wrangling has been going on between the states some of them almost seceding because of lack of harmonious action. If we can bring these State Secretaries together once a year and let them compare notes it will do more for harmonious work between the states than anything else that could occur.

Your committee thrashed out all these points and we know what we are talking about.

Again Comrade Wilson speaks of the necessity of firing them out of office sometimes. There is nothing to prevent that. There is nothing to prevent the state firing its National Committeeman. And about one-third of the states should fire their National Committeemen now for not attending to business that is submitted to them. We want a live, active committee, in touch with the work and the needs of the Socialist party which will bring about harmonious work throughout the nation and you will get that through the State Secretaries. They will not be a majority of the committee, but they will be a live, energetic part of the committee, they will know what has to be done.

We hope you will support this. We believe it is right; that it is best for the party. There is no danger of concentrating power. The Executive Committee can be recalled either by the National Committee or the membership. All the members of the National Committee can be recalled by their States. If you were going to be afraid of the power that is vested in those bodies where in the name of heaven will you vest power? The committee are not afraid of it. Consider it wisely and vote for this section.

A division was called for upon the amendment offered by Delegate Wilson. The amendment was carried by a vote of 111 aye to 73 no.

DEL. MENG (Ark.): I move that we reconsider the vote by which the State Secretaries are members of the National Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: That motion is out of order until such time as other business has intervened.

DEL. CUPPLES (Wash.): I move to recommit this section and have the committee bring in a report in favor of a yearly conference of the State Secretaries instead of making the State Secretaries members of the National Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall have to rule your motion out of order as not relevant to this paragraph.

DEL. CUPPLES: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: State the ground for your appeal.

DEL. CUPPLES: I appeal from the decision on the ground that I want this question re-committed with instructions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: State your parliamentary grounds.

DEL. CUPPLES: That is a parliamentary ground.

DEL. GOEBEL: My understanding of the rules is that the order under which we are proceeding is this particular section

that that motion would pertain to another subject.

On a vote the Chair was sustained.

The previous question was then ordered in the paragraph as amended.

DEL. MENG: I want to speak against the paragraph. It should not meet with the approval of the majority of this convention. Del. Goebel said that we should tinker with this constitution because

nine wise men of the committee had given it such deep consideration, had

weighed and considered everything and we must have respect for their superior ability

and be very careful how we approach the holy of holies, that we must take off shoes and approach softly, for the wise

have spoken. Why did he say that? There is a reason, as Comrade Charley Post

said. Don't attack this beautiful structure built from the ground up. He is a

center. He knows how to build a constitution, so don't touch it. There is a good

reason why we should not touch it. It is built on a foundation of sand. If you touch

it is gone; and they know it. I have all respect and reverence for these most potent

and reverent seniors who have undertaken to draft this constitution. I take off

my hat to the famous gentlemen that were here. I believe every delegation is

opposed to making the State Secretaries the basis of the Socialist movement, the

lord everything else. In our State we have had one man who is the whole thing.

The State Secretary is a clerk. He has no right to do if he does that well. I want

to change this to say if he is State Secretary he shall not be eligible to the office

National Committeeman.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee at this time desires to call the attention of the

delegates to this fact, that we are on the second page of a sixteen-page document,

this is Saturday, the last day of the convention.

DEL. HICKEY (Tex.): What will you say with that proposition in a State where

there is no State Secretary? In our State we had to kill the State Committee, the

Executive Committee and are prepared to fire the State Secretary. Therefore

we want to know what you are going to do in a State where there is no State Secretary.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I must say that the committee has had Texas in view. The only

objection with us was we didn't know whether Texas would fire its National Committeeman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is on the adoption of this paragraph.

DEL. SLAYTON: I move as a substitute for the whole matter be adopted as it now

stands, the whole sixteen pages. The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will not entertain that motion, but the Chair will

entertain the motion to adopt the whole of Article 4, and in order to do that, you would

have to call for the reading of the article.

DEL. SLAYTON: Then I ask for the reading and adoption of this article.

Sections 3, 4 and 5 of Article 4 were then read by the Secretary.

DEL. SLAYTON: My motion is that that be as read be adopted.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I do not think the committee will be at all favorable to this

motion. I think it is not a very wise proposition after wasting four hours on one section then to swallow the whole of the rest

without consideration or discussion. I think we shall do very much better to

have every section read in order and if there is no objection adopt it and pass to the next. There are important questions in the rest of this constitution that should be considered and discussed seriously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The matter before the house is this: The original motion is that we adopt Section 2 of Article 4. Del. Slayton offers as a substitute that we adopt the entire Article 4 as read.

DEL. SLAYTON: The reason for my motion is that in debating other matters here on the floor at times in amending part of an article we run up against a contradiction in another part. I do not believe that we should do as much injury if we would adopt the whole, try to work it out, and then come back another time, or by referendum, change and amend where it has been found by experience to be necessary to change and amend.

DEL. BESSEMER (O.): I wish to offer an amendment to Section 2.

THE CHAIRMAN: I should have to decide that amendment out of order. Comrade Slayton's motion is a substitute.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I wish to endorse Hillquit's proposition. I think this discussion now is the best proof that instead of expediting matters you are going to delay them. I don't think there is anybody going to make an objection to many of these paragraphs, and I think if we vote this down and get through with it, adopting each section or defeating each section as it comes up without unnecessary discussion, we shall get through much more quickly.

The motion of Delegate Slayton was defeated.

DEL. STRICKLAND: Why can't we adopt the rule that was followed yesterday that in considering this serialim when a section is read it be considered adopted if there is no objection without a motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will so rule hereafter.

DEL. BESSEMER: I wish to move an amendment to Section 2. I wish to add after the last word "Persons who have been elected to political offices shall not be eligible."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BESSEMER: I am opposed to any of our elective officials having any power in the organization. I believe that when we elect officials from the Socialist party we are simply electing servants of the Socialist party, and I believe that the rank and file should be in a position to instruct those men that we elect in any way whatsoever that we wish and they should be deprived of any power to instruct themselves at all. Therefore I believe this amendment should be carried. I believe that a Congressman or a Senator or the Mayor of a city elected by the Socialist party is there as a servant of the people and the whole power of instructing him should be in the hands of the rank and file, and I think this should be passed unanimously without discussion.

DEL. ENDRES (N. Y.): The deliberations in this convention during the past week have impressed me very favorably. But I have found that almost every one who gets on the floor has some kind of suspicion against some other member. This is not acting in a comradely spirit. Here we are wrangling about things and do not come to any conclusions. We have been monkeying around with this thing for about seven hours. Now in regard to the motion made by our comrade from Ohio, I want to tell you this, that if nominations

are made by any local body for public office they are going to select those in whom they have confidence to carry out the work of the comrades in that locality. The larger the territory from which that comrade is to be elected the more capable he is expected to be. We should take the force that has developed in the party to do the work of the party. This proposition is that we should take them out of the active work of the party when it comes to our own organization. Now just take a look at Germany. Wherever there is any important party work to be done you will always find that it is the men who have been prominent in the Reichstag or who have filled other important elective public offices who are called upon to do that work. Vote this thing down here. Let us place confidence in the men to whom we give the power, and in the remainder of this discussion let us be harmonious and not acrimonious, let us not be so suspicious of each other.

The previous question was then ordered.

**DEL. HICKEY:** One of the most prominent members in this convention discussed this matter with me, or rather sought to discuss this matter with me last evening, and I absolutely refused to discuss it, because there are certain things that can not be discussed. This proposition that a man holding a political office shall not also hold executive office is such an elementary proposition in democracy that sane men should not waste two minutes over it. Now in a little story of sixteen columns that I pulled off about this national convention last week I pointed out that any one elected by this convention, or rather elected to office and also held an office in the Socialist party would be liable to punishment under the Texas law because in Texas the primary law provides a penalty for holding executive and political office at the same time.

**A DELEGATE:** Is that a good election law?

**DEL. HICKEY:** Don't ask such foolish questions. I am not concerned with what they do in Germany. I am concerned with an elementary principle of democracy that is recognized in every portion of the United States. I believe with the delegate from Ohio that the rank and file should attend to this thing of political offices being in a place to criticize themselves and instruct themselves.

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** I think if this motion were put in a sensible form it should read: "Every member of the party elected to public office shall, ex-officio, be a member of the National Committee." The party in Germany has that provision. And when Comrade Hickey says that he is not concerned with Germany but he is concerned with Texas, I simply wish to call Comrade Hickey's attention to the fact that the Socialist comrades in Germany have made somewhat better progress than the comrades in Texas. We can well afford to imitate the comrades in Germany rather than those in Texas.

The trouble with our ultra-democratic friends is that they have set forms of words and phrases. If, for instance, Comrade Hickey would consider that we are not speaking about two offices within the same organization, an executive office and a legislative office in the Socialist party. But we are speaking of offices in the Socialist party organization and a political office in a municipality, in a State Legislature or the Congress of the United States. Where is the contradiction? What he has in mind is the separation of powers and functions, the system of checks and balances, all of

which have been accepted long ago by sensible democracy, and he mixes up Socialist party, the National government, the capitalistic State government in common pot. Now that is the contradiction. We have been in the habit of doing this highly democratic thing. We first select our officers, our servants, and when we have elected them the presumption is that they are thieves and scoundrels until they prove the contrary. Every one of our officials—when we want to be really democratic—we frown upon them. We say "You have the power now to steal; you prove that you haven't stolen or you don't steal." That is not democratic. We are not in this party for power. We are not in this party for self-enrichment. The men elected to our National Executive Committee, the men elected to our Congress, the men elected to our State Legislatures, the men that we elect to be mayors or councilmen, the men that we elect to be dog catchers or the men that we elect to be local Secretaries, all serve the party; their various capacities and they do absolutely nothing more, and the more we have of active, competent men in all possible fields of usefulness, the better for the Socialist party. You speak about the power of these men. What about the power of the party press? How about our newspaper editors, Comrade Hickey? As opposed to this proposition, why not adopt the proposition that no editor of a Socialist party paper, the man who has power to mold the opinion of delegates, should ever be a delegate to a National Convention.

**DEL. HICKEY:** I wish to say that I accept that.

**DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio):** I accept the proposition.

(Cries of "Vote, vote.")

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Comrade Bessemer, you are out of order.

**DEL. BESSEMER:** I simply rise for the purpose of accepting the proposition and want to make it.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The matter before the house is this amendment.

**THE SECRETARY:** The amendment offered by Bessemer of Ohio. "Persons who have been elected to or who hold public offices shall not be eligible."

The motion of Comrade Bessemer is lost.

**DEL. PATTERSON (Ohio):** I move to incorporate into that section a provision suggested by Comrade Hillquit barring from membership in the convention members of Socialist newspapers.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I shall rule you out of order. Del. Hillquit's opinions on this question are not pertinent to this section. This section does not refer to the qualifications of delegates to the National Convention. That question is covered by other section.

Section 2 was then adopted as read. The Secretary then read Section 3, Article IV.

**DEL. BARNES (Pa.):** I move to strike out from the fourth line all that follow the word "held." I want to strike out words "in which years it shall hold session in conjunction with the convention." I do not believe in having two organizations assembled at the same time when it appears that they will probably conflict. I am not in favor of holding a National Committee meeting in the year in which the National Convention is held. We can slip that year.

**DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.):** I second the amendment.

THE SECRETARY: Delegate Barnes moves to make Article IV, Section 3, read: "The National Committee shall meet in regular session on the first Sunday after the first Monday in May in each year, except in years when National Conventions of the party are to be held."

DEL. BARNES: That would mean that in that year they would not hold any annual meeting. I contend that it would not result well for the National Committee to meet in conjunction with the National Convention. They would conflict. When the convention is in session we do not need a meeting of the National Committee. The National Convention can take care of all questions.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): Comrade Barnes' proposition would be a very wise one if the National Committee were not charged with certain specific duties, which duties it must perform annually, such as the election of an Executive Committee, of a Secretary, of a Woman's Committee and the Secretary of that committee. The National Committee also has to render a report to the National Convention. The members of the National Committee will in all likelihood also be delegates to the convention. The only result then will be that a small portion of the National Committee-men who are not delegates to the convention will come to that meeting. There can be no conflict since the National Convention is always supreme. On the other hand we can not do away with the committee for the reason that it has important specific functions to perform.

DEL. BARNES: May I ask a question? Does the phrase "in conjunction" mean together?

DEL. HILLQUIT: It means at the same time. We state that it shall be held at definite times except in convention years when it shall hold its session in conjunction with, or at the same time with the convention.

DEL. BARNES: Not meet together. With this construction the point in my amendment is gone, and therefore with the consent of my second I withdraw my motion.

Section 3 was then adopted as read.

Section 4, Article IV, was then read and adopted.

Section 5, Article IV, was then read.

DEL. KOOP: I move to insert \$4 in place of \$2.50 in Section 5.

DEL. BROWN (Wash.): I move to amend by making it read "The members of the National Committee attending the meetings, and the delegates to the regular National Convention shall be paid from the Treasury their railroad fares and \$2.50 per day to cover expenses, but such pay and railroad fares shall not be paid until the committee meeting or the convention has adjourned."

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have a separate clause on conventions. Suppose you just make your motion to refer to the members of the National Committee because under the head of the convention there is a clause that the delegate shall be paid on the same basis as members attending the National Committee meeting.

DEL. BROWN: Does that appear later on?

DEL. KOOP: I had a motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Was Comrade Koop's amendment seconded?

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): The point will be raised that we have consumed more than four hours on this report. We shall then

have to amend the rules in order to continue, and I should like to present this motion first: That the Secretary read the report now entirely through; second, that we debate for one hour thereafter; that at the end of that hour we vote on the proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your amendment is not in order at this time. It relates to the rules of the National Convention. We are discussing this section.

DEL. EDWARDS: My motion refers to the whole matter before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are right. The Secretary will read the motion.

The motion of Comrade Edwards was read by the Secretary.

DEL. EDWARDS: Many points that have been raised have been decided in favor of the committee by their pointing out that those very points have been covered in other paragraphs of the proposed constitution. It is apparent that at least a majority of us have not read this report through. I happen to have read it through, so I am not pleading laziness on my own part. An alternate section to any one of these sections may be presented to go along with the referendum by one-fourth of the delegates. In the hour that I suggest it would be possible to present many amendments on all important points as we read through the propositions. And finally it has all got to be submitted to a referendum vote at the end. Therefore I believe we will get all the important objections and features brought out in our debate and we will be able to go on and do the rest of our business. I submit this as a last point, that already the delegates have begun to go home and many of us are extremely desirous of getting away tonight and therefore if we are going to do much important business that is before us this will be as good a method of attending to this matter as we can devise in the short time at our disposal.

The motion of Delegate Edwards was carried.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Questions are being asked on the floor as to whether amendments can be offered while the reading proceeds. My understanding was the constitution was to be read through, then amendments were to be offered and at the end of an hour's discussion the whole matter was to be disposed of.

DEL. STRICKLAND: The Secretary wishes to state that his understanding of the motion is that the clerk shall read the remaining portion, that at the end of the reading there will be discussion for an hour on any amendments offered and then the vote will be taken.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I wish the Chairman would make a ruling so that afterwards the convention will know what powers it has.

THE CHAIRMAN: As the only way to avoid a tangle I will rule as Comrade Hillquit has suggested.

The Secretary then proceeded to read the remaining sections of the constitution.

Before the reading of Section 2, of Article V, Delegate Hillquit said:

DEL. HILLQUIT: The next section is not properly printed. It should read: "The National Committee shall elect an Executive Committee of five members and a Woman's National Committee of seven members; no two members of either of these committees shall be from the same state."

At the conclusion of the reading the committee made the following explanation:

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** We have made no recommendation as to party press, or foreign-speaking organizations because there are special committees on those matters. As to the foreign speaking matters, this committee has adopted the report of that committee, and the recommendations will be included in the constitution. I don't suppose another reading of that is desired.

There has also been submitted a resolution providing for nominations for President and Vice President by a general referendum of the party. Your committee has not passed upon the subject and has no recommendation to offer. It has drafted an amendment which embodies the idea so that if it is desired by the convention to adopt the principle suggested the committee recommends that it be adopted in the form to be read before you. The committee itself is not opposed to it or favoring it; it is not passing upon it one way or the other. It has decided to submit it to you as a subject worthy of consideration by this body. Comrade Strickland will please read this proposed amendment.

The Secretary then read the proposed Section 9, of Article IX, action on which was taken at the afternoon session, which will be found in the report of that session.

At the conclusion of the reading, Delegate Strickland moved that only such sections of the constitution be read a second time as were requested by the delegates. Adopted.

**DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.):** I want to ask whether this was the intention of the committee, as to Section 4, Article 6: It says that the National Committee shall meet at headquarters. Does that mean that the committee shall meet at headquarters in Chicago although the National Convention may meet in some other city? Is it the intention that the National Committee shall go to one city and the National Convention may go to another city. That will be the case unless the National Convention meets where the National Headquarters are.

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** I think the Section may be misinterpreted, and I suggest that we cure it by saying "Except in convention years when it shall meet at the same time and place as the National Convention."

**DEL. GOAZIOU:** Then you will have to change this.

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** The wording can be changed to meet that situation.

**DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.):** I move to amend Article 3, Section 1, clause d, by striking out the word "require" and inserting the word "request," so that it will read "such States and Territories as may request interference on the part of the National organization." My motion is to leave that question to the State to say whether they wish such interference on the part of the National organization.

**DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.):** I move that we first receive notices of desire to amend; that a record of these requests to amend be made by the clerk in the order of the Articles to be amended, and that all these proposed amendments be received before discussion begins, and then be taken up in the order in which they are proposed.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** If there is no objection, the Chair will so rule.

**DEL. ENDRES (N. Y.):** I would like to propose in addition to that, that they be handed in in writing.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** If there is no objection, the Chair will rule that we proceed along the line suggested by Comrade Duncan.

**A DELEGATE:** Do I understand the ruling to be that the Chair will now call for any and all amendments to Article 5, and when we are through with that, for amendments to Article 6, and so on?

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Secretary will read off simply the numbers, the number of the Article first, and the numbers of the Sections as they follow, and any one having an amendment to present will present it.

#### AMENDMENTS PROPOSED.

##### ARTICLE V.

**DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.):** I have two amendments to Article V. In Sec. 1, clause (d), strike out the word "require" and insert in place thereof the word "request." In Sec. 12, after the words, "no more than one hundred dollars," insert the words "at one time."

**DEL. BURKLE (N. Y.):** In Article V, Sec. 12, I move to substitute \$300 for \$100.

**DEL. ROSETTE (Md.):** I move to add a new section at the end of the article, as follows:

Sec. 13. The National Committee shall publish a monthly bulletin of Socialist information, which shall contain such information as may be of interest to Socialists. The bulletin shall be sold by subscription, and its scope increased in proportion to the income from subscriptions. The National Committee shall maintain, in connection with the National Bulletin, a Bureau of Information which shall, on request furnish party members such information as they may need in the furtherance of Socialist propaganda.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** All of this belongs to ARTICLE VII.

**DEL. GARVEY:** I want information on ART. IX, Sec. 4.

**DEL. MERRICK:** I move that we take them up in regular order.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Chair, if you recall, tried to rule that we take them up in regular order.

The Chair will now rule that the reading clerk will call off the numbers on the Constitution, and those who have amendments will make them before we go on. ARTICLE V is under consideration.

**DEL. MERRICK:** I move to amend Sec. 2 of ART. V by striking out the word "five" and inserting the word "seven," so that the National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members instead of five.

**DEL. ZITT (Ohio):** I move an addition to Sec. 6, to read as follows: Persons holding elective political positions shall not be eligible to membership on the National Committee, National Executive Committee, employee of the National Office, Organizer, or delegate to the National Convention. This will be Clause 2.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** That amendment is out of order. It has been acted upon.

**DEL. OHSOL (Mass.):** I offer as an addition to Sec. 2: All members of the Executive Committee shall make their residences in the city where the National Headquarters are located.

**DEL. OYLER (Neb.):** I wish to introduce Sec. 13: That the National Committee shall have power to publish a Party newspaper or newspapers.

**DEL. GRANT (Minn.):** I wish to have inserted in Sec. (e), following the end of the fourth line: A press service that will furnish patent and plate matter for Socialist papers.

**DEL. PREVEY (Ohio):** The National Committee shall not publish nor delegate any official organ.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I move to amend Sec. 12 by striking out the words: "No more than one hundred dollars shall be appropriated to any organization other than a division of the party."

#### ARTICLE VI.

Sec. 1. No amendments.

Sec. 2. Del. Merrick moved to add at the end of Sec. 2: "And a stenographic report of all discussions taking place in the Committee shall be kept for reference in the National Committee."

Sec. 3. No amendment.

Sec. 4. No amendment.

#### ARTICLE VII.

Sec. 1. Del. Floyd moved to amend Sec. 1 by striking out \$1,500 and substituting 200.

Sec. 2. No amendment.

Sec. 3. No amendment.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

Sec. 1. Stands.

Sec. 2. Stands.

Sec. 3. Del. Merrick of Pennsylvania moved to strike out the last sentence and insert instead the following: "They shall elect a chairman of the group who shall act under instructions of the National Committee on all matters."

DEL. BESSEMER: I wish to amend Sec. 2 by adding: "Or by general referendum of the Party."

#### ARTICLE IX.

Sec. 1. Del. Zitt moved to amend Article by striking out Sections 1 and 3.

Sec. 2. Del. Barker of Oklahoma moved to amend by inserting the word "majority" before "general vote" in the second line.

Sec. 3. Motion to strike out.

Sec. 4. Del. Kraft, of New Jersey, asked for information from the Committee on the computation of the delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN (HILLQUIT): It shall be composed of 300 delegates, one from each State and Territory, and the remainder in proportion to the average national population. Assume that we have a membership of 200,000. Let us assume that there are 50 organized states. That will take away 50 delegates, at one for each state, and leave 250 to be elected on a basis of one delegate for every 800 members. Let us say the state of New York has 8,000 members, that will mean ten delegates in addition to the one which it gets at large. Then, of course, the question of fractions may come in. There is but one way to meet that, and that is to recognize the largest fractions in number.

Sec. 4. Del. Solomon of New York moved to amend Section 4 by changing the words "two years" in the last line, to three years.

Del. Zitt moved to add to Section 4, or perhaps make it a new section, the following: "Persons holding elective political positions, and all employees of the party with salary attached, shall be ineligible to serve as delegates to National Conventions."

Sec. 5. DEL. BOSTROM of Washington moved to amend Sec. 5 so as to read: "allroad fare, including tourist sleeper. I want that specified, so that delegates may know what to expect."

Sec. 7. DEL. SLOBODIN: I moved to insert in the second sentence of the second paragraph the words "at the time of your nomination." I want to do away with carpenters and shoemakers in the party who haven't done a day's work for twenty years.

Sec. 8. Stands.

#### ARTICLE X.

Sec. 1. Stands.

Sec. 2. Stands.

Sec. 3. Del. K. Sadler of Washington moved to amend Sec. 3 by adding at the very end the words: "To do otherwise will constitute party treason, and result in expulsion from the party."

DEL. DUNCAN moved to amend Sec. 3 by striking out, in the next to the last line on the second paragraph, the words "endorsed or recommended."

DEL. M'FALL of New Hampshire moved to amend Sec. 2 by striking out the last sentence, beginning "When the membership."

Sec. 4. DEL. WELLS of California moved to amend Sec. 4 by adding, after the end of the 6th line, reading "affairs within such state or territory," the words "Provided such propaganda is in harmony with the national platform and declared policy of the Party."

Sec. 5. DEL. SMITH (Mont.): I wish to offer an amendment to Sec. 5, in writing, which I will ask the reading clerk to read.

DEL. WELLS (Wash.): I move to strike out the word "five" and insert the word "three or two," and add "This provision to take effect on January 1, 1913."

DEL. SMITH'S amendment to Sec. 5 was read, as follows:

During the months of January and July in each year, or at any other time required by the National Executive Committee or by this Constitution, State Secretaries shall furnish to the National Secretary a list of all locals affiliated with their respective state organizations, together with the number of members in good standing in each local. Refusal, failure or neglect to comply with this section shall subject the state organization to suspension from the Socialist party and deprive such state organization from participating in the affairs of the Socialist party, and shall be a forfeiture of the right of representation in the National Committee, the National Executive or the conventions or congresses of the party.

Sec. 6. DEL. NOBLE of Texas moved to amend Sec. 6 to read two cents instead of five for each member in good standing.

DEL. HOOGERHYDE of Michigan moved to add Sec. 6: And only due stamps issued by the National Committee and affixed to members' due cards shall be received for payment of said dues.

DEL. BOSTROM moved to strike out the whole section.

Sec. 7. DEL. MERRICK of Pennsylvania moved to strike out the last sentence of the first paragraph, beginning "In cases where husband and wife are both party members—"

DEL. BROWN (Ohio): I move to amend Sec. 7 by adding the words: "Also women who are in receipt of income may be allowed to receive exempt due stamps."

DEL. GRANT (Minn.): In the line immediately following "exempt stamps," add "Excepting those issued to wives of comrades."

DEL. WAYNICK (Wash.): In the fifth line after the words "within his control," I wish to insert "Such exempt stamps to bear no designation or mark, distinguishing them from the regular due stamps of the Party."

Sec. 8. DEL. DORFMAN (Ore.): I move to substitute the word "recall" for "imperative mandate."

DEL. PATTERSON (Ohio): A number of the Ohio comrades wish to go on record as moving to strike out the entire Section 7. We want to be so recorded.

Sec. 9. DEL. BENTALL of Illinois desires to amend the close of the first paragraph, making it read as follows: No person shall be nominated or endorsed by any subdivision of the Party, or candidate for public office, unless he is a member of the Party and has been such for at least two consecutive years immediately preceding such nomination.

DEL. KILLINGBECK of New Jersey moved to strike out the last sentence of Sec. 9, beginning "But this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than a year."

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I make an amendment to the amendment, by making it three years instead of one, in the last line.

Sec. 8. DEL. GARVER of Missouri moved to add to Sec. 8: "Failure to do so shall give the National Party jurisdiction."

DEL. ZITT moved to have the word "one" in the fourth line, where it says "at least one year," substituted by three.

DEL. ALEXANDER of Texas moved to substitute for "one year," in the last line, "five consecutive years."

Sec. 8.

DEL. GARVER moved to strike it out. DEL. TUCK (Cal.): I would like to incorporate as Article X, Section 11, the following: "Branches may be organized to accommodate night workers, to be known as daylight branches."

DEL. BESSEMER: I wish to add a Section 11 to Article X: "State Secretaries shall report to the National Office every three months, the name and addresses of all local Secretaries in the state, together with the number of members in good standing in each."

#### ARTICLE XI.

Sec. 1. No amendment.

#### ARTICLE XII.

DEL. PREVEY of Ohio moves to amend by striking out, "15,000 members" and inserting "20,000."

DEL. BOSTROM moves to amend the amendment by making it read "30,000" instead of 15,000.

Amendment to strike out the words "And a per diem equal to the per diem fixed for national organizers and lecturers," at the top of page 14.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

DEL. BOSTROM of Washington moved to strike out the whole of Article XIII.

Sec. 1. Stands.

Sec. 2. Stands.

Sec. 3. Stands.

Sec. 4. Stands.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

Sec. 1. Stands.

#### ARTICLE XV.

Sec. 1. DEL. ZITT moved to amend by striking out the words "National Committee in session" in the two places where it occurs, in Sec. 1.

Sec. 2. Stands.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I want to offer a new section, Section 3, at the end of Article XV: "Referendums to evoke or amend a provision of this Constitution may be instituted only one year after the adoption of said provision."

#### ARTICLE XVI.

Sec. 1. Stands.

Sec. 2. Stands.

#### MINORITY REPORT.

Substitute for Article V, Section 8.

Sec. 8. No amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Under the motion which was adopted we have less than twenty minutes to discuss and adopt amendments.

A DELEGATE: I move that these amendments be taken up and adopted or rejected without discussion.

The Indiana delegation handed in a section for Article XVI, that the National organization copyright the emblem.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): If this is time to do it, I want to move that the National emblem shall be the arm and torch.

THE CHAIRMAN: Unless the amendment is properly and offered as a part of the Constitution, I shall have to rule out of order.

DEL. BESSEMER moved to adjourn till 1:30.

THE CHAIRMAN: To do that, we will have to suspend the rules.

Motion was made to suspend the rules and another motion to table the motion suspend the rules, which was put and declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to take up the amendments serially, vote upon them.

THE SECRETARY: Under Article Section 12, the first amendment I have by Burkle of New York, to substitute in place of one hundred.

The motion was put and declared lost.

Clifford of Ohio offers an amendment Article V, Section 12, by cutting out sentence beginning: "No more than one hundred dollars" to the end of the section.

Motion duly put, and defeated.

Amendment to Article V, Section 2, Del. Merrick, by striking out five and inserting seven, was put and declared lost.

Amendment of Ohsol, to Section 2, put, and declared lost.

Amendment of Grant, to Section 6, put, and declared lost.

Amendment of Grant in regard to maintaining a press service that will furnish plate and patent matter to Socialist papers, was put and declared carried.

THE SECRETARY: There are two sections proposed, to be known as Section 13. Both being in regard to Party Press upon motion, duly seconded, action upon them was deferred until we have the report of the Committee on Press.

The Minority Report on the amendment to Section 8 of Article V was put and declared lost. Division was called for, the Minority Report was defeated by vote of 98 to 118.

The Secretary read the amendment offered by Del. Slobodin of New York, Section 12, of Article V, that to insert words "at one session" after the words "one hundred dollars." The amendment was lost.

The Secretary next read an amendment offered by Del. Slobodin to amend Paragraph (d), of Section 1, of Article V, striking out the word "require" and inserting the word "request."

Amendment lost.

The convention then proceeded to consider Article VI.

The Secretary read an amendment, Section 2, offered by Del. Merrick of Pennsylvania, to add to the Section the following: "A stenographic report of all divisions taking place in the Committee shall be kept for the information of the National Committee."



amendment was adopted by a vote to 93.  
 Article VII was next taken up and considered.

Secretary read an amendment to Article 1, offered by Del. Downing of California, to strike out "\$1,500" and insert "0."

Amendment was lost.

Rosette of Maryland moved to add a section to be known as Section 4, to read: "The Executive Secretary shall publish a monthly bulletin of Socialist information, which shall contain such information on industrial, civic, historical and other matters as may be of interest to the party. The Bulletin shall be sold by subscription, and its scope increased in proportion to the income from subscription."

The Executive Secretary shall maintain in connection with the Bulletin, a bureau of information which shall, on request, furnish party members such information as they may need in the furtherance of Socialist propaganda."

Motion of Del. O'Reilly of Illinois to amend was deferred until the next session. The Committee should report.

Amendments to Article VIII were then taken up. The Secretary read an amendment offered by Del. Merrick of Pennsylvania, to strike out the last sentence of Article 3, beginning "They shall elect a man of the group," etc., and to insert "they shall elect a chairman of the group," and shall act under instructions by the National Committee on all matters."

Amendment lost.

Secretary next read an amendment offered by Del. Bessemer of Ohio, that the section be made to read as follows: "They shall carry out instructions which may be given to them by National Conventions, by the National Committee in session, or by a general referendum vote of the party."

Amendment was adopted.

Article IX was next taken up.

Zitt (Ohio) offered an amendment to strike out Section 1 and Section 3, and to insert "of which provide for the holding of National Conventions."

Amendment was offered by Del. Parson of Oklahoma, as follows: In Section 2 insert "majority" before "general," so that it shall read, "at any time if decided upon by a majority general vote."

Amendment was lost.  
 L. SOLOMON (N. Y.) offered an amendment to Section 4, to strike out "and insert 'three,'" so that the last sentence of the section should read, "and have been a member of the party for a period of at least three years."

Amendment was adopted.  
 Zitt of Ohio offered the following amendment to Section 4: "Persons holding any political positions, and all salaried officers of the party, shall be ineligible to serve as delegates to National Conventions."

Amendment lost.

Article 5, of Article IX, as originally adopted by the committee, was read.

L. HILLQUIT: That was corrected by the committee to read, "Railroad fare for delegates going to and coming from the sessions of the party, and the per diem allowance of \$2.50 to cover expenses," etc.

L. BOSTROM (Wash.) moved to amend by adding after "railroad fare" the words "including tourist sleeper car fare."

L. KILLINGBECK (N. J.) moved to amend the amendment on the table.

At the request of Del. Kate Sadler of Washington, the Chairman explained the difference between tourist sleepers and regular Pullman sleepers.

The amendment was then adopted.

A motion was carried to continue in session until the report of the Committee on Constitution was finished, and then to adjourn for one hour.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.) offered the following amendment to Section 7 of Article IX: That the second sentence be changed so as to read "Such list shall contain the occupation of each delegate at the time of his nomination."

Amendment adopted.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio) moved to strike out the first eight lines of the second paragraph, being that portion beginning "The Executive Secretary" and ending "and furnished to the party press for publication."

Amendment lost.

The Secretary read the following section, formulated by the Committee on Constitution as Section 9 of Article IX, a new section not in the printed report of the committee:

Sec. 9. On the first day of November in each year preceding a presidential election, the national office shall issue a call for nominations for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and each local shall be entitled to nominate one candidate for each office. Thirty days shall be allowed for nominations, and fifteen days for acceptances and declinations by candidates who have received at least five nominations. The names of candidates having received five or more nominations and having accepted the same shall immediately be published for seconds, each local being entitled to second the nomination of one candidate for President and one for Vice-President. All candidates receiving at least 50 seconds to the nomination, including the nominations each may have received in the first instance, shall be placed on the referendum ballot. The referendum shall be submitted on February 1st. Fifty days shall be allowed for the referendum. The candidate receiving a majority of all the votes cast shall be the nominee. In case no candidate receives the majority, a second referendum shall be held, upon the ballot for which shall appear the names of all candidates receiving as high as ten per cent of the vote cast in the preceding referendum. The second referendum shall be submitted fifteen days after the close of the first referendum, and shall be closed in fifty days from the date of submission. In case no candidate receives a majority of all the votes cast in the second referendum the names of the two highest shall be placed on the ballot for a third referendum, which shall be submitted fifteen days after the close of the second, and such third referendum shall close fifty days from the date of submission. The candidates thus nominated shall be the nominees of the Socialist party, and their names shall be placed upon the ballots in presidential primary elections in all states where such primary elections are mandatory. No member of the party shall allow his name to be placed on such primary ballots if he is not the regular nominee of the party. All candidates for Presidential or Vice-Presidential nomination by the Socialist party shall possess the qualifications required by the Constitution of the United States for President and Vice-President, and in addition thereto shall have been members of the party at least eight years."

DEL. TAYLOR (Ill.): A point of information. I wish to ask the chairman of this

committee, if in figuring the time for this referendum, he has considered that the Presidential primary in certain states occurs the first Tuesday after the first Monday in April, and if this method will give time enough.

DEL. DUNCAN: It will not give time enough, because it takes six months.

DEL. ENDRES (N. Y.): I have an amendment to offer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will have to rule that you cannot make an amendment and cannot discuss it.

DEL. ENDRES: I object to that ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: No amendments are in order.

DEL. DUNCAN: What is the reason?

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I move to recommit this to the committee. (Seconded.)

DEL. HILLQUIT: This is not a committee report. The committee has merely phrased it and formulated certain propositions made by delegates. The committee does not stand for it, and there is no reason and no sense in referring it back to the committee.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I move that we place this amendment in the hands of the committee for revision and report. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is in order if the mover insists.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I move that we refer it to the new National Committee for favorable consideration so far as the principle is concerned. (Seconded.)

DEL. HILLQUIT: I move to amend by striking out the word "favorable." Let it be referred for consideration to the incoming National Executive Committee. (Seconded.)

The amendment was lost, and the original motion was then carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is carried, to refer it to the new National Committee, which will meet some time next year, on or about the first of June.

The convention then proceeded to the consideration of Article X.

DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.) offered the following amendment: To add at the end of Section 3 the following words: "To do otherwise will constitute party treason and will result in expulsion from the party."

The question was put on the amendment, and it was declared lost. A second vote was taken, and the amendment was adopted.

Section 4 was read.

DEL. WELLS (Cal.) offered an amendment to add the following words to the section: "Provided such propaganda is in harmony with the national platform and declared policy."

Amendment adopted.

Section 5 was next read.

DEL. SMITH (Mont.) moved to amend by adding the following to the section: "During the months of January and July of each year, or at any other time required by the National Executive Committee or by this constitution, the State Secretaries shall furnish the National Secretary a list of all locals affiliated with their respective state organizations, together with the number of members in good standing, and the name and address of the corresponding secretary of each local. Refusal, failure or neglect to comply with this section shall subject the state organization to suspension from the Socialist party and deprive such state organization of participation in the affairs of the Socialist party, and shall be a forfeiture of the right to representation in the National Committee, the Na-

tional Executive Committee, the conventions and congresses of the party."

Amendment adopted.

Section 6 read by the Secretary.

DEL. HOOGERHYDE (Mich.) moved to amend by addition the following: "All only dues stamps issued by the National Committee shall be affixed to member dues cards as valid receipts for the payment of dues."

Amendment adopted.

DEL. WELLS (Wash.) moved to amend Section 5 by striking out "five cents" and inserting "three cents," and to add the following to the section: "To take effect January 1, 1913."

Amendment lost.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.) moved to amend the same section by substituting "two cents" for "five cents."

Amendment lost.

Section 7 was read.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio) moved to strike out the entire section.

Amendment lost.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.) moved to strike out the last sentence in the second paragraph, referring to exemption stamps to be used by husband or wife.

Amendment lost.

DEL. BROWN (Iowa) moved to add the following to the section: "Also women who are not in receipt of incomes may be allowed to receive the special exemption stamps."

Amendment lost.

DEL. GRANT (Minn.) moved an amendment that immediately following the word "exempt stamps" in the eighth line of the first paragraph the following words be added: "Excepting those issued to the wives of comrades."

Amendment lost.

DEL. WAYNICK (Wash.) moved that after the word "control" in the fifth line of the first paragraph of Section 7, the following be inserted: "Such exempt stamps to bear no designation or marks distinguishing them from the regular dues stamps of the party."

Amendment lost.

Section 8 was read.

DEL. DORFMAN (Ore.) moved to substitute "recall" for "imperative mandate."

Amendment lost.

DEL. GARVER (Mo.) moved the following addition: "Failure to do so shall give the national party jurisdiction."

Amendment lost.

Section 9 was read.

DEL. BENTALL (Ill.) moved to amend by striking out "one" and inserting "two."

Amendment adopted.

DEL. KILLINGBECK (N. J.) moved to strike out the last sentence, reading "But this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than one year."

Amendment lost.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.) moved to amend by making the time three years.

Amendment lost.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex.) moved to make the time five years.

Amendment lost.

Section 10 was read.

DEL. GARVER (Mo.) moved to strike out the section altogether.

Amendment lost.

DEL. TUCK (Cal.) moved to add the following new section: "Branches may be organized to accommodate night workers, such branches to be known as daylight branches."

Amendment lost.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio) moved the addition of a new section to be known as section 11, as follows: "State Secretaries shall report to the national office every three months the names and addresses of all members in good standing in each."

Amendment lost.

Article XII was read.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.) moved to strike, after the word "delegates," the words "and per diem equal to the per diem fixed for national organizers and lecturers."

Amendment lost.

DEL. PREVEY (Ohio) moved to strike out "fifteen thousand" and insert "twenty thousand members."

Amendment adopted.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio) moved to make the number "thirty thousand" instead of "fifteen thousand."

Amendment lost.

Article XIII was read.

An amendment was offered to strike out the entire article.

DEL. MALEY (Wash.) moved to defer action till after the report of the Woman's National Committee is received.

Motion to defer lost.

A vote was taken on the amendment, and it was defeated.

Article XIV was read.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio) moved to strike out all reference to the National Committee in session, where it occurs.

Amendment lost.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.) offered the following as an addition to the article, to be known as Section 3: "Referendums to revoke or amend the provisions of this Constitution may be instituted only one year after the adoption of such provisions."

Amendment adopted.

Article XVI. The Indiana delegation submitted a new section, to be known as Section 3, as follows: "In order to prevent the misuse of the party name by parties calling themselves Socialists, but who are not members of the party, the name 'Socialist Party of the United States' shall be copyrighted."

Amendment lost.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.) moved the addition of the following new section: "The national emblem of the party shall be the arm and torch."

Amendment lost.

DEL. McFALL (N. Y.) moved to strike out the last sentence in Section 2 of Article X, which provides for revoking the charter of a state when the membership falls below 150 per month for any six consecutive months.

Amendment lost.

DEL. STRICKLAND (Ohio) then moved the adoption of the Constitution as a whole, with the exception of the points deferred. (Seconded.)

The motion was carried, and the Constitution was adopted as a whole, with the exception of the points deferred.

DEL. SPARGO moved to change the order of the day and take up the report of the Committee on Immigration this afternoon.

The Chairman held that the motion could not be entertained, under the rules.

TELEGRAM FROM COMRADE DEBS.

The Secretary read a telegram from Comrade Eugene V. Debs, accepting the nomination for President.

The convention then, at 1:45 p. m., adjourned for one hour.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Goebel called the convention to order at 2:45 p. m.

### CONSTITUTION.

DEL. KATE SADLER: At the preceding session I offered a new section to be added to the Constitution, but it was not acted on. It was just an omission, that's all.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection we will put it to a vote. The Constitution has been adopted as a whole. Is there any objection to reading this section? There is none, and we will read it and put it to a vote now.

The Secretary read the following: A new section to be added to the Constitution, offered by Del. Kate Sadler of Washington: "That the National Executive Committee shall print a specific statement in the Bulletin of all moneys expended for printing leaflets and books, and the names of the same and their authors."

The amendment was adopted.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I rise to a point of information. I would like to know if the old Constitution will be submitted to referendum along with the new.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it will not.

The Secretary read an amendment offered by Del. Meitzen of Texas, providing that members of the National Committee shall not hold office for more than two consecutive terms.

The amendment was lost.

### COMPENSATION.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.) moved that the Secretary and Assistant Secretaries be remunerated at the rate of \$4.00 per diem for the days of the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

On motion of Del. Patterson (Ohio), the sergeants-at-arms were included in the same motion.

### REPORT OF WOMAN'S COMMITTEE.

DEL. LOWE (Ill.), of the Woman's National Committee, made the following report on behalf of the committee:

DEL. LOWE: Our report this afternoon will be made just as brief as possible, and I think it will arouse no discussion and in that way we can dispose of this in just a few minutes, I believe. I want to say first that I shall report to you the work that we have accomplished during the past two years, the result of the work of the Woman's Committee. Comrade May Wood Simons will present to you the recommendations for the coming year. We believe that it is necessary that the delegates to this convention carry home with them some report of the work that we have done, and it has been proved to us that that is necessary because of the motions made by our comrade from Washington this morning. When I asked him whether or not he had read the report which has been in your hands since last Sunday, he admitted he had not, and I will venture to say that many of you have not. He said to me, "I don't believe in this

aggregation of women." I said, "Neither do we. That is the thing we are fighting. The thing that we want is getting the women right into the Socialist party locals side by side with the men." (Applause.) We do not want separate organizations of women. The Socialist party would have no more control over separate organizations of women than it would have over separate organizations of men, none whatever. We simply want to have the women members of your locals elected by you to a woman's committee, whose special duty it is to carry on the propaganda work, the educational work among the wives and the daughters of the members of the locals, and the women who are sympathizers and interested in the movement. That is the purpose of our organization; and, working along those lines, on broad general plans, during the latter part of 1910 and 1911, we have accomplished this, and I shall read this to you.\*

## RECOMMENDATIONS.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Vice-Chairman Comrade Simons will now read the recommendations of the National Woman's Committee.

**DEL. MAY WOOD SIMONS:** The National Woman's Committee wishes to put these recommendations before you for your consideration. Two years ago, when the national conference was held, various women in various parts of the country were appointed by the National Woman's Committee to make a special study of various phases of propaganda as it affects women, and these women have, with only one exception, reported to the National Woman's Committee, and it is their recommendations as finally worked over by the National Woman's Committee that are being presented to you today. Our first recommendation is upon the propaganda among housewives:

### RECOMMENDATION ON PROPAGANDA AMONG HOUSEWIVES.

The committee recognizes: 1. The necessity of bringing the message of Socialism to the housewives of the nation. 2. That the first duty of the housewife, while her children are young, is toward these children, her husband and her home. 3. That owing to this fact, agitation is particularly difficult because housewives who are tied to their homes cannot go to meetings and do not even care to do so.

Therefore, the committee recognizes that these housewives can be reached chiefly by means of literature, which must be simple and short, and prove to the housewife that the salvation of her family lies in the direction of Socialism; and

The committee recommends that literature appealing to the housewife should take the home as the starting point and prove that capitalism destroys the home, and that Socialism will rebuild the same on a more substantial basis by making both men and women economically independent.

The committee finally suggests that the literary propaganda be supplemented by individual work by Socialist men and women in the homes and in social gatherings of non-Socialist women, especially of the women of the working class.

### RECOMMENDATION ON PROPAGANDA AMONG FARMERS' WIVES.

In view of the fact that the woman on the farm is the most isolated of any so-

cial group, she is less conscious of her social interdependence.

We recommend that all literature circulated in this group be of such nature as to point out clearly the exploitation of her individual industry and the rapid centralization of the farm and its products into the hands of a few.

We further recommend that a systematic canvass be made for the names of farmers' wives and that this list be used in the systematic distribution of such literature as will appeal to her.

### RECOMMENDATION ON WORK AMONG FOREIGN SPEAKING WOMEN.

Women of the working class who come to our shores from other countries may be classified into two general divisions: Socialists and Non-Socialists.

This naturally divides the work of this department into two general heads:

1. Work among foreign speaking women who are already Socialists. This work consists in educating and informing them as to our political methods and the importance of Suffrage for Woman. The propaganda for woman's ballot will not only be helpful to women, but it will also inspire the women to urge their men relatives to become citizens as soon as possible.

#### Plan of Work:

We recommend a leaflet explaining the ballot as a factor in securing political power for the working class, and the importance of the right of suffrage and the necessity of taking an active part in the campaigns for the extension of franchised rights.

2. That we request all translators to give out all our plans of work and suggestions to the locals and branches, and as far as possible translate our leaflets.

3. That they in turn give us an English translation of all plans and methods employed in their work among women.

### WORK AMONG NON-SOCIALIST FOREIGN SPEAKING WOMEN.

The foreign speaking woman must be reached with our propaganda. This is important, not only for her own sake, but because of the influence she exerts in her own home.

#### Plan of Work:—

1. We recommend a series of articles explaining why the foreigner does not find the opportunity and liberty in this country he had anticipated, and show how the workers have the same struggle in the United States as in other countries.

2. We recommend the publication of the list of foreign leaflets and periodicals and where they may be obtained, so our English speaking women may know where and what they can get to distribute among the foreign speaking women.

3. We recommend the distribution of leaflets dealing with the conditions the foreigner will find in this country and giving information concerning the Socialist party and its work in foreign ports among the people embarking for America. This will necessitate the co-operation with our comrades in other lands, and give us some definite work in establishing a closer international bond of activity.

4. We recommend that special effort be made to organize the foreign speaking women on the economic field where they are employed in the industrial world, and

\*The Report is printed in full in Appendix I.

at all leaflets printed in English on this subject relative to the importance of men organizing in unions, be translated and distributed among the people where they are needed.

DEL SIMONS: The next recommendation is on the Teachers' Section. The reason we have brought this in is because of the work of the Teachers' Bureau which has been handled by the National office. The recommendation is as follows:

#### RECOMMENDATION.

##### Establishment of Municipal Bureau. (Teachers.)

There is a rapidly growing demand upon part of the newly elected officials for information upon the municipal problems that confront them. At the present time there is no provision in the National Office for supplying this demand. The present Teachers' Bureau, which has been in existence eight months, is attempting to answer but one of the municipal problems which our officials must face. We believe that this department in the National Office should be enlarged into a Municipal Bureau, having for its purpose the securing of information upon all municipal problems.

We therefore recommend that this be done.

DEL SIMONS: Our next recommendation is on the question of the suffrage, and I consider that to some extent this is one of the most important recommendations we have to make before you today. I am at present living in the state of Kansas. This fall we shall have the election of the state of Kansas before the people of the state of Kansas, and there is little doubt that it will be granted, and that full suffrage will belong to women in that state. The same question is coming before other states, and I consider it of great importance, because my own personal experience has been, in these towns of Kansas where women already have the municipal ballot, that the women need a great deal of education. There is no doubt that women will have the ballot in very short time. It is also important because we have not up to this time sufficiently extended our propaganda among women. We find that the ballot will be given to women, and then we will have a very large task to educate them in the use of the ballot. This is our recommendation.

"Whereas, Woman suffrage amendments have been submitted to the voters in Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, Oregon and Idaho, we earnestly urge upon the membership in these states the importance of making this a leading issue in this campaign. All speakers, literature agents, organizers, canvassers, watchers and workers of all kinds should be instructed to give this measure their especial attention." (Applause.)

I want to say that I cannot tell you how serious I think this is, because we have just closed a campaign in the town in which I live, in which campaign the Socialists were defeated because of the fact that we had not sufficiently educated the women how to use their ballots. I believe that at this time this convention could wake up to the fact that we are going to have the vote very soon, and our propaganda work among women must be carried on with the greatest energy. (Applause.)

The last recommendation of the Committee is on the subject of White Slavery:

Whereas, The houses of infamy which are protected by the capitalist governments of the cities of the United States are not only destructive of the physical health and moral conscience of the people, but are the means of a most shameful slavery for young girls as well; and

Whereas, It has been shown by official investigation that large numbers of young girls are taken into those places by lures, tricks, frauds and even by force. That the hunting, deluding, entrapping and capturing of working girls, solely for inmates of segregated districts of vice, has become a regular established business followed by large numbers of men in the country. That while such business is forbidden by law, it is protected by the officials who, for the protection, share the profits. That while capitalist officials boast of standing for "law and order" and for making all things constitutional, they, at the same time, establish those districts where not only statutory law and the conscience of the land is broken, but every noble impulse of the human conscience is violated; and

Whereas, The attempted hygienic value of such segregation and regulation has been shown a failure, the highest medical authorities here and in Europe are condemning it in unstinted terms (As Dr. Prince A. Morrow of New York; Drs. Lesser, Neisser and Blascho of Germany; Drs. Mauriac and Fournier of France, and the highest medical authorities of England and the Scandinavian countries); and

Whereas, It is distinctively a class question, as working girls form 99 per cent of the victims, and as the "segregating" consists in appointing an area in the very poorest districts of the city where the evil may go on with official help for keepers and procurers, thus becoming a constant menace to the poor who must live in such districts: their children, girls and boys alike early falling victims to this worst of capitalist protected vices; and

Whereas, The men engaged in this traffic combine with big business for protection, and big business protects them in turn for the votes fraudulent and otherwise that they give to the machine. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the National Socialist Party of America, in convention assembled, do hereby proclaim our unremitting hostility to such institutions; that we urge our members in all the cities of the land to make insistent and urgent protest against such segregation and despoilation of helpless womanhood; that we demand the enforcement of law; and further be it

Resolved, That where Socialist administrations are elected in cities they immediately abolish such districts, extend care and protection to the unhappy women inmates, and prosecute vigorously all keepers, procurers and others engaged in this most infamous business; and further be it

Resolved, That we use our power to secure legislation requiring physicians to report all cases of venereal diseases, and that a public record be kept of the same; and also make it a felony for any person not a regularly licensed physician, to treat such diseases.

Resolved, That while we recognize that prostitution is a by-product of capitalism, we recommend this measure as one which will hamper the cadet in his right to take profits from the unfortunate woman, and to show our contempt for the miserable substitute for a home offered by the masters to our workingmen; and we further

Recommend, That to the end that our boys and girls may be better able to protect themselves, instruction in sex hygiene be carefully given in all public schools.

The reading of the recommendations was received with great applause.

DEL SIMONS: I move that these recommendations be accepted by the convention. (Seconded.)

DEL. MALKIEL (N. Y.): I move that they be taken up and discussed seriatim, because there are a number of things that have to be discussed. (Seconded.)

DEL. LONDON (N. Y.): I move as an amendment that the recommendations of the Woman's Committee be referred to the National Executive Committee. If that motion is seconded I will explain why I make that motion.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): A point of order. There is a motion made and properly before the house, and this amendment has no relation whatever to the proposition before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair would rule the motion out of order at this time. The amendment is before us.

DEL. LONDON: Is the motion to refer out of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: To the National Executive Committee, yes. I believe this report is before the convention and should be acted on.

DEL. LONDON: It is an amendment to the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: An amendment to the amendment is in order.

DEL. LONDON: That is what I made, an amendment to the amendment, in the nature of an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: You made a motion to refer. That is not an amendment.

DEL. LONDON: Then I make it as a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: Substitutes have been ruled out of order under Robert's Rules of Order by this convention.

DEL. LONDON: Not at all.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us understand the status of things. We have had the report of the Woman's Committee. The Secretary will please state just how the things stand.

SEC. REILLY: The motion is that the report and recommendations of the committee be adopted. Amendment by Malkiel of New York, to take up the recommendations seriatim.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the amendment.

The previous question was ordered.

DEL. MALKIEL: I am speaking for the amendment. You are getting ready to go home, but don't forget that this matter is more important and of greater significance than a good many if not most of the matters you have voted on up till now. You don't realize it. The woman's question is the greatest question that confronts the Socialist party. Within four or five years the United States will enfranchise women in every single state. For the present it is the greatest question before the Socialist movement in this country, and if you do not realize it now you will later on when it will be entirely too late. I appeal to you, before you go, to give this consideration. There are a number of recommendations made there. They are not made just for the purpose of coming here and presenting them to you. They are made for the purpose of your serious discussion and consideration. There are a good many other points that will be up today before you, among them the immigration question, which faces you

after this report is disposed of. We are sending missionaries to China, while we are leaving women in ignorance at home. You have in your midst six million women who have neither fathers nor husbands nor brothers to shape their ideas and their views, and the minute they get a vote they will use it against the Socialist party. Therefore, I say to you, consider them before you decide not to take up this report seriatim and to vote it down.

DEL. SIMONS: These recommendations represent the work during the past few years of women from all over the country who are not present at this convention. We drew the report up in as brief form as we possibly could. I am now speaking for the Woman's Committee. We are perfectly satisfied, if you so desire, that you vote for this report as a whole, and we do not ask you to take it up seriatim. For my part, I think we have touched upon every phase of the question that we possibly can. We have tried to make it short and concise so that these recommendations can be carried out. For my part, I am speaking for the committee against taking this up and considering each item. We are perfectly satisfied if you take it as it stands. (Applause.)

DEL. LONDON: A point of order, I want a ruling from the Chairman before we vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point?

DEL. LONDON: My point of order is that in the report submitted by the Woman's Committee there are recommendations which involve things contradictory to the resolutions adopted by this convention and I want it understood and want an intelligent vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair must decide that you are making a speech under the guise of a point of order.

DEL. LONDON: One moment. I want a ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: My ruling is that you are not in order at this time with your point of order.

DEL. LONDON: I ask you for a ruling. Permit me to state my question and ask you for a ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: If Comrade London will give the Chair a chance—

DEL. LONDON: Will you please give me a chance?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will give you a chance.

DEL. LONDON: I want to ask a question, and you do not permit me to ask it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now—

DEL. LONDON: I appeal from your decision. I will not be gagged or humbugged. I appeal from your decision.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the appeal seconded?

The appeal was seconded, and Vice-Chairman Edwards took the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: State the ground of your appeal.

DEL. LONDON: I am anxious to get away from here. It is a sacrifice to me to stay away from a busy man's office, and I do not want to waste time. I do not want this convention to make a mistake when we are all worn out and tired out and hungry and ready to go. There are things here which may involve a contradiction of the action that we have taken. Therefore, I wanted to get this straight. I wanted to ask the Chairman this question: Will the adoption of the report of the Woman's Committee mean that we have repealed the resolutions which we have heretofore adopted, or will it mean the adoption of only such parts

the recommendation as will not conflict with the resolutions previously adopted? That is a sensible question to ask? That is a sensible question to ask. Even a man coming from New Jersey should have common sense enough to permit such a question.

THE CHAIRMAN (Del. Goebel): The man is perfectly satisfied, no matter how you vote on the appeal. I am here on the last day, knowing that we have got less than enough to take ten hours. Now, the delegates must leave by six. I am going to express the will of the house. I give it is the sentiment of the house to do business quickly. Comrade London and others have a line of action along the lines contrary to this sentiment, and before I knew I was not unfair in making the ruling I did. I am satisfied, no matter how you vote on the appeal. The vote was taken and the Chair was adjourned. Del. Goebel then resumed the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The matter before the house, in order that you may understand what you are voting on, will now be read by the Secretary.

SEC. REILLY: Motion that the recommendations be adopted. Amendment offered by Malkiel of New York to take up recommendations seriatim.

DEL. LONDON: A question of information before we vote. I want to vote intelligently. I want information before I vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: It may be that the delegate from New York needs information.

DEL. LONDON: I do need it, and you do a great deal of it too. I ask this question, Comrade Chairman: I am ready to vote for the adoption of the Woman's report. Will the adoption of the report of the Woman's Committee mean the repeal of such resolutions previously adopted as contradict the recommendations of the Woman's Committee? Will you please answer that question?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule that nothing which has already been adopted and adopted could be changed in any way without a motion to reconsider. Therefore nothing could be adopted at this time that conflicts with anything already adopted, without such a motion to reconsider. The amendment to take up the recommendations seriatim was then lost.

The motion to refer to the National Executive Committee was lost.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I move to insert after the words "a large number of men," the words "and women." (Seconded.)

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I rise to a point of order. The previous question had been ordered, and this amendment and debate are out of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is a little doubtful as to whether the previous question did cover this. The matter before the house is the motion to adopt as a whole, I understand it. Comrade Slobodin offers an amendment. Is that true? I think Comrade Slobodin is in order, but I hope no one will take advantage of this ruling any more than can be helped.

DEL. MALKIEL: I want to move as an amendment that the resolution on Whiteavery be read over once more.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the Secretary will read it.

DEL. THOMPSON: I move the previous question.

Seconded and carried.

SEC. REILLY: The amendment by Slobodin of New York is to add to the

words "a large number of men," the words "and women." I don't know just where it comes in, but that is the way it was given.

The amendment was carried, and the amended motion to adopt the report as a whole was then carried.

DEL. LOWE (Ill.): May I say a word on behalf of the Committee? Comrade Meyer London explained to us that he feared there was something in our recommendations that might contradict some action on something that was already passed. He says he has read it carefully since and that there is not.

#### RULES OF ORDER.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): Has the report of the Committee been disposed of?

THE CHAIRMAN: It has.

DEL. LEE: Then there is no motion before the house?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DEL. LEE: I then move a special rule, and I understand that it will take a two-thirds vote to carry this rule. I desire to move a rule and to say a few words in support of it. I move that no action taken by the convention up to this time be hereafter reconsidered by the convention, unless by the vote of a majority of the whole number of delegates entitled to seats in the convention. (Seconded.) I do not know with what truth, but it has been said this afternoon, and I have heard it from various quarters, that there would be an attempt to reconsider Section 6 of Article II of the Constitution, which was adopted yesterday by a roll call vote of 191 to 90, if I remember right. We know very well that under gag law it might be done. We know very well that some delegates will have to go home. We know very well that the longer the convention goes on and the longer we stay the greater the danger of its action being unrepresentative. I want to say that if there is no intention to take such advantage at such an hour, then the comrades will not oppose this. The rules will work no injustice. The rules will do nothing but to maintain the well-considered and recorded sentiments of this convention and to prevent any injudicious or ill-advised comrade from precipitating a scandal in the last days of the convention which would give the laugh to the telegram from our presidential candidate that we so heartily applauded this morning.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let the Secretary read the motion.

SEC. REILLY: "Motion by Lee of New York, that no action taken by the convention up to this time be hereafter reconsidered by the convention unless by a vote of a majority of the whole number of delegates entitled to seats in the convention."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair wants to say this. The Chair is going to make a statement.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): I would just like to make a statement.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me make my statement. I want to make a suggestion. This is what I started to say: Comrade Lee has been, like myself, on one side of this question. He has spoken for that side. I think they want fair play as much as I want it.

DEL. WHEELER: I just want to make this statement on this matter. Now all has been said and done, and there is absolutely no person on this side objecting in any particular to what has been done. There is no person on this side endeavoring to go

about and try to reconsider. We do not want to do such a thing. (Applause.) Speaking of tricks, we do not have to use tricks. We are perfectly satisfied with the action you took yesterday. I am sure you will agree, when you have had time to consider it, that, considering the stand we have consistently taken in this convention and before we came to this convention, that we could not have acted in any other manner than we acted when we voted against that section. We having been in the minority and being thus placed on record, we have no purpose in seeking a reconsideration. What some other comrades are fearing has something to do with another proposition, and not with this convention. I want to say for the younger element of those representing us here, that although you may not believe it now, we acted in perfect good faith, and we have the interests of this party at stake as well as any men with white hair. (Applause.) I want to say furthermore, and I am not saying it with bitterness, nor am I saying it with a feeling of desire to get back at anybody—I hope I am beyond any such thing as that—I want to say this, that as the comrade back there said, there is no use denying things; it has been mentioned around here; it has been spoken in the corridor; it has been spoken on the platform that there might be a trick. Now, we never had such a thing in our minds. (Applause.) And when we go from here we will put every ounce of energy we have into the campaign as well as you. (Applause.) I am sure my Comrade Lee—and I would say that I am not putting any soft soap on him—I have known him a long time and I admire the work he has done—I am sure my good Comrade Lee will now consider that some of his remarks were not to the point. We represent this side of the proposition. You will all agree that we have a perfect right to our opinion, and I am sure you would have no respect for us if we had not done what we did yesterday; and now, if we tried some petty scheme for the purpose of getting a momentary advantage, you might have some cause for discontent, but we are not going to do it.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** No; we are going out of here united. That is what it means.

**DEL. WHEELER:** If you feel the same way, we are going from here united.

The previous question was ordered, and the motion of Del. Lee was carried.

#### CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Comrade Hillquit has a supplementary report from the Committee on Constitution. There is nothing in order but Comrade Hillquit at this time.

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** This report, Comrades, does not deal directly with the Constitution. The Constitution deals with our permanent form of organization. The supplementary report which we submit now deals with a temporary condition. That is the reason we make it separate. It bears upon the campaign before us. The Committee on Constitution finds that the plan of organization submitted by the Committee and adopted by you will not enter into force until after the campaign. Meanwhile we will have the largest and I hope, most effective campaign before us that we have ever had, with practically no National Executive Committee to conduct it unless our committee might make it possible to meet once or at most twice before the election. That certainly will be entirely insufficient for the purpose of planning and carrying out the details of a campaign of the magnitude anticipated by us. We therefore recommend that this convention elect a

special Campaign Committee of five, selecting persons from such localities as will make it convenient for them to meet often, say about once a month to start with, and once every two weeks, and if need be on a week, during the close of the campaign.

We also and particularly recommend you the election of a Campaign Manager for the reason that the regular business of the National office is such today that it takes every moment of the present office force and the present Secretary, and if we desire to carry on a vigorous campaign, we must have a special working department for that purpose. This, therefore, is our recommendation submitted to you, that we now proceed to elect a Campaign Committee and a Campaign Manager to conduct the campaign in conjunction with the National Executive Committee, after probably a conference agreeing upon the general line.

The motion was seconded and carried. **THE CHAIRMAN:** Shall we now proceed to the election? Nominations are in order.

**DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.):** I move that the election of the Campaign Chairman be left in the hands of the National Executive Committee.

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** The National Executive Committee had the matter under consideration, and prefers that for this important position, this convention make the choice. We might be in a better position to elect the Committee, but we wish the convention as a whole to elect a Campaign Manager, who will have the largest responsibility in this campaign, and whose position will be much more fortified if it comes with the sanction of this large representative body rather than as the choice of the Executive Committee.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We have a motion that has been carried, as I understand for the nomination and election of a Campaign Committee of five and a Campaign Manager. In what order shall we take them? Campaign Manager first, if there is no objection.

**DEL. HILLQUIT:** I desire to place nomination for this position Comrade Mahlon Barnes. (Seconded.) In doing so I wish to state to the comrades that I have been on the National Executive Committee a number of years, and I have had opportunity and occasion to observe the work of Comrade Barnes, and while I have no more personal attachment to Barnes or interest in the matter than any other delegate, I wish to say that my colleagues on the National Executive Committee, and on the several committees are unanimous in the opinion that the party has very few men, any men as efficient, as painstaking, as devoted, and, on the whole, as fit for the position as Comrade Barnes. I wish to state also—speaking now personally for myself and I am very frank in this matter—think this convention and this party owe a reparation to Comrade Barnes because of the campaign of slander instituted against him and the hunting up of matters dead and buried years ago and the publication in Socialist papers. I think this was one of the most disgraceful things ever suffered in the Socialist party. (Applause.) I think, as far as I myself am concerned—I do not care whether it is wise, whether it is politic—I think every man among us is entitled to justice, and I speak for Comrade Barnes because I know a great injustice has been done him. (Applause.)

**DEL. MERRICK:** A point of information. Do I understand this recommendation, that this is the action of the National Executive Committee?



EL. HILLQUIT: No; it is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York.  
EL. MERRICK: Not the nomination Barnes; that isn't what I refer to. It is recommendation of the committee.

EL. HILLQUIT: Which action?  
EL. MERRICK: The recommendation, Barnes.

EL. HILLQUIT: This comes from the committee on Constitution and also from National Executive Committee.

EL. MERRICK: With the endorsement of the National Executive Committee?

EL. HILLQUIT: A general recommendation, yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: I believe Comrade quit was trying to make the point that nomination was as an individual.

EL. PREVEY: I am very sorry that making a nomination, Comrade Hillquit also to make a speech. Now, I desire place in nomination for the position of Campaign Manager of the Socialist party

1912 a man who probably has not been so close touch with the members of the National Executive Committee as Barnes, he is a man that has had some experience, not only in campaign managing, also in executive work in cities and in managing local campaigns, and knows something about arranging meetings. I desire place in nomination as Campaign Manager for the Socialist party Carl D. Thompson of Wisconsin. (Applause.)

I am sorry that Comrade Hillquit took this action to open up the Barnes case. If Comrade Barnes is again placed in connection with the National office, we are not going ahead as a unified Socialist party in carrying on this campaign. Comrade quit says we owe something to Comrade Barnes. I say we do not owe something to Comrade Barnes. He has been paid for his services. He was compelled to resign under fire, and we do not want to reopen the case.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have had both as far as one nomination is concerned. I suggest that in further nominating you cut out all reference to the nominees' private affairs.

EL. MOTLEY (Ida.): I just want to enter my protest against a delegate on the floor bringing up things that have been dead.

EL. MORRISON: I want to go on record the same way. The comrade had no right to bring that in.

A delegate placed in nomination Del. Clifford R. Gaylord of Wisconsin.

EL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I nominate a delegate to take care of the eastern states, Gus Gerber.

EL. STRICLAND (Ohio): I would like to put in nomination a comrade whose executive work has not been so great in recent years, but which is just as good as it was, a comrade whom we can trust

who will be in very close sympathy with the candidates. I wish to nominate Comrade Seymour Stedman of Illinois. (Applause.)

EL. GARVER (Mo.): I desire to nominate William M. Brandt of St. Louis.

EL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I nominate Comrade Branstetter of Oklahoma.

EL. CORY (Wash.): I wish to place in nomination our comrade George H. Goebel.

EL. GOEBEL: Goebel is for Barnes, not ashamed of it.

A delegate nominated Oscar Ameringer of Oklahoma.

The nominations were then closed, and the list of nominees was read for acceptance.

DEL. BARNES: I can only say that I don't want a job. I do not need a job, but if I can be of any service to the party in this temporary position I am willing to accept.

DEL. THOMPSON: I decline.  
DEL. GAYLORD: I have got both hands full, and if I did not have I would not interfere with Barnes. He needs that job.

The name of Comrade Brandt was called, but there was no response.

THE CHAIRMAN: Unless they are vouched for, they won't stand.

DEL. LARSEN (Ill.): Stedman will be unable to accept. Therefore, I decline for him.

DEL. GARVER: I nominated Comrade Brandt under a misapprehension when you were calling for nominations. I withdraw the name of Brandt.

DEL. BRANSTETTER: Being heartily in accord with the comrade that nominated Barnes, I decline.

DEL. GOEBEL: I echo the sentiments of Branstetter.

DEL. AMERINGER: Being a member of the supreme court that tried Barnes, I decline.

SEC. REILLY: That leaves one nomination, J. Mahlon Barnes of Pennsylvania.

On motion of Del. Solomon of New York, Del. Barnes was elected Campaign Manager by acclamation.

Nominations were then called for for members of the Campaign Committee.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.  
The following nominations were made for the National Campaign Committee:

Dan Hogan, Ark.  
Carl D. Thompson, Wis.  
James Oneal, Ind.  
Margaret Prevey, Ohio.  
Tom Lewis, Ore.  
Wm. M. Brandt, St. Louis.  
James F. Carey, Mass.  
Dan White, Mass.  
J. W. Slayton, Pa.  
W. J. Ghent, Washington, D. C.  
Anna A. Maley, Wash.  
Fred Krafft, N. J.  
Stephen M. Reynolds, Ind.  
S. C. Garrison, Ind.  
J. Stitt Wilson, Cal.  
W. E. Rodriguez, Ill.  
A. H. Floaten, Colo.  
L. J. Duncan, Mont.  
J. E. Snyder, Cal.  
O. F. Branstetter, Okla.  
A. M. Simons, Kans.  
A. Germer, Ill.  
Gustav Strebel, N. Y.  
Mary O'Reilly, Ill.  
Alexander Irvine, Cal.  
Clyde J. Wright, Neb.

The following nominees accepted:  
Hogan, Lewis, Brandt, White, Slayton, Krafft, Reynolds, Garrison, Wilson, Rodriguez, Duncan, Snyder, Branstetter, Simons, Wright.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I wish to call attention to the fact that the reason for the recommendation for the election of this committee was that the members of the National Executive Committee are scattered all over the United States. If now we are to elect a committee from California and New York, Oregon and New Jersey we are duplicating the same inefficient work.

DEL. WILSON: In view of the statement I decline.

DEL. WHITE: As a delegate from the Atlantic Coast I decline.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): It is efficient work that we want out of this committee. The committee will have to be in

session for weeks at a time during the campaign. We have got to get men near headquarters, as well as men competent to do the work. I move that no man be elected who lives more than 500 miles from Chicago.

A DELEGATE: I suggest to save time that Comrade Hillquit give us a list of five names for this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair would not entertain that motion.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): I move that Seidel and Debs be allowed to choose their own campaign committee.

The motion by Delegate Collins was tabled.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I move that the National Executive Committee together with the nominees for President and Vice-President select the campaign committee.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): I rise to a point of order. We have gone into the nomination of committeemen, and now we are overturning it.

DEL. PREVEY (Ohio): I move to amend that the committee be elected from those nominated here.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): It is absurd to waste an hour and a half selecting a committee of five. My motion is that the National Executive Committee in conjunction with the presidential and vice presidential nominees select from the nominees named at this convention five to be the Campaign Committee.

The motion was carried.

DEL. ZITT (Ohio): The Ohio delegation wants to be recorded as opposing the introduction of the Barnes matter, not the nomination of Barnes but the speech by Comrade Hillquit.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the Comrade represent Ohio?

DEL. STRICKLAND (Ohio): As to the introduction of the Barnes matter I regard it as unfortunate and agree with the delegates from Ohio.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Goebel from New Jersey wants to be recorded as saying that when a sneak who is not capable of a fair fight, in an underhanded manner circulates lies against a man, Goebel wishes to go on record as endorsing all that Hillquit said.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I wish to be recorded as protesting against the introduction of the Barnes matter while voting for Comrade Barnes as Campaign Manager.

DEL. PROSSER (Pa.): I also want to be recorded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair rules that all of you who wish to be recorded, can come up here and read your names to the Secretary.

#### EDITING.

On motion a committee of two was appointed to edit the report of the committee, making only such changes as might be necessary for that purpose.

#### PLATFORM.

The Committee on Platform further recommended that plank 14 of the Political Demand be changed to read: "The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health."

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to the adoption of this clause?

DEL. PATTERSON (Ohio): A point of order. This can not be changed without a vote by a majority of the whole convention.

By consent the section as recommended by the committee was adopted.

DEL. STRICKLAND: I want to rise to a question of personal privilege. While I

regretted the introduction of the Barnes matter I want it understood that I agree with him on the main proposition which was brought up. I think that character assassination of which "Christian Socialist" was guilty was famous.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before the house is on this fourteenth plank of the platform.

DEL. WHEELER (Cal.): I want to know if that doesn't change the whole subject matter.

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): It does.

DEL. WHEELER: I certainly object to that change. It strikes at the very heart of the whole thing. We had it decided the other night and it was carried by one to one to put that amendment in there. Our delegation are going to see that it stays there if we have any influence.

THE CHAIRMAN: In order to carry this it will require a majority of the whole convention.

On motion the whole matter was laid on the table.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I have a report to present.

#### IMMIGRATION.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): We have a number of business adopted here and I think that the reporters on Immigration be heard and that when they are so heard close the debate and proceed to a vote.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I move that the Committee on Immigration be continued to present its report at the convention.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I move to amend that we receive the report without debate and vote upon it.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I desire to speak for the majority report. Comrade Wilson, who is the chief author of the majority report is absent from the convention and is unable to speak for it. Comrade Hunter of the majority is also absent. Comrade Wanhope and myself and other two members of the majority at the least to do with drawing this report. I support the amendment of the Committee from New York that we continue the question in the hands of the committee until the next congress.

DEL. MERRICK: I think the committee came here to vote upon this question. I think we all understand this question. That the reports have been read and we are intelligent enough to vote upon without any discussion whatever. But you vote to re-commit when we go to our people they will want to know what kind of a convention this is. How when we spend two years preparing reports which you are afraid to vote upon. I may be in the minority but I am afraid to record myself on one side of the question, say where I stand and go to my constituency and justify my conduct. There is no reason why you can vote on this question now without oratory. Let us settle this question each of us voting according to his convictions.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): This is a question of being afraid to vote. There is that a great many of us are not in position to vote intelligently and firmly on this question. I think if we pass over to the next convention by that we shall be able to pass upon the report that will then be presented. We have nothing to lose and everything to gain by postponing action on this proposition.

now that Spargo has 75 pounds of steam per square inch to unload on this question, at I think we had better postpone action on it.

**DEL. SPARGO:** Just because it is late and we are tired we ought not to make ourselves ridiculous by refusing to act upon the report of the committee that has been working on it for two years. Therefore I am opposed to continuing the committee. In the second place, I am satisfied that the comrades can without any ratory at all, vote on the question, but if you have read these reports I call your attention to this fact, that the majority report makes certain recommendations for exclusion and in the printed report it gives its reasons for so recommending. In the minority report we simply say that we recommend the re-affirmation of the Stuttgart resolution and there is not one word of reason why we make that recommendation. The question is whether you want the majority report with its reasons. Comrade Wanhope was authorized by the majority to present their views and has a right to do it. If you want the majority report you will have to accept the reasons of the majority. They are Unterman's reasons, they are Wilson's reasons, they are Vanhope's reasons, they are Hunter's reasons, they have all signed it. If you vote for the majority report well and good. All that the minority asks is to place before you the Stuttgart resolution and then to state the reasons why our party should reaffirm that. So far as I am concerned I believe I can state those reasons in ten minutes.

**DEL. MERRICK:** A point of information. Is there not a third report?

**DEL. SPARGO:** That is simply Comrade Laukki's statement. He is with London and myself in our report.

**DEL. LAUKKI:** I stand for the report of the minority. Meyer, London and Spargo state the international position. My statement simply takes into consideration the American conditions at the present time, and I have made some recommendations based on these conditions.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The motion before the house is the substitute by Merrick to receive the reports as printed\* and proceed to a vote without debate.

The motion of Comrade Merrick was lost.

The motion of Comrade Solomon that the committee be continued with instructions to further investigate and report at the next convention was carried.

#### COMMITTEE ON PARTY PRESS.

**DEL. O'REILLY:** In presenting this report I am going to ask that it be referred to the National Executive Committee.

There is no loss in any way by having this report referred to the National Executive Committee. I hope you will do this because during the present campaign it may be found that a party owned printing plant will be entirely practicable and very much needed. In that case leave them in a position to purchase one, and establish one if they wish. That is what the committee asks.

On motion duly seconded it was so ordered.

The report of the committee on Party Press is as follows:

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PARTY PRESS.

The rapid growth of the Socialist movement and the increased demand for Socialist literature has created a consider-

able demand for the establishment of a printing plant to be owned and controlled by the Socialist party for printing and publishing Socialist books, pamphlets, leaflets, tracts and other Socialist literature.

The present Socialist news bureau, which can scarcely yet be said to have passed the experimental stage, has already demonstrated its usefulness despite the fact that it has been hampered by lack of funds. Through a proper organization of this bureau and the general co-operation of the Socialist newspapers to be served thereby the Socialist press throughout the country will be greatly strengthened and the movement benefited.

Inasmuch as the sentiment regarding a party-owned newspaper is not crystallized, but considerably divided, we make no recommendation thereon save as hereinafter provided.

We therefore recommend the following:

1. That this convention instruct the National Executive Committee to investigate fully as quickly as possible the feasibility of establishing a party-owned and controlled publishing plant and to purchase and install such plant if upon investigation the same shall be found practicable.

2. That the National Executive Committee call together immediately a conference of all editors and managers of Socialist newspapers for the purpose of enlarging and perfecting the usefulness of the National Socialist News Bureau and of promoting co-operation between the Socialist publications.

3. That a committee of three shall be elected by the National Executive Committee to consist of comrades familiar with Socialist newspaper work and management which shall gather and compile all data obtained from Socialist parties of this and other countries relating to the subject of a party-owned and controlled newspaper. Such committee shall report at the earliest possible moment, and not later than one year to the National Executive Committee and the report of this subcommittee shall be published by the National Office and sent out to the party organizations. All expenses of said committee shall be borne by the National Office.

MARY O'REILLY,  
R. A. MAYNARD,  
WM. M. WESLEY,  
W. A. JACOBS,  
J. L. BACHMANN,  
MEYER LONDON,  
GEO. E. OWEN,  
FRED KRAFFT,  
S. E. BEARDSLEY.

Committee on Party Press.

**DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.):** I move that all reports of committees not submitted to the convention at its close be referred to the National Executive Committee with power to act.

Delegate Merrick moved to amend that they be referred to the National Committee.

**DEL. MERRICK:** I want to speak on this motion.

**DEL. SLAYTON:** I have been trying to get the eye of the Chairman. Is there only one man in this convention and should he be given the floor all afternoon?

The motion of Delegate Merrick that they be referred to the National Committee was lost.

\*Both the majority and minority reports are printed as Appendix J, together with Delegate Laukki's statement.—Editor.

Delegate Sadler's motion to refer it to the National Executive Committee was carried.

DEL. COLLINS: A special matter. I move that we instruct the National Secretary to pay to the ushers, Sergeant-at-arms and clerks not less than \$3 a day for their services during the convention.

The motion was carried.

#### STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRAM

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Thompson will now report for the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): This report\* has been put on your table and if there is no objection I suggest that we can dispose of this in about five minutes in the following manner. In the first place if you have not read the report you can get copies of it and read it. I want to emphasize this point about it, that everything in the report up to the fifth page, and not including the fifth page, is merely suggestive. It is in no sense binding upon any local or State organization but is presented merely as assembling the data from which those who care to may draw such parts as they may find useful in preparing their municipal and State program. Therefore it is unnecessary at this time to read all of it. It is unnecessary to take it under consideration seriatim, and I am going to make a motion that that part be adopted as a whole, and afterwards present the recommendation. I move, therefore, Comrade Chairman, that the first part of this report up to and including the first paragraph on page 5 be adopted as a whole.

The motion was carried.

On motion of Comrade Thompson the first clause of the recommendation was adopted.

The recommendation as to the study of unemployment was adopted.

The third recommendation as to the establishment of a legislative bureau on motion of Delegate Solomon was referred to the National Executive Committee.

The section of the report as to resolutions by Comrade Simons was adopted.

Thereupon the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

#### REPORT OF THE PUBLICITY COMMITTEE.

The Socialist Convention of 1912 is the first one in the history of the party that has elected a Publicity Committee. Heretofore the Press Committee has considered matters relating to party press and co-operated with the newspaper and general press representatives to the end of securing for the convention and the party as much useful publicity as possible.

It is the latter function that has been assumed by the Publicity Committee of this Convention. We have done all in our power to see that the important actions of the Convention should receive as much and as favorable publicity as possible. In this respect members of the Socialist press have rendered the greatest assistance. We believe that the result has been a considerable improvement in the treatment of our Convention by the general and newspaper press of the United States.

The only recommendation this committee would make is that future conventions should consolidate the Publicity Committee and the Committee On Party Press and that the latter committee should assign three of its members, preferably expe-

rienced newspaper men, to the duty looking after the welfare of the press representatives at the convention.

FRANK E. WOLFE, Chairman,  
EDWARD PERKINS CLARKE, Secretary

JOHN HAYDEN,  
MAX HAYES,  
GUS THEIMER.

DEL. WOLFE (Cal.): Our report is unanimous. I think we have had the most harmonious committee in the convention. Our duties have been to pussyfoot around and so far as we could look after the comfort of the newspaper men and assist them in every way possible.

We have endeavored to see that the work of the convention should have as wide publicity as possible and the only recommendation that we make is that in the future the Publicity Committee and the Committee on Party Press should be combined and that three members preferably experienced newspaper men should look after the welfare of the press at the convention.

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

DEL. SPARGO: We have very few resolutions left. The first one is on nominating women candidates.

"Whereas, an increasing number of women are taking part in industrial activity so that they are today an important factor in economic and social life and are thereby qualifying themselves for participation in political administration;

Therefore, Be it resolved, that the Socialist party deems women equally entitled with men to be nominated for and to be elected to, public office so that they may help to manage our common affairs.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the resolution will be adopted as read.

DEL. SPARGO: The next resolution is on temperance. In substance the resolution is the same as that adopted in 1907 but there are some changes in phrasing with the idea of strengthening and improving it.

#### TEMPERANCE.

The manufacture and sale for profit of intoxicating and adulterated liquors lead directly to many serious social evils. Intemperance in the use of alcoholic liquor weakens the physical, mental and moral powers.

We hold, therefore, that any excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquors by members of the working class is a serious obstacle to the triumph of our class since it impairs the vigor of the fighters in the political and economic struggle, and we urge the members of the working class to avoid any indulgence which might impair their ability to wage a successful political and economic struggle, and so hinder the progress of the movement for their emancipation.

We do not believe that the evils of alcoholism can be eradicated by repressive measures or any extension of the police powers of the capitalist state—alcoholism is a disease of which capitalism is the chief cause. Poverty, overwork and overworry necessarily result in intemperance on the part of the victims. To abolish the wage system with all its evils is the surest way to eliminate the evils of alcoholism and the traffic in intoxicating liquor.

The resolution was adopted as read.

\*The report is printed in full, as appendix K.—Editor.

The next resolution on the subject of military education of children was read as follows:

#### MILITARY EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

Whereas, The capitalist class is making determined and persistent efforts to use the public schools for the military training of children and for the inculcation of the military spirit; therefore be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to all efforts to introduce military training into the public schools, and that we recommend the introduction into our public school system of a thorough and progressive course in physical culture, and

Resolved, That we request the National Executive Committee to suggest plans and programs along this line and furnish these to the party membership, together with such advice in the matter as may be helpful to the party membership in introducing such a system into our public schools.

On motion the resolution was adopted as read.

The next resolution, protesting against the Dillingham Bill, was then read as follows:

#### THE DILLINGHAM BILL.

Whereas, the Dillingham bill passed by the United States Senate would bar from this country many political refugees under the hollow distinction that some political crimes involve "moral turpitude"; and,

Whereas, such distinctions would destroy the political asylum, heretofore maintained in this country, for revolutionists of all lands, as the officials of one country cannot sit in judgment over the methods of political strife and civil war in another country; and

Whereas, Senator Root's amendment providing for deportation without trial of any alien who shall take advantage of its residence in the United States to conspire with others for the violent overthrow of a foreign government, recognized by the United States," passed by the United States Senate, without a dissenting vote, seeks to establish in this country a passport system for aliens, thus destroying at once the principle that it is the right of every people to overthrow by force, if necessary, a despotic government, declared in the Declaration of Independence, and the principle of individual freedom from police supervision, heretofore held sacred in this country; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Socialist party at Indianapolis, Ind., on the 16th day of May, 1912, in National Convention assembled, that we protest against this attempt of the United States Senate to turn the government of this country into a detective agency for foreign governments in their persecution of men and women fighting for the freedom of their native lands; be it further

Resolved, That we demand that the United States shall remain, as heretofore, an asylum for political refugees from all countries, without any distinction as to political crimes or supervision of political refugees; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, Speaker of the House of Representatives and to every member of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

On motion the resolution was carried.

The next resolution, in reference to Young People's Socialist organizations was then read as follows:

#### YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS.

Whereas, a fertile and promising field for Socialist education is found among the young people, both because it reaches persons with unprejudiced and unbiased minds, and because it yields the most valuable recruits for the Socialist movement; and,

Whereas, if we can gain the ear of a majority of the youth of our country, the future will be ours, with the passing of the present generation. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we recommend and urge our Locals to form, encourage and assist Young Socialist Leagues and Young People's Clubs for the purpose of educating our youth in the principles of Socialism, and that this education be combined with social pleasures and athletic exercises; and further

Resolved, That we recommend to the National Executive Committee to give such aid and encouragement to this work as may seem to it best calculated to further the spread of Socialism among the youth of the United States.

The resolution was adopted as read.

DEL. SPARGO: The following resolution on the restriction of citizenship submitted by the State delegation of Washington is favorably reported by your committee. I move its adoption:

#### RESTRICTIONS ON CITIZENSHIP.

Whereas, The courts in charge of naturalization have shown a disposition to enlarge the interpretation of the rule which prohibits the naturalization of avowed anarchists, so that anyone who disbelieves in the present system of society has been held to be ineligible to become an American citizen;

And, whereas this tendency found a most aggravated expression in the revocation of the citizenship of Leonard Olson, a Socialist, at Tacoma, Washington, by Judge Cornelius Hanford;

Therefore be it Resolved, that the Socialist party in convention assembled enters its most emphatic protest against such procedure and points out that the denial of the right of citizenship to foreign born applicants not anarchists because they hold progressive ideas inevitably forces those now voters into the ranks of those who believe in force and violence;

And be it further resolved that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and that we demand of him that an order be issued to the effect that this rule in naturalization cases shall be strictly interpreted and not enlarged to include persons who simply hold Socialistic or progressive social ideas.

The motion was carried as read.

DEL. SPARGO: This is the last resolution.

"The convention hereby expresses its thanks to the officers of the convention for their services and to the Comrades of Local Marion County for their hospitality and friendly assistance."

The resolution was carried by a unanimous vote.

DEL. SPARGO: That concludes our report and we ask our discharge. Perhaps I ought to say here that many resolutions which referred to us when first read here were by us, after consideration, referred to other committees, such as the committees on Platform and Constitution, and the National Executive Committee, because they seemed to us to properly belong to such other committees. That

explains why some important resolutions have not been reported by us. I thank you.

#### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

DEL. LE SEUER (N. D.): We have here what I believe a good report. It is so unimportant however, that I am not going to take time to read it. It relates to nothing but the ways and means in which we can raise funds to elect our candidates. Of course that doesn't matter so I am going to ask you to refer it to the National Committee with authority to act.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

To the 1912 National Socialist Convention: Comrades—The problem of financing a proletarian movement presents one of the most serious questions with which the movement has to deal, but it is hoped that the following recommendation will be of assistance in solving that question for the coming campaign:

First—We recommend that an assessment of \$1.00 be made against each member of the Party, except, that in no case shall the assessment be more than \$1.00 for husband and wife jointly.

Second—We recommend that a 1912 "Booster's Campaign Badge" be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the secretaries of the several States in an amount equal at least to the number of the dues-paying members in each State, to be sold at \$1.00 per badge, and furnished free to all those paying their \$1.00 assessment.

Third—That a call be issued by the National Secretary for special collections at local meetings and propaganda meetings for the Campaign Fund.

Fourth—That an appeal be made through the Party Press and through all Party communications calculated to fall naturally into the hands of labor, that labor make common cause with the Socialist Party by contributing to its Campaign Fund, and by voting at the polls labor's ticket—the ticket of the Socialist Party.

Fifth—We believe that a suggestion through the National Bulletin to the Locals that the women comrades put on special programs, making a full charge for admission, is a plan that would result in splendid propaganda as well as some revenue.

Sixth—In reference to the resolution of W. Lanfersiek asking assistance for several Southern States, we believe the following to be the proper disposal of the same. Much evidence was submitted before this committee, showing the needs for assistance of the Southern States mentioned. We recommend that the National Executive Committee pass upon the needs of each State when presented through the regular official channels and give all possible assistance to all States so applying, and recommend to said States that the applications for assistance by the said States, specify their particular needs, as for instance, that when speakers are routed through the Southern States they be selected by the respective State organizations, owing to the fact that no Northern organizers can secure as good results as men familiar with local conditions. We, therefore, recommend that this resolution be referred to the National Executive Committee.

Seventh—In reporting upon the moving picture resolution, this committee realizes

that moving pictures and charts are of high value in presenting the philosophy of Socialism to the uninitiated and believe that a moving picture bureau will succeed at this time, and we recommend that the National Executive Committee take such steps as are necessary to determine whether the same is feasible or not.

We recommend that this resolution be referred to the National Executive Committee, and if sufficient money to provide good sets of slides and films, portable moving picture machines, moving picture shows can be spared from the party funds, the money would be well spent. The slides to be furnished to organizers, lecturers and moving picture houses at cost, and sets to be exchanged at will by purchasers when kept in good condition. We believe this plan would result eventually in one of the best methods of propaganda.

Fraternally submitted,  
ARTHUR LE SUEUR.  
MILO C. JONES,  
MARGARET D. BROWN,  
GEORGE W. BACON,  
L. B. IRWIN,  
E. L. REGUIN,  
I. F. STEWART,  
MAX BOEHM,  
O. S. WATKINS.

It was moved and seconded that the report be referred to the Campaign Committee, which motion was carried.

TELEGRAM 1 TO COMRADE TOM MANN.

DEL. SEIDEL (Wis.): I should like to present a message and ask this convention to send it to Tom Mann of England who has been jailed for advising soldiers not to fire upon their work-brothers. I have adopted similar methods in the city of Milwaukee, directed the Chief of Police not to permit the use of the police department to use the powers of the police against the strikers. I do not believe that it is right that we should pay taxes—and no matter what you say we have to pay taxes; you can maintain government five minutes without taxation—I don't believe it is right that the taxes we pay should go toward maintaining a police department or kind of military force that when I go out to improve my living conditions, I find a mailed fist of police or military should be used against me, to keep me down. I don't think there is any class in this country or any other country that has the right to expect that from its soldiers, its police department or its state constabulary.

I therefore ask that this message be sent in the name of the Socialist Party of America to Tom Mann, Manchester, England.

"GREETINGS: We cheer your struggle against fratricide."

That is all I ask to be said. I think it is plain and simply says that we must murder our brothers.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

NAT. SEC. WORK: Reports have been made by the seven foreign-speaking organizations affiliated with the National office. I move that they be received without reading and made a part of the proceedings. Seconded and carried.

#### COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): A committee on investigation of the Co-operative Movement was provided for and was

come up under unfinished business at this time. The committee have talked the matter over and unanimously recommend that these names be placed upon that committee subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee, and with power to fill vacancies. Comrades Vlag, New York, Edwards, Texas, Hayes of Illinois, Gaylord, Wisconsin, Corey, Washington.

There is a special reason for putting Comrade Hayes on this committee. He is connected with the mine workers where there is a movement or this kind under way. For myself I will promise the co-operation of one great University and I am positive that I can secure the co-operation of another for such impartial investigation of this subject as we have never had in this country.

The motion of Delegate Gaylord was carried.

#### COMMITTEE ON STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): In connection with the recommendation by Comrade Thompson that a committee of seven members be elected for State and Municipal Program, I move that the existing committee be continued as that committee.

The motion was seconded and carried. REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN BERGER.

DEL. JACOBS (Wis.): Comrade Berger's report is here in print. I move that it be received and made a part of the proceedings of this convention.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

#### IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have something that may require action by the convention.

"Indianapolis, Ind., May 18, 1912.

"To the Delegates of the National Convention:

"I hereby tender my resignation from your Committee on Immigration.

"JOSHUA WANHOPE."

A DELEGATE: I don't blame him either.

THE CHAIRMAN: This Committee on Immigration was continued. Shall we fill the vacancy now?

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I move that the Committee be given power to fill the vacancy.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

DEL. KATE SADLER: I just want to have the last word from Washington to let the convention know that Washington is still ahead of the procession. In the first resolution today we recommended the nomination of woman candidates. We expect our leader and standard bearer in the next campaign to be a woman, Comrade Anna Maley of Washington.

(Loud cheers.)

DEL. WHEELER (Cal.): I move that this convention extend to the Press of Indianapolis a vote of thanks for the courteous treatment that has been accorded to this convention.

The motion was carried unanimously.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I move that for the next National Convention the National Executive Committee be instructed to co-operate with the local comrades in order to conduct during the convention or at its close, a significant public meeting or pub-

lic meetings, instead of having things conducted as they were this time.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I move to lay the motion on the table.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): I protest against the adoption of the resolution because of the intimation contained in it that the National Executive Committee at this convention would not co-operate with the local comrades. I remind you further that there are certain well established usages about the reception of conventions. When we go to a town or city to hold our convention the comrades in that city become our hosts. It is their practice to arrange meetings and we co-operate with them. In this instance the local comrades arranged an impossible schedule, and then the National Executive Committee, in the interests of the convention had to consult with those comrades and try to get things arranged on a satisfactory basis. I object to this eleventh hour slap in the face given to the National Executive Committee, and we might be better employed singing the Marseillaise before we go home.

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't think that Comrade Wilson intended any slur on the National Executive Committee.

DEL. WILSON: I had no such thing in my mind. My hope was that at the next National Convention we should have meetings, and have them of such a character and such significance as would stamp our influence upon that community as we had the opportunity to do last night.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of this motion will say aye.

The motion was carried.

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): I think there is some misapprehension here as to a petition that has been circulated in the convention. It has been stated here this afternoon that there is no disposition on the part of us who are signing this petition to re-open a matter which was decided in this convention. This petition is in accordance with the new constitution which allows a certain number of delegates to send for submission to the party referendum an alternative section or paragraph or article when the matter goes out to the party. This petition is simply to bring up an alternative paragraph to be submitted to the full referendum of the party, so that the whole party may have a chance to choose between the statement adopted here yesterday regarding our attitude toward labor organizations, or the one that some of the rest of us wanted to have adopted. We do not wish you to go away with the idea that we have misled you into thinking that the matter is not to be opened elsewhere. It is not to be opened on the floor of this convention, and we simply want the party to express its opinion on this subject.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): They will.

A telegram was read from the secretary of the Socialist Party in San Diego: "Attorney Fred Moore and stenographer arrested this morning. Charges not known. Writ of habeas corpus in preparation. Vigilantes active."

DEL. SPARGO: Mr. Chairman, I now move you that we adjourn sine die. Seconded.

The motion was carried.

The convention then adjourned sine die.

## APPENDIX A

### Rules of the Socialist Party, National Convention, 1912.

1. A chairman and vice-chairman shall be elected at the beginning of each day's session.

2. A permanent secretary and two assistants, who may be chosen from outside the body of delegates, shall be elected for the entire Convention.

3. A reading clerk shall be appointed by the secretary, and he may appoint one or more assistants.

4. A permanent sergeant-at-arms and assistants, who may be chosen from outside the body of delegates, shall be appointed by the chairman.

5. The sergeant-at-arms shall appoint 24 messengers to assist him, who shall serve in relays of 8.

6. Four permanent tellers and 2 permanent judges to count all ballots shall be elected, and in addition there shall be appointed by the chair, for the purpose of tabulating the vote on the various Convention Committees, 20 special tellers.

7. The 6 committees named in the National Constitution, viz.:

A Committee on Platform of 9 members.

A Committee on Constitution of 9 members.

A Committee on Resolutions of 9 members.

A Committee on Ways and Means of 9 members.

A Committee on Reports of National Officers of 7 members.

A Committee on International Relations of 5 members.

and the following additional committees shall be elected, each committee to be composed of the number of delegate stated and of not more than one delegate from the same state:

A Publicity Committee of 5 members;

1. An Auditing Committee of 5 members;

A Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations of 9 members.

A Committee on Labor Organizations and Their Relation to the Socialist Party of 9 members;

A Committee on Co-Operatives of 7 members;

A Committee on State and Municipal Program of 9 members.

8. Discussion shall be limited to 5 minutes for each speaker. Chairmen of committees shall have 20 minutes to report. No delegate shall speak a second time, until all desiring to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak.

9. The sessions of the Convention shall be from 10:00 a. m. to 1:00 p. m. and from 2:30 to 5:30 p. m. Night sessions as ordered.

10. Robert's Rules of Order shall be used, with the exceptions that when the previous question has been called, one

delegate on each side may speak for minutes; also, that the previous question may be called for by a majority vote.

11. During the sessions, no smoking or chewing of tobacco shall be allowed.

12. Each delegation shall select one of its members to announce its vote. The vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegates of such state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote provided, that where an instruction has been given by referendum on a particular question the instruction on that particular question shall be obeyed.

13. Each delegation shall designate in the absence of any delegate, the alternate who shall fill such vacancy.

14. Such members of the National Executive Committee who are not delegates and the National Secretary shall have a voice and no vote in the Convention. This provision also applies to members of the Women's National Committee.

15. Neither contesting or contested delegates shall vote upon any question in relation to their rights to be seated.

16. The nomination for candidates for President and Vice-President shall be by at least a majority of all the votes cast.

17. A roll call shall be had when demanded by at least 50 delegates.

18. On Friday, May 17th, at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon, all business of the Convention shall be suspended, and the Convention shall proceed to the nomination of President and Vice-President of the United States.

19. The Convention shall adjourn no later than Saturday, May 18th, at midnight.

20. All speeches of welcome shall be made after the Convention is permanently organized, and shall be limited to minutes each.

21. All resolutions offered from the floor of the Convention shall be referred by the Chairman to the proper Committee without discussion.

22. At 5:00 o'clock on each day, the Chairman shall suspend the business then pending before the Convention and accept and dispose of Resolutions offered by delegates.

23. The discussion on any report, resolution or other subject before the Convention shall not exceed four hours. The time for such discussion shall be divided equally, as nearly as possible, between the delegates representing the various views on the subjects.

24. Acceptances and declinations shall be called for after the nominations for all Committees shall have been completed and no delegate shall accept the nomination for more than one Committee.

25. The rules may be suspended at any time by a two-thirds majority of the delegates voting.



## ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The Order of Business for each day of the Convention shall be as follows:

1. The Convention shall be called to order by the Chairman of the preceding day, or in his absence by the Vice-Chairman, or the National Secretary, and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be elected for the day, as otherwise directed.
2. Roll call of delegates, unless dispensed with upon motion.
3. Reading of Minutes of preceding day, unless dispensed with on motion.
4. Communications.
5. Reports on Credentials.
6. Unfinished business of the previous day.
7. Reports of Committees in the order above enumerated, except that the report of the Representative in Congress shall follow the report of the Committee on International Relations.
8. New business.
9. Adjournment.

## APPENDIX B

### Report of Committee on Education.

#### 1. IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

The industrial revolution has made the development of individual skill essential to the maintenance of the various productive processes. Although the specialization of processes has made it possible to employ profitably larger and larger numbers of unskilled workers, economically and commercially efficient production really calls for a larger proportion of skilled workers than were employed even when production was largely carried on by means of hand labor. The reason for this may be seen in the fact that on the one hand the proportion of agricultural laborers has steadily decreased, while the proportion of those engaged in manufacture and transportation has increased; and on the other hand, the increased use of machinery in agriculture and transportation, together with the specialization in agricultural methods, create the need for skilled workers even in these branches of production.

The intense competition between the capitalists of different countries has led to the organization and administration of industries upon the principle of quick returns. As a result, low-grade labor applied to specialized processes has been exploited to the utmost. In consequence of this practice, the cultivation of agencies to supply skilled labor has been neglected. On the other hand, boys and girls sent to the factories early in life and attached to the specialized machines, have been given no opportunity to acquire trade knowledge and trade skill commensurate with a high earning power.

Cheap child labor was able for years to yield satisfactory returns to the capitalists. It is not, however, capable either of sustaining industries in competition with skilled workers, or of developing a population having high standards of living. In other words, the retention of large portions of the population at low levels of industrial skill is not only extremely wasteful economically, however profitable it may have been to certain classes of capitalists in the past, but it is positively disastrous socially. A mass of unskilled workers, being poorly paid, necessarily maintain a low standard of living; but what is still worse, such a body is a fertile breeding spot for all social vices and a source of crime and misery that make the task of the social worker and educator almost hopeless. Unskilled and untrained workers are condemned not to frugal lives, but to miserable lives. The misery of the poverty resulting from such conditions lies in the moral debasement which it involves. Or, we may say that a population of skillful workers is more productive and more prosperous even under modern capitalistic conditions. Giv-

en the machinery and the technology today available, a highly skilled body of workers has the possibilities of high-grade living; with the same machinery and technology, an unskilled population is condemned to inhuman conditions of living.

Hand in hand with the development of our industry there has been a decay of the ancient methods for developing skill in workers. On the one hand, industries have been driven from the home, where formerly the children became acquainted with many processes and principles which the children of today for the most part do not learn. On the other hand, the industries have become specialized so that the young boy or girl going into the mills or shops has no opportunity to acquire a trade. It has been more profitable for the employers to keep the children at the special machines than to teach them the trades; it has also been more remunerative to the children, for the time being, to stay at a single machine than to learn the trade. The demand for quick profits on the one hand, and the necessity for maximum family earnings on the other, have between them done much to destroy the apprenticeship possibilities of modern industry.

Even when large manufacturers realize the importance of training up skilled workers, they are frequently deterred by the consideration that after a workman is trained there is no assurance that his superior services will be available to the employer that went to the trouble and expense of training him. For well-known reasons, the working population is unstable. Changes of industrial methods, fluctuations in market conditions, the state of "finances," political expediency or pressure, industrial disputes and other social forces constantly drive the workers hither and thither. On the other hand, the sons and daughters of the workers could not for the most part afford to apprentice themselves to a trade because for a few years a young person can make more money at odd jobs and at specialized factory work than at an apprenticeship; and the few dollars additional is an important consideration to the parents. The result has been that more than half of the young people who leave the schools at about the age of fourteen drift into occupations which have absolutely no future for them except to continue to work as men and women at wages that can be earned by boys and girls.

The fact that the industries have been driven from the home and apprenticeship from the shops necessitates a new instrument for developing the potential skill and industrial efficiency of the boys and girls who are to be the workers of the rising generation. The gradual extension of the

ctions of the schools is in part due to growing complexity of closely interrelated societies; but it is also in large part due to the growing need for a means to develop industrial skill, etc. It is for this reason that attention is directed to schools in connection with problems of industrial efficiency, commercial supremacy, agricultural adequacy, etc.

#### WHY THE SCHOOLS ARE INADEQUATE.

The schools on their side have never been organized to adjust themselves automatically to the changing needs of society of the various communities. The work of the schools not only deals with traditions, the accumulated wisdom and experience of the race; its very process is traditional in manner. The organization of our schools follows an ancient model, whereby that is established and accepted is readily imparted to the youth; but whereby whatever is new or different is sharply scrutinized and frequently discredited. Now the traditional in education is of a nature that is admirably adapted to the needs of those classes that in former times alone had access to "education"—namely, the professional and the leisure classes; but those materials, while they are desirable still, in large measure, for the professional workers, and even for the leisure of industrial and other workers, are of no great value in developing the kinds of knowledge and skill that most men and women need. In former times the mass of people obtained their training in civilization or "culture" through imitation of the customs and manners of their elders, and their education in efficiency in the homes and fields and shops. The admission of the masses to the schools has coincided with the elimination of the various complex productive processes from the homes and from the daily experience of the children. The social life, too, has changed, so that the boys and girls cannot "pick up" their civilization any more than they can pick up their trades. And so again we see the need for having the school undertake an education that is quite different from that formerly offered, and one intimately related to the conditions and manners of modern life.

#### ATTITUDE OF DIFFERENT CLASSES TOWARD THE NEW EDUCATION.

Leaders of trade and labor organizations have for many years realized the necessity of supplementing the work of the schools and the opportunities of the shops with additional training specifically related to the new processes and the new instruments of industry. Leading educators and far-sighted publicists have also worked toward a closer correlation between schools and life and industry. Many special institutions have been founded for the purpose of giving young men and women direct preparation for the technical work of modern industry. But most institutions had before them chiefly the problems of those who were to become superintendents and managers of works rather than those who were to become the rank and file of the workers. And most of those who donated to establishment of such schools had in mind chiefly the provision of opportunities for the exceptionally able and ambitious, rather than education for the mass of workers.

More recently there has been a growing realization for the necessity of introducing industrial education systematically to the end that every prospective worker shall

have an opportunity to acquire a reasonable degree of skill and knowledge before entering upon the working years. That this feeling was first organized and exploited by employers is due to the fact that citizens of this class were in a position both to feel the effects of lack of skill on the part of the workers, and to command the intelligence to organize a remedy. Where the members of the labor unions felt the need for industrial training they either established their own schools or modestly asked for the introduction of manual training into the public schools; they never organized an extensive agitation on the subject. But because the manufacturers did organize such an agitation, and because they used rather crude arguments in the course of this agitation, many members of the labor organizations at once became suspicious of the motives and purposes of the manufacturers.

The baldest argument for industrial education is that skilled workers earn more wages than unskilled, and that a population made up of skilled workers is therefore more prosperous, and the state or community that educates its children to industrial efficiency is better off than one that neglects such education. The crude reply of the suspicious workers was that an industrially educated working population can produce more profits to the employer, and that where "general education" is replaced by industrial education the working population is deprived of access to avenues of personal culture and satisfaction of which no one today should be deprived. These two views are both true enough, but they are not necessarily in conflict. Whatever the employer may think of the desirability of liberalizing education for all the people, he knows that the raw material supplied him by the schools cannot yield as high a rate of profit as a body of well trained workmen. And whatever the worker may think of our prevailing economic system, he must recognize that higher skill commands higher wages.

The educators and teachers have taken up a thorough and systematic consideration of the problem only within a very few years. Representing the impersonal "public" and trying to view the situation without bias, they have found a third point of attack that must eventually reconcile the various conflicting interests and establish the needed education upon a firmer foundation than that demanded by the workers in the trades or by the employers of labor. This point of view lays emphasis upon the fact that society, as represented by its governmental and administrative agencies, is interested primarily in men and women and not in profits and wages. Our common schools fail to adjust the children to the kinds of lives that the vast majority of them must come to lead—that is, the lives of working men and women. Without prejudice to the education of those who are to become professional or agricultural or commercial workers, the schools should fit those whose occupations will be found in the industries. Without loss of those elements in our culture that is the rightful heritage of every boy and girl, each child should have the same opportunity to become an efficient worker as is now given to the four per cent who become professional workers.

Another point that must be emphasized by the educator as representing the interests of society as a whole is the importance of training for citizenship. The elementary instruction in reading, writing

and arithmetic, which so many of the older people consider an adequate return from the school is certainly not sufficient to assure that the potential savage in every child will be displaced by the potential citizen. The educator demands, then, that training for efficiency shall be admitted into the schools; but he stipulates that this shall not be allowed to encroach upon the demands of individual development and the claims of good citizenship. The attitude of the Socialist party as representing the interests of a society made up of workers must coincide with that of the far-sighted educators, who represent the interests of the common humanity in society as a whole.

#### 4. THE KINDS OF SCHOOLS NECESSARY.

Experiments in vocational training are by no means new. Indeed, the traditional education of the schools and colleges is but a relic of what was at one time vocational education for the "clerics" or ministers. Private schools for training in special branches of mechanical trades or of commerce, as well as public schools for various professions, are old and well established. The United States Military and Naval Academies are examples of specialized vocational schools maintained by the national government. Many of the states support schools for training in agriculture, law, medicine, dentistry, engineering and other professional vocations. The equipment necessary for adequate training in medicine and certain other branches is so expensive that no school for training physicians could be operated for profit and at the same time give education satisfying modern standards. Training for other vocations, however, is not so expensive, and is carried on largely in private schools conducted for profit. There are a number of such schools that devote themselves to the training of men and women for the various trades.

A third type of vocational school is that established by endowment from philanthropic motives. Many of these have done excellent work, although most of them have concerned themselves chiefly with training foremen and superintendents.

A fourth type of school is the corporation school, established in connection with some industry for the purpose of training workers for that industry. A number of railroad companies, several large manufacturing companies and some commercial corporations have established such schools. These schools attempt to organize a system of apprenticeship under conditions of modern industry.

Private schools for teaching trades have frequently had the defect that they were more concerned with getting the student's fee than they were with turning out capable workers. The philanthropic or endowed schools are as a rule efficient as far as they go; but the form of management makes them very pliant to meet the needs of employers in case of industrial disputes. This is inevitable, since they depend altogether upon the support and good will of men belonging to the employing class. The corporation or apprenticeship schools have, on the whole, produced the most effective types of instruction with relation to industrial efficiency. If our sole concern were in producing highly skilled mechanics, the shop schools of the large corporations should be taken as models for industrial education.

But while the production of highly skilled mechanics is essential to the prosper-

ity of any industrial nation, that is the sole consideration. The nation needs not only skilled workers, but men and women of independent spirit, men and women with an appreciation of the meaning of civilization, men and women who can insist upon having more out of life than mere opportunity to earn a living. Now we cannot depend upon schools conducted for profit to give us such men and women; we cannot depend upon schools endowed by philanthropists to give us such men and women; we cannot depend upon schools operated by corporations to give us the desired type of education. If the public cares for education that aims at such results, the public must itself establish and control the schools. It therefore devolves upon the public school to modify and to extend its program to include training for vocational efficiency. It is the public school that can protect the interests of the children of the public as well as advance those interests.

In this connection attention should be called to a system of part-time schools which is being tried experimentally in many points. Under this plan there is an arrangement between employers and school officials by which the young workers are allowed to spend a part of the time in-school and a part in the shop. The division of time is various—as alternate weeks, or half-day in school and half-day in the shop, etc. In this way the boys have an opportunity to learn the trade under shop conditions, while the school work is closely correlated with the shop work. These experiments should be watched with interest as they must be very instructive as to methods of conducting industrial education; but they are not likely to be entirely satisfactory since under some of the arrangements the employer determines what boys are or are not to have an opportunity to learn the trade, while under all the plans the employer is in a position to direct the work of the school too much. The employer must not be allowed to control the school for their advantage any more than a trade union may be allowed to restrict opportunities of workers to its advantage.

The public schools that have introduced industrial courses with a view to giving industrial education independent of commercial shops are likely to be handicapped at first, and for some time to come, by the lack of suitable equipment and by the impossibility of obtaining suitable teachers in sufficient numbers. But eventually this type of school will probably be the most satisfactory. A temporary device that will have to serve for many years is the continuation school, whether day or evening. These schools, conducted by the public school officials, furnish education supplementary to the various occupations for boys and girls who have to go to work before receiving complete preparation. These schools are specialized to meet the needs of different groups of workers. Evening schools should be avoided for young people, as far as possible. The amount of work required of them in shops and factories should be restricted by law so that they may have the opportunity to attend school without detriment to their health and physical development.

According to the prevailing methods of school administration a pupil generally remains in school as long as his parents can afford to keep him, without regard to whether he is getting any good out of it or not; or a pupil leaves school when his family can no longer afford to keep him.

here, whether he is benefiting from the education or not. In either case both the amount and the kind of schooling are made to depend too frequently upon the financial condition of the family instead of upon the capacity and the interests of the pupil.

In recognition of the unhappy results of the haphazard selection of occupations and of schooling, there has grown the movement for vocational guidance. Vocational guidance is a logical consequence of present-day conditions, and especially of the establishment of industrial education. The principles developed by the students of vocational guidance, although the study is still in its beginning, can be applied to the problem of how pupils are to be distributed with respect to the different vocational courses. This is especially important for avoiding the diversion of boys and girls into "blind-alley" occupations.

If, however, it is acknowledged that pupils should be prepared for the vocations to which they are best fitted by native capacities and interests, insofar as the needs of the various callings will permit, there are at once raised two other problems that are fundamental. The first is, how can we assure the pupil that he will not be obliged to quit school and go to work before his training is completed? And the second is, how can we assure the pupil that there will be an opportunity for him to serve in the chosen calling after his schooling is completed?

In regard to the first of these problems, we have to go beyond the usual compulsory-education laws. As at present administered these laws simply keep an unwilling boy or girl in school, or deprive the family of the earnings of the child. Of course, the child should have all the schooling that he can possibly turn to good use; however, when the compulsion is resented by both pupil and parent, nothing but bitterness results. In some states the plan of subsidizing older pupils as long as they remain in school has resulted in an increased attendance. The proposal to pay pupils for attending school will have to be seriously considered, for it is more important to society that each individual be adequately trained than that the child should earn the few paltry dollars. Not only is it true that in general the days of youth are for learning, not earning; but we must recognize that beyond a certain point the cost of the child's education should fall properly upon society as a whole rather than upon the parent; and where the cost becomes a hardship, in the sense that the parents cannot support the child at school, the burden must be borne by society.

In regard to the second question, that of assuring employment to those who have been educated for special kinds of work, the immediate outlook is not very clear. Public schooling cannot long be continued on the theory that it is to prepare individual pupils for a keener competition with one another. Public schooling can be supported only on the theory that it contributes to some common or social advantage. Now the common interests require that every employable adult be given an opportunity to work, and that the worker and work be as comfortably and as efficiently adjusted to each other as possible. It is possible, by means of suitable statistical studies, to approximate with a fair degree of accuracy the proportions of an existing body of children that could be profitably prepared for given vocations

to be entered upon by them say ten years hence. But if all our children are thus directed into the various trades and professions, there is no assurance that all of them will find remunerative employment when they are prepared for it. As long as the private ownership and control of the large instruments of production and distribution keeps a certain proportion of the population always unemployed, it is impossible to foretell what proportions will be employed when all are employable. The ultimate solution of this problem lies, of course, in society's ownership of its industries as well as of its educational machinery.

Other problems suggested, such as the disposition of the product of the school shops, the training of teachers, etc., do not affect the general principles discussed.

### SUMMARY.

#### 1. IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION.

High skill among workers necessary to maintain industrial advance.

High skill necessary to give workers a decent basis for living.

Industrial training no longer possible in the home.

Industrial training no longer sufficiently available in the industries themselves.

Lack of training drives the majority of children into "blind-alley" occupations that lead to nothing.

Extension of the functions of the school suggested as a means for furnishing industrial training.

#### 2. WHY THE SCHOOLS ARE INADEQUATE (AS NOW CONDUCTED).

The schools have to do with matters that are important to those who enter the professions.

Most of the school work is of no significance to those who are to do other kinds of work.

We must still depend upon the school to preserve and to transmit accumulated race experience, "culture" and the basis of civilization.

#### 3. ATTITUDE OF DIFFERENT CLASSES TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

Need for industrial education appreciated by the workers.

Systematic agitation for it started by employers.

Employers look to getting better workers and hence larger profits.

Workers look to getting higher wages.

Educators and publicists are concerned primarily with producing better men and women, and with making better citizens.

Industrial training must be introduced, but it must not interfere with training for citizenship and for culture.

#### 4. THE KINDS OF SCHOOLS FOR INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

Private schools; conducted for profit. These are more concerned with fees than with efficiency of work.

Endowed or philanthropic schools; these frequently do good work on the technical side, contribute little or nothing to citizenship or culture, and are under the domination, as a rule, of the employers.

Corporation or apprenticeship schools; these do very effective work, so far as they go; they are completely dominated by the interests of the employers, and ignore, as a rule, all that has to do with civilized living and with citizenship.

Public schools; these being under the control of the public, cannot be so readily diverted to the service of a portion of the

public; they carry the traditions of education for citizenship and culture.

Part-time schools; advantage of co-operation between shop and school; danger of class domination and restriction.

#### 5. FURTHER IMPLICATION.

Control must be truly representative of the public.

Public education should not be uniform education.

Differentiated courses should be administered with reference to the needs and capacities of pupils, not with reference to the economic status of the parents.

There should be systematic study of vocational guidance.

There is implied a school-attendance subsidy.

And the ultimate control of industry by the public.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. Approval of national, state and local action leading to the establishment of vocational instruction in the elementary schools. (**Vocational** includes agricultural, commercial, domestic and professional as well as industrial. Much of the school work is already vocational for those entering the professions—about four per cent of the pupils; no changes are needed in this direction.)

2. Approval of the establishment of vocational guidance work in cities and towns.

3. Approval of extension of census work, or the establishment of permanent

census work in the direction of yielding information as to the industrial changes and as to the character of the population.

4. Approval of extension of age compulsory education, with provisions for monetary compensation wherever necessary.

5. Support of legislation that will prohibit all work for children which does not lead to increasing economic and social worth.

6. Opposition to arrangements between school (public) officials and shop owners that leave the control of the education in the hands of the employers.

7. Insistence upon the control of industrial education being in the hands of true representative bodies.

8. Insistence upon the subordination of public schools, of skill and speed to understanding and appreciation.

9. Insistence upon emphasis being laid upon citizenship and manhood and womanhood.

10. Insistence upon administration that will permit of flexible readjustment of pupils to their own developing powers on the one hand, and to changing economic conditions on the other.

Fraternally submitted,  
BENJAMIN GRUENBERG,  
G. A. STREBEL,  
BERTHA H. MAILLY, Committee

[Note: This report was not adopted by the convention, but referred to a new standing committee on the subject.—Editor.]

## APPENDIX C

### Report of Committee on Commission Form of Government.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED  
AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY FOR THE  
STUDY OF THE COMMISSION  
FORM OF GOVERNMENT FOR  
CITIES.

#### THE COMMITTEE.

J. Jacobsen (Iowa), Chairman.  
Ed D. Thompson (Wis.), Secretary.  
Annie E. Branstetter (Oklahoma).  
Eber M'Levy (Connecticut).  
W. Rose (Mississippi).

SELECTION OF THE BEST BOOKS ON THE  
COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERN-  
MENT FOR CITIES.

"City Government by Commission," by  
H. MacGregor, Bulletin of the Univer-  
sity of Wisconsin No. 423, paper, 40 cents,  
pages with very complete bibliography.  
"Commission Government in American  
Cities," Annals of the American Academy  
of Political and Social Science, November,  
1909, 300 pages, \$1.00.

"Commission Plan of Municipal Govern-  
ment," Debaters' Handbook Series, H. W.  
Wilson Co., cloth, 178 pages, \$1.00, very  
complete presentation of arguments on both  
sides, complete bibliography.

"Commission Government in American  
Cities," by Bradford, McMillan Company,  
1909, cloth, \$1.25, 359 pages.

"City Government by Commission," by  
E. D. Druff, D Appleton & Co., cloth, \$1.50,  
1909, 300 pages.

"Comparison of the Forms of Commis-  
sion Government in Cities," pamphlet by  
E. D. Druff, reprinted from proceedings of  
National Municipal League at Buffalo,  
1909, 3025 15th street, N. W., Washington,  
D. C., 30 cents.

ON GENERAL MUNICIPAL GOVERN-  
MENT.

"The City, the Hope of Democracy," by  
Frederick C. Howe.

"The British City," by Frederick C. Howe.  
These two books by Howe are probably  
the most advanced view of the problems  
of municipal government, and will be most  
valued by Socialist readers.)

"Municipal Government in Continental  
Europe," by Shaw.

"Municipal Government in Great Brit-  
ain," by Shaw.

COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT  
FOR CITIES.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

At the National Convention of the So-  
cialist party in 1910, a committee was ap-  
pointed to submit to the convention a re-  
port on the subject of the commission form  
of government for cities, which by that  
time had begun to attract considerable at-  
tention throughout the country.

The committee gave such attention to  
the subject as was possible during the  
convention and submitted a tentative re-  
port. This first report can be found on  
pages 290-295 of the proceedings of the  
National Convention of the Socialist party  
for 1910.

After a discussion of the report, the con-  
vention unanimously decided to make the  
committee permanent with instructions to  
give further study to the subject and make  
report at the next convention of the party.

The tentative report of this committee  
to the National Convention of the party for  
1912, follows:

#### 1. THE EXTENT AND GROWTH OF THE COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERN- MENT.

Up to the present time about 151 cities  
have adopted and are operating under the  
commission form of government in 29 dif-  
ferent States. The list of the cities is  
rather too long to print in the report, but  
may be found in almost any publication on  
the subject. (See "Commission Govern-  
ment in American Cities," by Bradford,  
pages 131-138.) The States now having  
one or more cities under the commission  
form of government, are as follows:

Alabama.	Montana.
California.	New Mexico.
Colorado.	North Carolina.
Iowa.	North Dakota.
Illinois.	Oklahoma.
Idaho.	Oregon.
Kansas.	South Dakota.
Kentucky.	Tennessee.
Louisiana.	Texas.
Maryland.	Utah.
Massachusetts.	Washington.
Michigan.	West Virginia.
Minnesota.	Wisconsin.
Mississippi.	Wyoming.
New Jersey.	

Twenty-one States have passed general  
laws providing for the commission form  
of government in cities which chose to  
adopt the general provisions. These  
States are as follows:

Alabama.	North Dakota.
California.	New Jersey.
Idaho.	South Carolina.
Illinois.	South Dakota.
Iowa.	New Mexico.
Louisiana.	Texas.
Kansas.	Utah.
Kentucky.	Washington.
Montana.	Wisconsin.
Mississippi.	Wyoming.
Minnesota.	

Some of these States and certain others  
have a general home rule law which  
makes it possible for the inauguration of  
the commission form, which should be  
added to the above list, for in most of  
these home rule states the commission

form has been adopted by one or more cities. These States which may be called "home rule States," are California, Oregon, Michigan, Missouri, Oklahoma, Washington and Minnesota.

There are 59 cities operating under special charter in states where there is no general law as yet.

**THE RATE OF GROWTH OF THE COMMISSION FORM.** It is interesting to note that the commission form of government was first introduced in Galveston, Texas, in 1901. This was not only the first example, but it was also the first form. No other city adopted the plan and there was no further development till 1907. During that year six cities adopted the plan and a few States passed general laws. In 1908 seven more cities adopted the plan. In 1909 there were 26. In 1910 the high-water mark was reached. During that year 61 cities adopted the commission form of government. In 1911 only 49 cities adopted the form.

#### CITIES REJECTING THE COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Meanwhile the number of cities rejecting the commission form of government seems to be increasing. In 1909, four cities voted upon and rejected the plan. In 1910 19 cities rejected the plan. In 1911, 33 cities rejected it.

It will be noted, therefore, that the rate of increase in the number of cities adopting the commission form of government reached its highest point in 1910, and dropped off in 1911, while the number of cities rejecting the plan beginning with 1909, has rapidly increased. One of the cities rejecting the plan, Biloxi, Miss., has voted it down twice. Oklahoma City twice rejected the plan, but at a third referendum the plan carried.

**SIZE OF CITIES ADOPTING THE COMMISSION FORM.** It should also be noted that no large city has as yet adopted the commission form of government, although many of its advocates insist that it is as applicable to the large cities as well as to the small ones.

The largest city so far adopting the form is St. Paul, Minn., with 214,000, and Oakland, Cal., comes next with 450,174 population. Only three other cities of more than 100,000 population have adopted it, viz.: Spokane, Wash., Memphis, Tenn., and Birmingham, Ala. All the other cities that have adopted the form have a population of less than 100,000.

Furthermore there are only eleven cities of the 151 adopting the form, that have a population of between 50,000 and 100,000. In other words, 136 of the 151 cities adopting the commission form have a population of less than 50,000. One hundred and seven of the total number adopting the form have a population of less than 25,000 and 73 have a population of less than 10,000 and 40 a population of less than 5,000.

#### 2. THE ESSENTIAL AND NON-ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF THE COMMISSION FORM.

While the form of the commission plan of government varies greatly and seems to be constantly changing, there are certain features which are presented by the writers on the subject, as being essential. Your committee, however, takes a somewhat different view of this point from most of the writers. Certain features are by some urged as essential to the commission form which it seems to us are not so at all. We therefore make a somewhat different division in the discussion of this

part than most of the writers on the subject. We think this necessary to get a correct estimate of the commission form.

**THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES.** Following are what to us appear to be the essential features of the commission form.

(1) First and foremost is the concentration of the legislative, administrative and in most cases some of the functions of the city government in the hands of one governing body. The concentration involves also the appointment, as in most cases the heads of subordinate departments are appointed by the commission. The extent of the appointive power, however, varies in different cities and under the different forms.

This feature of the concentration of various functions of the municipal government, constitutes the most common and characteristic element in the commission form of government.

(2) The second most constant feature of the commission form is the smallness of the governing body generally of five members. In a few cases it is a smaller number and occasionally a somewhat larger number. These are exceptional. There are a few cities that have seven commissioners, one or two that have nine. But the common form is a board of commissioners of five members.

Thus the concentration of powers and functions mentioned in the first feature above, becomes by reason of this feature a concentration of power and function in the hands of a very small number of men, generally five. This feature of a small governing body appears in every case.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the process of concentration in one or two cases has been carried to the extreme. The idea of a board of five commissioners has been abandoned and has gone to the limit of proposing a single man to have complete charge of the city. This official is known as the "city manager." This was first introduced by the city of Staunton, Va., in 1904. The population of 12,000. The purpose of this case appears to have been to adopt the commission form of government with the addition of a single official to be known as the "city manager." To him was given the charge and control of all the executive work of the city in its various departments and entire charge and control of the heads of departments and employees of the city. Under his direction are superintendents of (a) streets; (b) electric light; (c) water works; (d) city parks; (e) the poor. His duties are to see that all contracts for labor and supplies are made, "in general perform all the administrative and executive work now performed by the various general standing committees of the council, except the finance, ordinance, and auditing committees."

A form of government under which the commission of five was to be elected in turn should appoint a municipal manager, has been proposed by Lockport, N. Y.

In Roswell, N. M., the city superintendent is appointed by the council, is known as a "city manager."

Thus we have a concentration of powers and functions in the hands of a very small number of men, generally five. This feature of a small governing body appears in every case.

(3) The third most characteristic feature of the commission form is the election of representatives to the governing body of the city from wards and districts. The principle of the election of representatives to the governing body of the city from wards and districts is abandoned entirely and the commissioners are elected from the city at large.



also appears in every case under commission form.

Another universal feature of the commission form is that each commissioner assumes charge of a certain department. The department which the commissioner takes charge of is generally determined by the commissioners themselves when they are elected. In a few cases, however, the commissioners are elected in the first place by the people as heads of the departments. Having each commissioner at the head of a department, is, therefore, a universal feature of the commission form.

The fifth but less universal feature is non-partisan elections. A little more than half of the cities operating under the commission form require non-partisan elections.

In most cases the use of party names and party designations is entirely prohibited and occasionally this assumes the drastic form. In nearly one-half of the cases, however, this non-partisan feature is not insisted upon.

What constitutes what seem to be the characteristic, and the essential features of the commission form.

#### THE NON-ESSENTIAL FEATURES.

In addition to the features mentioned above, most writers include certain others which they claim as part and parcel of the commission form. Among these are initiative, the referendum, recall, civil service commissions, publicity and home

rule. One of these, however, can be claimed as essential parts of the commission form of government. There are cities, states and even nations that have put certain of these features into operation, that have had the commission form of government what-

For example, Switzerland and New Zealand have had the initiative and referendum in their national laws for many years. Many of the western cities had the recall before the establishing of the commission form of government. The civil service provision is least of all an essential part of the commission form of government, as it had been advocated years before the commission form of government was adopted and put into operation very widely in various degrees throughout the world. So far as publicity is concerned, there is no question whether there is more publicity under the commission form of government, with its small body of elected officers, than there is under the council form with its larger body and open meetings.

As to home rule, it may be said that the commission form of government to a considerable degree increased the right of self-government and home rule in cities, for in itself would constitute a very strong argument in its favor. The home rule movement, however, started long before the idea of the commission form of government arose, and has been widely agitated entirely apart from it. Moreover, before the commission form of government became at all widespread and quite independent of the commission movement, there were a number of states that came to be known as "home rule states." These were notably California, Oregon, Michigan, Missouri, Oklahoma, Washington and Minnesota, so that it is quite clear that we do not need to resort to a commission form of government as a means of securing home rule for cities. And while it may be admitted that in many cases the degree of home rule is somewhat increased under the commission form of government, the

home rule features cannot be claimed as an essential part of that form.

Whether as some of the opponents of the commission form of government argue, these non-essential features as we have called them, were hitched on to the commission form in order to deceive the people into voting for it or not, we need not at this time discuss. We should be able to distinguish, however, between those features of the commission form of government which come as a characteristic part and those which do not really belong to it and which can and are being secured by the cities quite widely entirely apart from the commission form of government.

That the initiative, referendum and recall are desired and urged by every socialist organization in the world, is well known. That home rule for cities is one of the foremost and most vital needs of all cities, not only in America but everywhere, is also well understood by every student of municipal problems. But all of these matters can be advanced and are being advanced apart from the commission form. They cannot therefore be held as characteristic of this form of government.

#### 4. RESULTS OF THE COMMISSION FORMS.

**TOO EARLY TO JUDGE.** Considering the fact that the commission form of government has been in operation so short a time, it is too early to judge finally as to its efficiency or success. The only city that has really had enough years of experience to have given the form a real test, is Galveston, Texas, which adopted the form in 1901. But the Galveston form is so much different from what has come to be known as the commission form of government, and was inaugurated under such different circumstances and conditions from practically all of the other cities, that it can hardly be considered a test.

No other city adopted the form until four years later, when Houston, Texas, followed the example and copied much the same form as that of Galveston. Not until two years later, viz., in 1907, were there any considerable number of cities adopting the form of government.

So it will appear that the experience of any city under the commission form has been brief. Galveston has had the longest which is about eleven years. Houston comes next with nine years. Five other Texas cities, of which Dallas is the largest, and Lewiston, Idaho, have had about six years. Most of these cities in the early period of the commission form, have not yet developed the real form of commission government, which is at present most commonly advocated.

Des Moines, Ia., which finally adopted the form most commonly advocated at the present time, has had hardly five years of experience. All of the other cities have had even less than that. Twenty-six of the cities have not yet completed two years of experience and forty-nine are still in their first year. In other words, none of the cities having the present form of commission government, most generally advocated, have had more than four or five years of experience, while the great majority of them have only had one or two years.

So it will appear that the commission form of government has not been in operation in any case more than four or five years and during that time the form has been constantly modified and changed so that it is really too early to be able to judge as to its results. The further fact that in no case has it been applied in any

city of considerable size, still further limits our opportunity for judgment as to its efficiency, so far as political results are concerned.

**FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE REPORTS.** Turning now to the reports given out from the various cities as to the results of the operation of this form of government, we find a mass of literature, pamphlets and magazine articles, which attempt to present the results. Many of them report in most glowing terms the splendid results obtained. Almost every writer on municipal problems has had something to say upon this subject. Some socialist writers have strongly advocated the commission form. Most notable of these is Charles Edward Russell, whose article in "Everybody's Magazine" April, 1910, on "Sanity and Democracy for American Cities" is a most positive and unqualified endorsement of the idea. And the article which is written with special reference to Des Moines attempts to point out most remarkable and favorable results. Coming as it does from one of our prominent socialists, this article immediately challenged the attention of your committee. Correspondence with Comrade Russell drew out the fact that he was very decidedly of the opinion that the commission form of government was in every way worthy of the support of those who desire a better municipal government.

A contrary opinion, however, is held by other socialists and even by other writers with regard to Des Moines and the success of the form there.

In the case of the recent street car strike there the commissioner of public safety was undoubtedly in sympathy with the workers. As is usual in such struggles the company depended upon the support of the police to help them. When the strike breakers were brought in to operate the cars the company expected the police to give them special protection, and asked permission for their men to carry weapons. This the commissioner of public safety refused to permit.

The result was that inside of two days the strike was won and the union men were operating the cars.

Subsequently, and in absolute violation of the Iowa law, this particular commissioner was deprived of the control of the police force. He had control, by virtue of his office of both the fire and the police forces. When the crisis came the police force was taken away from him. This naturally brought forth vigorous protests from many quarters. In order to offset this, the whole department was taken away from this commissioner and given over to one of the others.

The feeling of the people was very decidedly manifested in the ensuing election when all three of the commissioners who had been parties to this high handed proceeding were defeated. And yet, in spite of all this, when the new commission took office they did not restore the commissioner who had shown his sympathy for the workers to the control of the police and fire department forces.

In Minot, North Dakota, we have another illustration of the peculiar workings of the commission form of government. One of our Socialists, Arthur LeSueur, was elected chairman of the commission. Another Socialist had also been elected and these two found that one of the other members worked and voted with them. This gave them the control of the commission. They proceeded then to enforce the laws and clean up the city. A little later on, however, one of the Socialist candidates

failed of re-election, another was pelled to leave town and the Socialist control of the commission. There were three non-Socialists against the two Socialists.

The commission law in this case it incumbent upon the chairman particularly to enforce the laws relative to gambling and the selling of liquor. County Sheriff was particularly hostile to the chairman of the commission. Col. LeSueur was therefore in this dilemma the law required him to enforce the gambling and anti-vice ordinances, county officials who were hostile stood to prosecute him if he did not enforce them. But meanwhile the three members of the commission who stood against him had elected an entirely new police commission and they in turn had taken the force out of his control. The law pelled him to enforce the ordinances, the commission had taken away from him the power by which alone he could do so. In this predicament he appealed to the local of the Socialist party for a decision as what was best to do and they decided that the only thing in that case was for him to resign, which he did.

This would seem to us a clear indication of the bad working of this form of government, or at least an evidence that it is no better than the old form. In spite of this, however, Comrade LeSueur believes strongly in the commission form of government.

In 1907, the Polk County Republican Club, of Des Moines, appointed a committee that visited Galveston and Indianapolis, in order to make comparison of the forms of government there with the proposed Des Moines plan. This committee was evidently very much opposed to the Galveston plan. Their report was strongly against the commission idea. Speaking of the Galveston plan, they say:

"It is a potentially perfect political machine. There has been no change in membership of the Galveston commission since it was organized in 1900 (except the death of a member). The extensive powers of the commissioners have enabled them to control all political factions completely to crush the opposition. The commissioners' faction is in complete control, and its leaders dictate nominations of commissioners, members of the legislature and congressmen.

"The Galveston commissioners and officials are not easily accessible to citizens of the city, and give but a small portion of their time to the city's business. None of the commissioners, except the mayor, has an office in the city hall. Many of them have other extensive interests. Citizens seeking redress or assistance must run the gauntlet of the outside office, closed door of the private business office.

"In Houston, which also has a commission form of government where the commissioners are required to stay in the hall every day, business men do not hold these positions although the salaries are higher than the proposed salaries of Des Moines commissioners. One commissioner was formerly a scavenger, and another a blacksmith, justice of the peace and a tinsmith, a third a railroad auditor, a fourth a dry goods merchant, and the mayor a tired capitalist.

"The Galveston commissioners favor incorporation. The only franchise given to a corporation by the commission is a franchise obtained by the Galveston Street Railway Co. in May, 1906. It was not referred to a vote of the people. (This franchise was given for a period of fifty years.)

the city received no compensation for this franchise and collected no franchise taxes on it. The city receives no percentage of the gross or net receipts. The company charges a straight five-cent fare and transfers are issued only from May to October." Speaking of this failure of the commission government in Galveston to provide the franchises granted to the street car company for adequate protection to the people of the city, Mr. Starzinger (quoted in the hand book above referred to, page 3) says:

"In Galveston today, for instance, not a cent is derived from the existence of valuable franchises," and he asks indignantly, "Is this the superior legislation of which friends of the commission idea speak?"

Furthermore, according to these investigators, the Galveston municipal government is not free from graft. This is the most unkind cut of all, as the friends of the commission form have boasted most loudly of this most particular achievement. The committee refers to the Galveston police board records in proof of their contention that graft still prevails; and they cite similar instances in the city attorney's department.

Professor Rowe, in discussing the commission plan in the *Debaters' Handbook* above referred to, points out very clearly the fundamental issue involved. He says frankly that the choice presented to our American communities takes the form of an apparent opposition between democracy and efficiency. Very clearly therefore we are called upon here to sacrifice the principle of democracy in the interests of alleged efficiency. Prof. Rowe says:

"This means that the people are prepared to accept the same administrative standards in municipal affairs as those which prevail in the business world. The recent proposal to give the police commissioner of New York a term of ten years or possibly a life tenure, would have been received in scorn and indignation fifty years ago. Today it is regarded by many as the best possible means of securing an efficient administration of this service."

Here then we have the most direct objection to the commission form, the fact that it proposes not only extreme concentration, but that there is appearing already as a logical sequence the proposal for long term of office and finally even of life terms. And the fact that this is suggested with reference to the control of the police is particularly significant to a working class movement that is struggling for fairness in its struggle with an unprincipled plutocracy.

Finally it is argued against the commission plan that it has been tried in at least one case for fifteen years and found a failure. Hon. Clinton L. White, of Sacramento, Cal., writing of the form of government there, says that that city has tried the commission form for fifteen years and abandoned it in 1893. Speaking of the results of this experience in the commission form of government, he says:

"The management of the street department, the small amount of work accomplished with funds provided for the purpose and the number of employees doing only a nominal amount of work, but drawing full pay from the city were at times something simply scandalous. The management of the water works system was frequently almost as bad, and these things were not checked by a disinterested tribunal." (See *Debaters' Handbook* on "Commission Plan of Municipal Government," page 134.)

In view of these facts, Mr. White says the people of Sacramento abandoned the commission form, and have gone back to the usual form of municipal government, which he says has been very much superior to the commission system.

The experience of Boston with the non-partisan feature of the commission plan seems to have been unfavorable. At least an article in *Pearson's Magazine* by George P. Anderson, takes a decidedly critical view of the idea, and reports serious evils resulting from the new method of handling the city's civic life.

The *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for November, 1911, has a number of articles written by different men on "Objections, Limitations and Modifications of the Commission Plan." One of the writers, Dunbar F. Carpenter, of Colorado Springs, Colorado, reporting upon the operation of the commission form in that city, admits that it has been a disappointment to its friends and advocates. He says:

"We have not found it any more economical—there has been no saving in the cost of operation—there is cause for disappointment in the fact that the administration has not been more effective in the general management of the city's business, and the least efficient branch of the public service is what it always is in American cities, the police department."

He says further: "My observations lead me to believe that the commission plan is not the final solution of the great plan of municipal government. The commission plan is a long step over the old plan, but it is only a step and not the goal."

We refer to this testimony because it is given by one who proposes to be a friend to the commission form of government, and yet finds it disappointing.

The article in the same chapter by Walter G. Cooper of Atlanta, Ga., is also a very strong and rational presentation of the arguments against the commission form.

Ford H. McGregor, instructor in political science, University of Wisconsin, in his *City Government by Commission*, gives a rather strong argument on the "disadvantages" of the commission form of government, pages 115-129. In this there is perhaps the clearest recognition of the most fundamental objection. He says:

"But by far the greatest influence and the most dangerous influence exerted on the council or commission will come, not from political organizations, but from the great industrial interests. As has already been pointed out, one of the greatest evils connected with municipal government in the United States has been the corrupt dealings between the city governments and private corporations which desire valuable franchises for semi-public purposes. The interests of these corporations will be the same under the commission plan as under any other form of city organization, and we may reasonably expect that they exert the same pressure upon the members of the commission as they have in the past upon the members of the common councils to secure these valuable franchises. As a certain newspaper has put it, 'Will public service corporations that manage our city railways, our telephones and telegraphs, our water system, our heating and lighting plants, cease to covet gain, cease to look with designing eyes on the city council, cease to scrutinize the ordinances, and care not about the character of the men who will enforce the regulations affecting the conduct and individuals? Will the men interested in the sale of wine and beer and the

patrons of their saloons, will the keepers of dives and gambling dens, become converted and join the church and cease to trouble our souls and harass not the police who surround them? The inducements for such interests to control the commission will be even greater than ever, because of the increased power which is given to the commission. This is probably the greatest danger which confronts the commission plan. A corrupt or inefficient commission, with the great powers conferred upon it, would be much more dangerous to the best interests of the city than an equally corrupt or inefficient common council.

"Not only does the commission plan afford increased opportunity to the politician to manipulate city government, it also presents the possibility of the commission itself becoming a powerful political machine. The more absolutely power and patronage are concentrated, the greater the political force that can be wielded by the holders of them. A small commission exercising the entire power of the city might build up such a machine and so intrench itself that it could not be defeated."

From this it will appear that the testimony as to the results of the operation of the commission form of government are not all in one way. There is a feeling that on the whole there has been increased efficiency and some improvements. But the more enthusiastic supporters of the idea become so extreme in their efforts to show good results that their reports can hardly be trusted.

On the other hand there are those who hold that the improvements have been in no way commensurate with the risk involved in the experiment of greatly increased power in the hands of a few. They urge that the principle of democracy has been sacrificed to the promise of efficiency. And they go so far as to claim that the promise of efficiency has not materialized to any appreciable extent.

**REPORT FROM THE SOCIALIST LOCALS.** In order to learn directly from the localities where the commission form is in operation, and to get the views of the Socialists themselves, your committee addressed a circular letter to about 125 secretaries of locals in cities where the commission form of government is in operation. As there were only about 150 cities in all, as stated above, this circular letter was sent to a very large proportion of all the cities that have the commission form.

In response to this letter your committee received replies from 76 cities in 18 different States. The questions bore upon details relative to the form in operation in the various cities, the fact of which we have brought out in other parts of this report.

Among other things we inquired what attitude the Socialists in the community had taken regarding the commission form, whether they were in favor or opposed to it. In answer to this question, 13 locals reported that they favored the commission form of government. Twenty-seven locals reported that they were opposed to it. Nine others reported that they were in a general way opposed to the commission form. Four locals reported that they were divided among themselves, some favoring and some opposing it. Fifteen locals reported that the comrades of their community had taken no attitude whatever, one way or the other.

From this it will appear that there is no consensus of opinion among the Socialists of the country that refers to the com-

mission form. Some favor it, others oppose it and a good many seem not to have given it any study and therefore take no stand upon the matter.

Of those who favored the commission form of government, it was interesting to note that nearly all of the California locals reporting upon the subject were favorable. The State secretary of the Socialist party of California, Comrade F. B. Meriam, takes the pains to write at considerable length in favor of the commission form. He says:

"A pure commission government or a government where the citizens select a committee or council, leaving everything to them as everything is left to the board of directors of a corporation, is a government in favor of which from a Socialist standpoint, little can be said. But as to those cities where their officers are elected by the electors, where they have the initiative, referendum and recall, and also where all partisan ballots are eliminated, very different conditions are presented for consideration. In a general way the latter represents the general type of the California municipal government of the new class.

"Most of the Socialists oppose the commission form because it eliminates partisan ballots, and are prolific in the predictions of dire calamity. Several of the California cities have been under this non-partisan form of charter for a number of years. San Diego adopted it at the close of the year 1908, holding its first election in the spring of 1909. The Socialists there gave the matter careful consideration and finally decided to support the proposition for certain well defined reasons. There is practically no intelligent Socialist in the city today who would change this if he could. The experience there and the experience throughout the State during the past year has all pointed in one direction and that is, to the benefit of the Socialist movement. It has in its practical operation resulted in a demoralization of the old party machine organizations; has largely eliminated the terror of the party whip; has a tendency to remove the influence of party prejudice and in almost every instance has resulted in forcing a clean cut, unbogged fight between the Socialists on the one side and all branches of capitalism on the other. It has brought out a clean cut issue of humanity against mammon. It has had no effect in the way of demoralizing Socialist organizations or in minimizing our party action and activities. In fact the Socialist party is the only party which has been able to preserve its party activities, with a result similar to the conflict between a thoroughly drilled and organized body of men and a disorganized body.

"The educational and propaganda value of these clear cut battles are tremendous. They enable us to show things up in their true light and make the usual flim-flamming of the public on immaterial issues next to impossible. What future experience may develop, of course, remains to be seen but under the usual form adopted in California so far as our experience goes up to the present time, we have certainly reaped a positive and decided advantage by the adoption of this form of municipal government. Just so soon as we are enabled to eliminate from our political contests the old suspicions, prejudices and bogle men which have been built up in each of the old parties against the other for the sole purpose of blinding their constituency as to the real issue, just so soon we will have entered upon the last short, sharp battle, which will result in victory for the Social-

party. When the issue is clean cut, against money, we will soon land them. Elimination of partisan ballots in municipal affairs produces just this result." Comrade Frank E. Wolfe, writing in addition to the answers to the questions, and speaking for the Socialist local of Sacramento, Cal., takes a similar attitude. He

study of conditions here and study of the charter has convinced me the commission form will be vastly better for the people and better for the Socialists.

We have an excellent opportunity of improvement if we elect. The prospects first-class. Even if we get but one through, we will be able to put a dent on the old system. One man will give us one-fifth of the entire city government.

In Los Angeles we are about to write a new charter. It will, doubtless, be based on the commission form. Socialists there in much confusion on the question. I am not certain about it but I am now in favor of it there, and hope to get the commission to approve it officially.

This form shortens the ballot and gives an opportunity to concentrate our efforts."

The locals at Vallejo, San Obispo and Astoria, also report that their comrades favor the commission form of government. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the locals reporting, state that their comrades are opposed to the commission form. The comrades in Flint, Mich., take an independent stand against the commission form of government, and in their paper, "The Flint Flash," published a number of articles against it. The local of Peoria, Ill., published a leaflet against the commission form of government, which was reprinted in the Chicago Daily Socialist on February 1911.

Comrade James O'Neill prepared a leaflet against the commission form of government for the Indiana comrades, which was printed in the Chicago Daily Socialist on March 4, 1911.

Comrade Moulton, Secretary of the Hawthill, Mass., local, reports that the comrades there have taken a stand against the commission form of government and gives some length the arguments which they used against it. This will be referred to later.

In some cases the locals report controversies having arisen in their locals over the question of the commission form. This is notably true in Spokane, where factional division seems to have arisen over the election of Comrade David Coates as commissioner of public works, under the commission form. The comrades report that their local decidedly opposed the commission form of government, while Comrade Coates himself is an enthusiastic supporter. The local at Spokane complained that the elimination of the party lines enabled Comrade Coates to secure the election, which he could not have secured as a Socialist. The merits of the controversy, of course, our committee does not care to enter, simply calling attention to the fact that the local there is reported as strongly opposed to the commission form. Comrade Coates who has been elected under it strongly favored it, and a factional fight developed over the situation.

#### ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON. AS REPORTED BY THE SOCIALIST OFFICIALS.

The arguments in favor of the commission form of government, which the locals report as being most commonly used by the Socialists who favor it, are as follows:

Most common of all are the usual arguments that the commission form results in greater efficiency and promises more ready action. Another argument, less common, in its favor is that it results in greater economy.

We have already referred to the arguments submitted by Comrades Meriam and Wolfe, of California, referred to above. On the other hand the one and most constant objection urged against the commission form of government by practically all of the locals opposing it, is the concentration of power into the hands of a few, which they believe to be undemocratic and dangerous. In different forms and with many variations this seems always to be the most common objection.

Next to this the most constant objection raised is against the election at large which eliminates representation from the wards. This feature, it is argued, prevents the minority parties from securing any representation whatever in the governing bodies. It is pointed out that under the ward representation the working classes are sure to predominate in certain wards, and therefore are able to secure at least a minority representation if permitted to elect representatives from these wards. This gives them not only the advantage of having a working class representative in the governing body, but it also gives them the opportunity for experience in public service.

These two objections, the concentration of power and the elimination of ward representation, constitute the most universal arguments against the commission form as given by the secretaries of the branches replying.

#### 5. OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES.

There are three principal objections to the commission form of government. There are many minor points that are objectionable but they are matters of detail.

(1) EXTREME CONCENTRATION. Extreme concentration of power is regarded by all critics of the commission form of government as its most dangerous and objectionable feature. Reducing the number of officials to five, the commission form combines the legislative, executive and judicial functions. It combines the tax levying, appropriating and expending powers. In addition it gives this small governing commission all of the appointive power including not only the right to appoint all municipal appointees but to remove them, to create new positions or discontinue them, to fix salaries and prescribe all official duties, alter or transfer them. Thus it not only gives this small group of five men almost complete control of the entire municipal affairs, but it also makes all of the city employees practically the agents and dependents of the commission.

This is concentration with a vengeance. Nothing of the sort has been attempted in modern times anywhere in the world. We have had in the past single rulers of cities and nations—kings, monarchs and emperors, and painfully and slowly through centuries of struggle the world has gotten away from monarchy and autocracy. We have had in ancient times dictators, triumvirates and decemvirates, but in modern times no nation on earth has proposed such a centralization of power. With the tendency of modern years everywhere in the direction of greater democracy, the commission form of government comes with a tendency back again towards the old idea of the rule by the few and power in the hands of the few.

In reply to this objection the friends of the commission form of government always urge that it has incorporated the initiative,

referendum and the recall, which are the instruments of modern democracy. It is doubtful, however, whether these features constitute a sufficient safeguard against the dangers of concentration. And besides there is reason to doubt the wisdom of so radical a departure from the democratic form of government as will compel the people to depend upon these devices as their only possible escape from the tyranny of autocracy.

Speaking of this point, J. R. Palda in a report to the Bohemian Independent Political Club of Cedar Rapids (quoted in *Debaters' Handbook* on "Commission Plan of Municipal Government," page 135) says:

"The initiative referendum and recall are good provisions; in fact, the best the plan contains, but they will in no sense counter-balance the powers granted to the commission. It is a difficult defense against the possible misconduct and inefficiency of the commission, as it requires in the greater number of cases a petition signed by 25 per cent of the voters. Who will undertake the work, and who will pay the expenses of securing such a petition? That is worthy of consideration. Will it not occur to all that the people will tolerate many, many abuses from the honorable commission before they will reach out for these means of defense? That they will remain supinely silent for a long, long time before making use of the initiative, before they would avail themselves of the designated means of protest.

"Besides the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, which are the most salient features of the new plan, can very easily be incorporated into the present system, and it is not necessary in order to secure the benefits of those provisions to force upon the people the attendant dangers and burdens of the commission plan."

With the government of a great city in the hands of a few men with such unlimited power as the commission form gives them, it is doubtful whether the people would have at hand the necessary time, resource and means of publicity to contend with such a centralized, swift-acting power.

(2) **THE NON-PARTISAN FALLACY.** The elimination of parties is also a seriously objectionable feature. There can be no greater fallacy than the so-called non-partisan idea. Whether it be the mere stupidity of our so-called reformers or the clever design of politicians who seek to manipulate municipal government to their advantage, or a little of both, we can see no logical reason whatever for this non-partisan idea. Some seem to feel that if they can only eliminate "parties" in municipal affairs, everything will be lovely. In some cases this is carried to the extreme of prohibiting any kind of party designation whatsoever in a municipal campaign. Generally, however, the idea is to eliminate national parties from the local campaigns. And the line of argument advanced in favor of this is that the national parties have no issues that pertain to municipal affairs—that national affairs have nothing to do with local issues.

Little need be said with regard to the proposition that proposes to eliminate all party designations of every kind. Such a proposition would take out of civic life the responsibility of fighting together for principles. By eliminating all designations by which people would work together for some principle or idea, municipal campaigns would be thrown back again upon the worst elements in our political life.

The experience of Boston with their non-partisan government is an illustration.

Speaking of the situation there, George Anderson, writing on "The First Result Boston's Elaborate Political Reform," *Pearson's Magazine*, says:

"The aim of the promoters of the charter was to smash party lines and break up party fealty. The charter accomplished this, but resulted in the injection of race and religious issues as substitutes. This is a most unfortunate result but it is not wholly logical. In ordinary campaigns the candidate of a party stands for certain principles or traditions of the party. Take those away, and the candidate's personality is bound to be the leading issue, and his race or religion cannot fail to be discussed. Which arrangement is better Boston knows to her sorrow. Officials on the edge of a reform ferment, if they are wise, will pause before following her example."

And this is what might naturally be expected. The efforts to eliminate what supposed to be the baneful influence of partisanship and the party, this non-partisan movement eliminates principle well. And eliminating principle leaves nothing but personalities, race and religious prejudices as issues in municipal campaigns.

Against the elimination of national parties and national issues even more may be said. There is hardly a serious problem of municipal government that can be solved at all aside from the state and national movement. Take the question of home rule. Here in the very nature of the case the city is powerless in the hands of the state legislature. The fight for home rule itself is a state and national fight. Take the question of the commission form of government itself—it has been an issue for state legislatures very largely. Or consider some of our commercial and industrial problems. The real difficulties that concern a people in a city, involve state and national issues. For example, the supply of coal for a city—what can any city in America do on a problem of that sort without state and national action? The city may establish a coal yard? But that is only the merest fraction of the problem. The coal must be shipped to the city over railroads that are owned by private corporations. It must be mined by mines that are owned by the monopolies and trusts. The transportation of the coal becomes a problem of interstate commerce. Thus the most elemental problem of the city becomes a state and national problem, a question requiring a consistent and comprehensive programme for state and national action. To undertake to solve problems of this kind by limiting our efforts to local issues, and separating our cities from state and national issues, is absurd.

It may be quite true that neither the Republican nor the Democratic national parties have anything in their platforms or programmes, looking to the relief of the people that live in cities. Perhaps the parties purposely omit any such ideas. That is doubtless a part of the plan of the fight of modern plutocracy, to keep the great political parties out of the most essential part of the fight. But to attempt to teach the people that they can find any relief from the evils that torment them without state and national action, is the height of folly. If the Republican and Democratic parties have no programme and no principles that apply to the great problem of municipal government, so much the worse for them. Let the people know it, the sooner the better. It is exactly what should be expected.

Such is not the case with the Socialist party. It has a programme—municipal, state and national. And they are a part of one consistent whole. The same principles for which the socialist party stands in the state and nation, apply with equal force, though with different details, to the city as well. And what is more, there is no solution of municipal problems apart from the principles of social democracy. And the principles of social democracy cannot be applied except through state and national action. The effort therefore to eliminate national and state issues and to prevent the organization of a state and national political party that shall have also a municipal programme, is to block the way to a final solution of the problems of municipal government.

Furthermore, let the Socialist party of America grow to sufficient strength and numbers; let it capture enough of the cities of this country, let it secure enough representatives in a few of the state legislatures and the national congress to make its municipal, state and national programme a real menace to the capitalistic parties of today, and we shall very quickly see the political powers of capitalism rush into a party that will be the most bitterly partisan that this country has known since the anti-slavery times.

There is an issue in municipal government that is bound up inseparably with the state and national programme. It is impossible to solve the municipal problems apart from these larger state and national problems. So the lines of this struggle may as well be drawn sharply and as closely as possible. We believe it to be the task of the Socialist party to bring this issue into the open and to make the people of this country realize that the struggle between plutocracy and the common people is not only a municipal struggle but a state and national one as well. And the effort to conceal this struggle by detaching the city and its issues and problems from the state and national situation, serves only to deceive the people and to prolong the period of their enslavement.

(3) **ELIMINATION OF MINORITY REPRESENTATION.** The elimination of minority representation is another serious objection to the commission form of government which is urged by all its critics. By abolishing ward representation and electing the commissioners at large, the possibility of a minority party securing a representation is destroyed. This is particularly true with regard to the working class. In the nature of the case certain wards in our cities are inhabited by the working class. Other wards are inhabited mostly by the capitalistic class. Under the method of ward organization there are sure to be some wards where the working class predominate and where therefore they can secure representation long before they are able to capture the city. This minority representation serves not only to give the working class a voice in the government to that extent, but it affords the working class experience in public affairs.

All of this is sacrificed by the commission form of government and we believe is a serious loss.

Furthermore the arguments in favor of representation at large is offset by arguments in favor of ward representation. For while it may be true that representatives from certain districts of the city will be inclined to neglect the general welfare of the city in their concern for their own constituency, yet on the other hand it is also true, particularly in larger cities, that the needs of a certain district are likely

to be overlooked by a form of representation that concerns itself solely with the general welfare of a city. The principle of ward representation has always been that in this way residents of a certain district are better able to bring the requirements of their district to the attention of the governing body. And this argument cannot be overlooked.

The cities which have combined a representation from wards with a group of aldermen elected at large, secure both of these advantages. We have such a form of municipal government in Milwaukee at the present time. The commission form of government sacrifices one of these advantages entirely.

(4) **OTHER OBJECTIONS.** In addition to the above, which are the chief and most serious objections, there are others which should not be overlooked. For example, whether intentional or not, there seems to have crept into many of the laws and charters providing for the commission form of government, features which can hardly be regarded other than as jokers. For example, in many cases the percentage required for the initiative, referendum and recall are so high as to practically destroy their value. The most notable case of this kind was the Illinois law which at first required a seventy-five per cent of the total vote in order to start a recall. Of course such a percentage is absolutely prohibitive. It should be said, however, that the next session of the legislature reduced that percentage to fifty-five, but even that is prohibitive.

In many of the cities twenty-five per cent and in some even thirty-five per cent of the voters are required for referendum. These are too high. The same may be said with regard to the initiative. Twenty-five and thirty per cent are frequently required and in one case the Kansas law required forty per cent in cities of the second class. (For analysis of this point see Commission Government in America, by Bradford, pages 220-233.)

It is also important to know that in many of the charters and many of the state laws, one or the other of these democratic devices have been omitted entirely. For example, thirteen out of fifty-one cities omitted the referendum entirely in their charters and seven states out of twenty-four omitted it from their general state laws.

Twelve cities have omitted the recall provision from their charters and eight out of the cities adopting a general commission law, have omitted the recall from the provision of their general acts.

## 5a. SOME OF THE CLAIMS INVESTIGATED.

**DOES IT CONCENTRATE?** In spite of the fact that the most characteristic feature of the commission form is its concentration of power and in spite of the fact that this is urged as the strongest argument in favor of the commission form it is interesting to note that in one or two respects it falls even at this point. For example, the school boards or boards of education are almost nowhere brought under the control of the commissions. So here is one other important part of the government in a city which is not concentrated.

But more important still, if concentration is to be considered an argument in favor of the commission form, is the fact that it does not concentrate the judicial power. While in many cases the municipal court is brought under the control of the com-

mission, this does not relieve the municipality of the interference of the courts where they may be hostile to the local government. And any student of municipal government, and particularly those who have been following the struggles of the cities that are trying to free themselves from the grip of the corporations, understand how serious the power of the courts is. Wherever a city has made a really serious stand against the domination of the interests the capitalistic courts have immediately swung into line against the local government. In the city of Cleveland, Ohio, for example, this went so far that in order to defeat Tom L. Johnson in his fight for the three-cent fare, which he had practically won, the matter was taken to the Supreme Court of the state and the charter of the city itself declared unconstitutional. And in this way the city was beaten by the courts. Similar experiences could be cited in scores of cases.

It is well understood and perfectly natural that the capitalistic courts should be everywhere the last resort of the corporate interests. If we are to secure an independent and free local government for a city we shall have to find some way of preventing the courts from overthrowing the acts of the local government through injunction proceedings and the like. And after all this is one of the most serious problems for the student of municipal government. And the commission form does not meet it in any sense of the word. In fact it does not contemplate it.

The freedom of action on the part of the municipal government by means of concentration of power, the commission form of government breaks down at this point.

**DOES IT FIX RESPONSIBILITY?** It is also argued that by concentrating the power of a municipal government in the hands of a few we are able to fix the responsibility, to know exactly who is to blame if things do not go right.

How far is this true? A commission is elected of, let us say, five men. The question of a certain line of action is decided by a majority vote. One of the commissioners who is at the head of a department, decides upon a certain line of action. Three of the five, however, vote against it. The work cannot be done.

Who now is to blame for the failure of the commission to act?

The commissioner who proposed the action did his part. He lays the blame upon the others. But the neglected work is in his department, so the others shift the blame on to him.

Another illustration of the shifting of responsibility occurred in Oklahoma City. A circuit judge was elected as one of the commissioners because of his known friendly attitude toward union labor. When he was elected he was put at the head of the Department of Public Works. But when the question of engaging union labor came up he dodged the issue and shifted the responsibility by referring the question to the commission. The commission then decided that they could not under the laws "discriminate against" the non-union workers. In this way the labor question was shifted from one commissioner to the other and so disposed of.

Again in Des Moines the citizens circulated a petition asking for the submission of the question of the purchase of the street car system. The signatures of 16 per cent of the voters were secured. Now, the commissioners did not want to submit the question. On the other hand, they did not wish to offend the 2,300 voters who had

signed the petition. So they shifted the responsibility by referring the question to the legal department. The city attorney gave them an opinion in which he held that the form of the ordinance was illegal. In spite of the opinion of the legal department the commissioners decided to submit the question to a vote of the people, after which the district court at the instigation of the street railway company intervened, restraining the commission from submitting the question. But they again shifted the responsibility from the city attorney's shoulder and in spite of his opinion submitted the question. Then the district court stepped in upon the petition of one of the citizens and issued an injunction restraining the commission from submitting the question.

Thus, we have in this case the shifting of responsibility first from the shoulders of the commission to those of the city attorney; back again from the shoulders of the city attorney to those of the commissioners; and finally again from their shoulders to those of the district court. It would be pretty hard to conceive of a better illustration of the failure of the commission form of government to "fix responsibility."

From this it would appear that so long as you have more than one in your commission, there is more or less shifting of responsibility inevitable. And hence the arguments actually made in favor of a one-man commission.

And even more serious is the interference of State legislatures and courts. The establishment of the commission form of government in a city does not take away the possibility of interference by the legislature and the courts. So long as the administration of the city is in harmony in its purposes and policies with the State legislature and the courts, so long matters may go smoothly. But let any city administration undertake to withstand the capitalistic policies of the courts and the State legislature and there soon is a manifestation of these superior powers. It only requires one man in a city to apply to the courts for an injunction. And the dominant political party in the State legislature when controlled by capitalistic influences, can be very quickly swung into opposition to the city administration. When this happens, as it is constantly happening, will not then the responsibility be shifted again? When a commission in such a case attempts or even proposes to do something for the people of a city, may it not very easily shift the responsibility for not having succeeded either on to the courts or the State legislature?

So it is evident that the commission form does not wholly solve the problem of "fixing the responsibility."

With the Socialist party this question is a very simple one. The party itself assumes and wishes to carry the responsibility for the handling of any degree of political power that is given to its representatives. If any of the men elected by the party fail to make good, let it count against the party. Why should not other organizations and parties assume the same responsibility? And why should they not stand or fall as the Socialist party proposes to stand or fall upon the record that it makes.

In this connection it seems to us that the commission form of government has a serious weakness. Having destroyed entirely parties and party organizations, there is no one that can be held responsible for what the elected officers do. In this sense the commission form of government makes it



sion form of government. And they have than less, and this phase of the matter should be considered.

IS IT MORE EFFICIENT? Another claim of the commission form of government that should be investigated is, the claim put forward by all of its advocates that it greatly increases efficiency of the with regard to certain matters. A great deal has been written and said by the friends of the commission form along these lines. When we come to examine the details upon which this claim is based, however, the argument does not seem to carry so much weight.

government.

It may be frankly admitted, for the sake of argument, that the cities that have adopted the commission form of government, have shown evidences of improvement.

For example, it is claimed for certain of the commission governed cities that they have greatly reduced the burden of taxation by economies effected. But hundreds of cities have accomplished things of that sort without being under the commission form of government. It is always the boast of a new administration that it has reduced the taxes. And most capitalistic campaigns in the cities are waged on the promise to reduce the taxes.

Furthermore, low taxes may not be an evidence of efficiency of city government at all. On the contrary, a partial increase of the tax burden may be an absolute essential in the first steps towards an efficient city. Practically every American city is lacking in school facilities, in proper street equipment, parks and boulevards, sewerage and the like. To bring these up to the standard of efficiency shown by European cities will naturally and inevitably require increased expenditures. But what is much more vital than this even, the American city is far behind the cities of every progressive nation in the world in the matter of the ownership of revenue producing enterprises. If the American city is to be made efficient in the true sense of the word, it will be compelled to deliberately assume the policy which the European city long ago assumed, viz., in investing in revenue producing enterprises—water works, gas plants, lighting plants, street car system and all other public utilities, and especially land and sites. But every step in this direction involves, of course, an initial investment. And while the gradual introduction of this policy will enable the cities to use revenues produced by one utility in instituting the public ownership and operation of the next, it is nevertheless difficult, if not impossible, to inaugurate this programme without some increase in the tax burden. And yet there is no more essential feature, no more vital element in the efficiency of city government than this.

So the mere matter of reduced taxes cannot be taken as any evidence of efficiency. Other matters enter for consideration.

Again it is claimed that the commissions in certain cities have introduced more business-like methods in the municipal accounting. But scientific budget making is being developed on a much larger scale and in a much more thorough-going way in such cities as Chicago, New York and Milwaukee, than in any of the commissioned governed cities. So this can hardly be claimed as an evidence of increased efficiency. The achievements of a purchasing department, of a bureau of efficiency and economy are also urged as evidences of greater efficiency. But these details have also been established in many cities without the commis-

more difficult to fix the responsibility rather made equally good records.

In short, it is difficult for the advocates of the commission form of government to point out specific instances of increased efficiency under their commission, that has not been equalled somewhere in other cities that are not under the commission form.

In view of these facts, too much weight cannot be permitted to the claims made by the advocates of the commission form. While it may be admitted that there have been some gains, they do not all stand to the credit of the commission form of government as to mere form.

#### 6. EXPERIENCE IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

The commission form of government, as has already been pointed out, is not the result of a careful or comprehensive study of the problems of municipal government. It seems rather to have been stumbled upon and had its inception in an accident—the calamity at Galveston. It seems strange that the students of municipal government in America should not have come forward long before this, with some carefully prepared plan of municipal reform, based upon a thorough investigation of the subject in this and other countries. It is not to be expected, of course, that America should copy the forms of municipal government found in other countries; but it would be the height of folly for the people of this nation to disregard entirely the experience of other lands in the matter of municipal government, especially in view of the fact that other countries have made such notable achievements in that line. But this seems to be exactly what the advocates of the commission form of government have done. They have overlooked entirely and disregarded the experience of other nations.

(1) THE GERMAN FORM OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. Without doubt the best governed cities in the world, and particularly the most efficient, are the cities of Germany. While of course the Socialists of this country would by no means advocate the election forms of the German cities, it is interesting to note that in those particular respects in which the commission form of government is said to excel, the German cities have long ago made their greatest achievements. The German municipal government is efficient. And as compared to the American cities, they are decidedly progressive as well.

These things—efficiency and progressiveness, have been achieved in the German cities, not under the commission form of government, but quite the opposite. The general form of city government in Germany is that of a large council. There are 126 members of the city council of Berlin; Breslau has 100; Dresden 70. The councilmen are also elected from the wards or districts, and these in turn elect the heads of departments. These latter constitute a second body, handling in general the administrative affairs of the city. In addition to these two bodies are numerous commissions, part of them salaried and part of them rendering services without pay. The council selects the mayor, who need not be, and generally is not, a resident of the city, but is selected solely for his efficiency, ability and knowledge of municipal problems. The heads of the departments are also selected in a similar way and serve for long terms, sometimes for life.

Now, whether this form of government be better than the usual council form in America or not, one thing is certain—this, and not the commission form, is the one

under which the German municipal government has reached its high degree of efficiency.

If the form of government has anything to do with it, then the experience of Germany is against the commission form of government.

(2) **THE ENGLISH FORM OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.** The experience of England is somewhat similar to that of Germany. Prior to 1835 the English people had their problems of political corruption and municipal misrule, similar to those we have in America at the present time. Then came the municipal reform act, which, while it did not change the form of their government materially, nevertheless produced a profound effect for the better upon municipal government in England until today probably the next best governed cities in the world to those of Germany are the English.

Here again it is not the commission form of government under which efficiency has arisen, but quite the opposite. The council is a large body. Glasgow has 77 members; Manchester 124; Liverpool 134. They are also elected as in Germany from the various wards. And besides politics are not excluded from municipal government as is proposed by advocates of the commission form. There are generally two or three councilmen from each ward. This elected council then selects a second body one-third as large as the elective council. These two houses working together select the mayor, usually from their own membership. But the mayor has little power in the English city. These two bodies also select all other city officials.

Thus the English experience further disproves the contention of the advocates of the commission form of government, that only by the abolition of ward lines and the election of the small body at large, can efficient municipal government be attained. The English cities are well governed and have been well governed for nearly three generations. Moreover, the English city government is comparatively free from graft in spite of the fact that almost universally the cities own and operate large and important public utilities and employ thousands of men and spend millions of dollars every year.

And this has been accomplished, not under the commission form of government, but quite the opposite.

(3) **THE FRENCH FORM OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.** The municipal code of France permits the cities to choose their council either at large or by wards. The majority of the smaller cities elect their council at large, but most of the larger ones have chosen the ward plan. The elections are not non-partisan, nor are majority elections required. The council here as in Germany and England selects the administrative organizations. Nor is the council a small body as proposed by the commission advocates. The average for the ordinary French city is at least thirty-six.

In the French city the council elects the mayor who is a much more responsible official than the burgomaster in Germany and much more so than the mayor in England. He appoints all city officials except the treasurer and a few other important officers which are filled by the national government. His appointments are not even subject to the ratification of a council and he can remove any official except those of the police department.

Thus the experience of these countries in which the highest degree of efficiency of municipal government has been attained,

affords no encouragement to the idea of the commission form. On the contrary, whatever efficiency has been attained in these countries has been attained by a movement in the opposite direction.

## 7. DESIRABLE FORMS AND FEATURES OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

In connection with the commission form of government are a number of features which all must agree are desirable. This fact requires discrimination in stating the position which the socialist party should take. If the party either locally or otherwise takes a stand against the commission form of government unqualifiedly, it thereby puts itself in opposition to certain desirable features that have been attached to the commission form. It is necessary therefore to study carefully the form and the various features of each particular city charter and the general state act as it comes forward. The attitude that the party is to take in any city or state can be determined by the particular form and the specific features of the commission form proposed.

(1) **HOME RULE.** Wherever the general state acts establishing the commission form of government proposes a greater degree of home rule than the cities in that state already enjoy, the party will have to consider seriously whether such a law even though objectionable in some other features, will not be to the advantage of the cities in the state. Above almost everything else, home rule and the right of self-government, the right of the city to manage its own affairs, is most important. Especially in the fight for municipal ownership, for direct employment, for trades union conditions of labor, the union label, the union scale, the eight-hour day and union conditions, home rule is essential.

Many of the commission charters, so far as we can discover, do not add one iota of home rule to the city's power. Many of the states have secured home rule entirely apart from the commission form and we believe the rest of the states would in time secure the same. Where the cities do not yet enjoy home rule, and the state law establishing the commission form does give the city more home rule, there the party should consider seriously whether it is not better to support the commission form on that account. And this will have to be determined in each case by a careful and discriminate estimate of the degree of home rule secured, and the question of whether there are other objectionable features that overbalance the possible advantages of the home rule involved.

(2) **THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL.** The Socialist party everywhere, of course, is seeking to establish direct legislation and greater control by the people over the government. The initiative, referendum and recall are means to that end. They are proposed in connection with the commission form in the great majority of cases. Here, again, the party will have to exercise discriminating judgment in determining its attitude.

Some matters are clear, however. Where any of these forms are missing in the proposed charter or State law, there the party should make a vigorous fight to have them included. And where the percentages are too high, the party should fight for their reduction. In our opinion the initiative should not require the signatures of more than ten per cent of the voters; the referendum should not require more than fifteen per cent and the recall should not require more than twenty per cent. These figures,

ever, are arbitrary but are the figures that are coming to be regarded by the kinds of direct legislation as being near the desired point. The percentages would not be so high as to make the device too difficult of putting into operation, should they be so low as to interfere with the efficient operation of the municipal government.

3) **SIZE OF THE GOVERNING BODY.** In the smaller cities, the five members proposed by the commission form are doubtless sufficient. It is desirable to keep the forms of government as simple as the situation will warrant. But in the larger cities, we do not believe the small body of five men is sufficient to insure efficiency. I do not agree with the contention put forth by most advocates of the commission form, that there should be such a sweeping reduction of the number of elected officials and increase of the number of appointive officials as would be involved by the change of form of government in a large city of say 400,000 population or more, from the present council and mayor form of government, to that of a commission form. For the large cities, our committee would recommend a modification of the present form of municipal government, drawn from the best experiences of European and American cities in this respect rather than the commission form.

(4) **SALARIES.** One good feature of the commission form of government is the fact that it generally provides for a salary for the elected commissioners and large enough to attract men of capacity into the public service and to enable them to devote their entire time to it. This we believe to be essential. Without salaries for public officials, the working class can hardly be expected to take any part in civic life. The necessity of earning a living and the difficulty attendant thereto makes it impossible for them to devote their time to public service. The failure to provide salaries, therefore, results either in office holding becoming the special privilege of the wealthy class, or it deteriorates into something worse. The provision of adequate salaries we believe to be an essential feature of municipal government.

(5) **SELECTING THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.** One serious and objectionable feature of most of the commission form charters and laws is the fact that the five commissioners are elected without any reference to the work that they are to perform and are allowed afterwards to divide among themselves which men are to be put at the head of the five respective departments. A few of the commission charters, however, have remedied this defect. This is notably the case of the Grand Junction, Colorado, charter, which is perhaps on the whole one of the best. Under

the usual form, the five most popular candidates might be elected as commissioners and all of them be well qualified to fill one or two of the offices of heads of departments, while no one might be elected who is qualified to fill the others. The people are better able to determine the fitness of a man for a certain office than are the commissioners by trade and wire pulling after election.

It seems strange that the Grand Junction form should not have been insisted upon in more of the charters. There can be no justification for the plan by which the commissioners are allowed to select the offices for themselves after they are elected.

#### IN CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, the study of the movement for the commission form of government for cities in America reveals the fact that the forms proposed vary greatly in detail. Indeed, there is a great variation even in essential features. Furthermore, the form itself has been passing through the process of modification since its inception. This change and modification is still going on. There has not yet been proposed a final and definite form of the commission form of government; the whole matter is in process of development.

In view of these facts, it is impossible at the present time, we believe, to lay down or to fix any definite policy that shall apply equally to all the states and all of the cities with reference to this matter. Certain general principles may be stated. Certain errors and fallacies of the arguments may be pointed out, certain evils opposed. And where the form is entirely objectionable, it may be defeated.

In some cases the Socialist party organizations have already used their influence against certain objectionable forms and defeated them. In other cases they have compelled a modification of the form by insisting on the introduction of certain features that had been omitted. And so far as your committee can see, this discriminating attitude, varying with the conditions that concern the party in different localities, and varying as the movement varies, will have to be the position of the party.

One thing, however, your committee would recommend, viz., That a committee be appointed by the convention to study further the best forms of municipal government and to submit the results of their work as a basis for a form that may be proposed as an alternative and improvement upon the commission plan.

Respectfully submitted,

J. J. JACOBSEN (Ia.), Chairman,  
CARL D. THOMPSON (Wis.), Secretary,  
WINNIE E. BRANSTETTER (Okla.),  
JASPER M'LEVY (Conn.),

Committee.

## APPENDIX D

### Report of Farmers' Committee.

During the decade just passed agriculture in America has entered upon a new stage of evolution, which both in direction and velocity of movement differs sharply from that of previous years. The causes of this change are several.

1. Free land has disappeared and the value of that now under cultivation is increasing more rapidly than ever before. From 1900 to 1910 this increase amounted to over 100 per cent for the entire nation. In the upper Mississippi valley, in so far as the census statistics are available, it appears that the value of the average farm is now about \$15,000. (In Illinois, \$15,505; in Iowa, \$17,259.) This is a sum fully equal to that which now separates the average wage worker from ownership in the tools of his industry, and indicates that from now on the landless farmer must surrender all hope of ever entering the class of farm owners.

2. That the conclusion drawn above is correct is borne out by the fact that in the three states of Indiana, Iowa and Illinois (the only ones in this locality from which the census data is available) the total number of farms has decreased from 714,670 in 1900 to 684,410 in 1910. The agricultural counties of these states, almost without exception show an absolute decrease in population, a still further proof of the same facts.

Still another fact leading to the same conclusion that the class of small farm owners is disappearing is the census statement that in these three states the number of farms of between 20 and 100 acres in area has absolutely decreased, while those of less than ten acres and of more than 175, show the most rapid rate of increase. This fact is indicative of the two forms in which agricultural concentration is operating: through the formation of intensively cultivated, artificially heated and wage-worker operated suburban market gardens, and large mechanically cultivated farms.

Perhaps more important than any of the above facts as showing the growing separation of the farmer from the land is seen in the remarkably accelerating rate at which farm tenantry is progressing. The census bulletins show that in the three states of Indiana, Iowa and Illinois, 30 per cent, 38 per cent and 41 per cent of all farms are now operated by tenants. Independent research shows that in the purely agricultural sections the actual average is over 50 per cent in these states. The situation in the South is even more striking. Here the census figures show that from 45 per cent to 66 per cent of all farms are operated by tenants, while investigation of the cotton farming districts (the overwhelmingly dominant agricultural industry) shows that fully 80 per cent of the cotton farms are operated by tenants, whose con-

dition is far below that of the average tory wage-worker.

The land is not the only instrument essential to agricultural production without ownership by the producer is growing more difficult. The cost of farm machinery, the animals necessary for cultivation where animal power is used is also increasing rapidly. With the introduction of other than animal power, which is progressing at a most revolutionary rate, this cost will soon render these instruments also far beyond the reach of the farm worker. Along with this goes the multiplication of subsidiary industries forming operations hitherto performed upon the farm, or which are immediately essential to agriculture, but the machinery for which are completely out of the ownership of the farmer. Such are sugar factories, canning factories, packing houses, alfalfa mills, cotton gins, rice mills, etc.

The workers affected by these conditions reached a total of more than ten million in 1910, and constitute by far the largest number embraced in any single branch of industry. To confess ourselves unable to include these in the program of Socialism is to surrender our position as the political representative of the working class.

Of these ten million, 3,933,705 are farm owners, and in spite of all the deficiencies mentioned above this group increased over a quarter of a million in the last ten years, a greater increase than to be found in any other single group of industrial workers, with the single and extremely significant exception of the group of farm tenants, which added a little over 320,000 to its numbers during the same period, and which now includes 2,349,000 workers.

Far larger than either of these divisions is that of agricultural laborers, of which there were nearly four million in 1910. This is significant, however, that these are scattered geographically, in sections largely apart from the other classes. So far as census data is available it appears that nearly twice as much money is spent on agricultural labor in the little county of Cook, in which the city of Chicago is located, than in any other county in the United States. In so far as farm laborers are employed either upon the highly capitalized and intensively cultivated gardens and green houses or upon large capitalistically organized ranches, fruit farms, mechanically operated farms in general, their problem is not distinctively different from that of other wage-workers save that hitherto the difficulties of propaganda, education and organization among them have been greater than among other classes of wage-workers. There are, however, certain definite steps (some of which are indicated in the program presented) which can be taken by a Socialist administered local

the government that will assist them in their struggle.

The extent of the problem, the complexity of the factors involved and the rapid changes that are now taking place in agriculture all emphasize the necessity of serious study of this problem and the need for the preparation of literature especially directed to this field, and the committee would place especial stress upon the urgent need for the preparation of literature and its extensive circulation.

As measures particularly suited to meet this problem we would recommend the adoption by the convention of the following program as indicating the lines of work to be pursued by a working class government for the especial relief of this largest division of that class:

#### PROPOSED FARMERS' PROGRAM.

1. The Socialist party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery, when such means are used for exploitation, shall be socially owned and democratically managed.

2. To prevent the holding of land out of use and to eliminate tenantry, we demand that all farm land not cultivated by farmers shall be taxed at its full rental value, and that actual use and occupancy shall be the only title to land.

3. We demand the retention by the national, state or local governing bodies of the land owned by them, and the continuous requirement of other land by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise; such land to be organized as rapidly as possible into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.

4. Such farms should constitute educational and experimental centers for crop culture, the use of fertilizers and farm machinery and distributing points for improved seeds and better breeds of animals.

5. The formation of co-operative associations for agricultural purposes should be encouraged.

6. Insurance against diseases of animals and plants, insect pests and natural calamities should be provided by national, state or local governments.

7. We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will open new opportunities to the agricultural wage-worker and to that extent free him from the tyranny of the private employer.

8. The Socialist party pledges its support to the renters and the agricultural wage workers in their attempts to organize to protect themselves from the aggressions of capitalism and the employers in agriculture.

While the above is offered as a general outline for the National Agricultural Program of the Socialist party, we wish to point out that there are such variations of conditions in the widely separated districts of the United States that to each section and to each state must be left the task of working out the further details of a program applicable to the peculiar agricultural conditions in their respective states and districts.

A. M. SIMONS, Chairman,

A. LEE,

OSCAR AMERINGER,

CARL D. THOMPSON,

JAMES H. MAURER,

CLYDE J. WRIGHT.

Committee.

## APPENDIX E

### Report of Committee on Co-operative Movement.

(Adopted by the Convention.)

Just as the labor unions fight for industrial self-control for the working class, the Socialist party for political self-control, and the labor and Socialist press for intellectual self-control for the workers, so the co-operative movement fights for an increasing degree of economic self-control for the workers through the ownership and use of industrial and commercial capital by organized groups of the workers.

The development and successful operation of the co-operative movement in connection with the international labor movement is an historical fact, which cannot be disputed. While in some countries it may seem for the time being to have checked other lines of working class activity, it seems to be true also that "the economic power of a class at a given stage of development turns into political power."

The value of the co-operative movement to the working class has been recognized by the Socialist party, though reluctantly at first. It was recently so recognized at the Copenhagen congress in 1910, the American delegates voting for the resolution.

Following the path of other national organizations of the Socialist party, the Socialist party of America must recognize the fact of the existence on the American continent of a successful co-operative movement, though it has not as yet been brought into any unified form.

Your committee has not been able to gather any adequate data, but is informed, from the personal knowledge of those who came before the committee, of distributive co-operatives doing a total business of not less than twenty million dollars a year, in only a few of the states of the Union. Nearly one thousand local organizations are within the knowledge of those reporting these facts to your committee, which are operating successfully.

That there is still room within the developing processes of the capitalist system in this country for the inauguration and building up of a strong and successful co-operative movement, is evident from the facts already adduced, especially in view of other and as yet unverified statements which are nevertheless largely of common knowledge.

The benefits claimed by those most closely connected with the international co-operative movement are three-fold, and relate to:

1. The furnishing of an improved quality of food and other supplies to the co-operators;

2. The actual increase of the economic resources of the co-operators, through the control of their own purchasing power, and the building up of reserve funds which have been of great service to the industrial and political arms of the labor movement;

3. The training of members of the working class in the processes of industrial and commercial administrative work, and developing this new capacity among themselves thus proving that it is possible not only to do without the capitalist's capital but also to do without his alleged superior intelligence.

The most successful co-operatives in America seem to be among the groups of foreign-speaking workers of the same nationality, who furnish a community highly homogeneous, having similar habits and customs of life; and among the farmers who find it possible to combine at once their buying and selling powers in the same organization.

In view of the failures which have occurred in this and other countries in connection with the efforts to establish co-operatives, we recommend that a committee of five persons be elected by this convention, not confined to delegates in the convention, who shall be given the assistance of the national office in making an investigation into the facts concerning the co-operative movement; the committee to make a special effort to ascertain what bearing the degree of industrial development and organization in any particular locality has upon the operation of co-operation in that locality; to make tentative reports from time to time through the national office and the party press; and to make a final report at the next national convention.

W. R. GAYLORD,

Wisconsin.

MRS. E. D. CORY,

Washington.

CALEB LIPSCOMB,

Missouri.

J. T. CUMBIE,

Oklahoma.

LEE LANG.

Iowa.

E. E. POWELL,

Ohio.

Committee

## APPENDIX F

## Report of Committee on Labor Organization and Their Relation to the Party.

## ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION.

Political organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation. The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement—the Socialist Party and the Labor Unions.

The labor movement of the United States of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades industries which were before unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and increased its efficiency by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and industrial unions. Many unions have opened their meetings and journals to the discussion of vital social and political problems of the working class, and have repudiated the demoralizing politics represented by the National Civic Federation. The organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened and militant class-consciousness.

The reality of this progress is attested by the increasing virulence with which the organized capitalists wage their war against the union. This improved economic organization is not a matter of abstract theory, but grows out of the experience of the wage workers in the class struggle. Only those actually engaged in the struggle in the various trades and industries can solve the problems of form of organization.

The Socialist party therefore reaffirms its position it has always taken with regard to the movement of organized labor: That the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

2. That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor, if they remain neglected. The Socialist party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, who have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong class-consciousness and closely united organizations on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

3. That it is the duty of the Party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition.

4. That it is the duty of the members of the Socialist party who are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations.

OSCAR AMERINGER,  
TOM CLIFFORD,  
JOB HARRIMAN,  
TOM HICKEY,  
ALGERNON LEE,  
TOM J. LEWIS,  
JAMES H. MAURER,  
WILLIAM E. RODRIGUEZ,  
DAN A. WHITE, Committee.

## APPENDIX G

### Report of Platform Committee as Revised and Adopted by the Convention

The Socialist party declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of hundreds of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water-powers of every state in the union.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rent, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties remain the faithful servants of the oppres-

sors. Measures designed to secure to the wage earners of this nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulatory measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing their power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In addition to this legislative jugglery and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave-power before the civil war. They have been used as instruments for the oppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assembly.

We declare, therefore, that the long suffering of these conditions is impossible and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that if these evils there will be and can be remedied and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government, legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to an order of society, right or wrong.



The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties but the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only alliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or the triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

### WORKING PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance to capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

#### COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP.

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.

4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of years.

5. By the co-operative organization of the industries in the federal penitentiaries for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents.

6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.

7. By abolishing the profit system in government work and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.

8. By establishing minimum wage scales.

9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the State of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

#### POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of

inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.

6. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President.

7. The election of the President and the Vice-President by direct vote of the people.

8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the States.

10. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits.

The Bureau of Education to be made Department.

13. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health with such restrictions as will secure freedom to all schools of practice.

14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit courts of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

17. The free administration of the law.

18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and then come to their rightful inheritance.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL,

VICTOR L. BERGER,

JAMES F. CAREY,

J. STITT WILSON,

W. J. GHENT,

LEWIS J. DUNCAN,

CHARLES DOBBS,

DAN HOGAN,

A. W. RICKER, Committee.

## APPENDIX H

### National Constitution as Revised and Adopted by the Convention.

Amended by the National Convention of the party, May, 1912, and approved by referendum Aug. 4, 1912.

Issued by the National Office of the Socialist Party, 111 North Market street, Chicago.

#### ARTICLE I. Name.

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in such states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

#### ARTICLE II. Membership.

Sec. 1. Every person, resident of the United States of the age of eighteen years and upward, without discrimination as to sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties and political organizations, and subscribes to the principles of the Socialist Party, including political action and unrestricted political rights for both sexes, shall be eligible to membership in the party.

Sec. 2. No person holding an elective public office by gift of any party or organization other than the Socialist Party shall be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party; nor shall any member of the party accept or hold any appointive public office, honorary or remunerative (Civil Service positions excepted), without the consent of his state organization. No party member shall be a candidate for public office without the consent of the City, County or State organizations, according to the nature of the office.

Sec. 3. A member who desires to transfer his membership from the party in one state to the party in another state may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer and also a transfer card duly signed by the secretary of the local from which he transfers.

Sec. 4. No member of the party, in any state or territory, shall, under any pretext, interfere with the regular or organized movement in any other state.

Sec. 5. All persons joining the Socialist Party shall sign the following pledge:

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class and the necessity of the working class constituting itself into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the capitalist class, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other parties, and I indorse the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party including the principle of political action, and hereby apply for admission to said party."

Sec. 6. Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates

crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform.

#### ARTICLE III. Management.

Sec. 1. The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by the National Committee, its sub-committees and officials, the National Convention and the general vote of the party.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### National Committee.

Sec. 1. The National Committee shall consist of the State Secretaries of all organized states and territories, or such other person as the members of the party in the state shall elect by referendum vote, and of one additional member from each state or territory for every 3,000 members in good standing in such state or territory. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory may be entitled, the Executive Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each calendar year the average dues-paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year.

Sec. 2. Three years' consecutive membership in the party shall be necessary to qualify for membership in the National Committee, its standing sub-committees, and executive officials.

Sec. 3. The National Committee shall meet in regular session on the first Sunday after the first Monday in May of each year, except in years when National Conventions of the party are to be held, in which years it shall hold its sessions in conjunction with the convention.

Sec. 4. Special meetings of the National Committee shall be held when determined by vote of two-thirds of its members.

Sec. 5. The members of the National Committee attending the meetings shall be paid from the national treasury their railroad fares and \$2.50 per day to cover expenses.

#### ARTICLE V.

##### The Duties and Powers of the National Committee.

Sec. 1. The duties of this committee shall be:

(a) To represent the party in all National and International affairs.

(b) To call National Conventions and special conventions decided upon by the referendum of the party.

(c) To make reports of the membership and reports and recommendations to the National Conventions.

(d) To perfect and strengthen the organization and the work of propaganda in such states and territories as may require the assistance of the National Organization.

(e) To maintain in connection with the National Office a Lecture Bureau for the purpose of arranging lectures or lecture courses for the propaganda of Socialism; a Literature Bureau for the publication and dissemination of Socialist literature, a press service that will furnish patent and plate matter for Socialist papers, and such other bureaus or departments as it may from time to time decide to establish.

(f) To establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under the auspices of the National organization.

(g) To formulate the rules and order of business of the National Conventions of the party and otherwise provided for by this constitution, subject to adoption and amendment by the convention.

(h) To receive dues and reports from state organizations.

(i) To conduct national referendums in the manner provided by this constitution, to consider and report upon the program, propaganda and organization of the party.

(j) To recommend to the membership of the party amendments to the constitution.

(k) To supervise the work and to transact all current business of the National Office.

Sec. 2. The National Committee shall elect an Executive Committee of five members and a Woman's National Committee of seven members; no two members of either of these committees shall be from the same state.

Sec. 3. It shall also elect an Executive Secretary, and a General Correspondent for the Woman's National Committee.

Sec. 4. The members of the Executive Committee and of the Woman's National Committee need not be members of the National Committee and the Executive Secretary and General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee shall not be members of the committee.

Sec. 5. Members of the Executive Committee, Woman's National Committee, the Executive Secretary and the General Correspondent of the said committee may at any time and on proper motion be recalled or temporarily suspended from office by the National Committee.

Sec. 6. No member of the National Committee or of the Executive Committee shall be eligible to any position of permanent employment in the National Office, but such members may be appointed lecturers of courses arranged by the National Office and may be given temporary assignments for special party work.

Sec. 7. The National Committee shall elect from its own membership a permanent chairman, who shall serve without salary. The committee shall formulate its own rules of procedure, not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution.

Sec. 8. All standing committees and permanent officers of the National Committee shall be elected at the regular meetings of the committee and shall serve for the term of one year from the first day of June following the date of their election.

Sec. 9. The election of the Executive Committee, the Woman's National Committee, the Executive Secretary, General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee and the submission of proposed amendments to this constitution, and all

other affirmative actions of the committee shall be taken at its regular or special meetings. Between such meetings the National Committee shall initiate motions or resolutions except as hereinafter provided, and except motions recall members of the sub-committees, officials elected by it, or to fill vacancies in such committees and offices. All business of the National Committee shall, during the intervals between its sessions, be transacted by correspondence.

Sec. 10. Members of the Executive Committee, the Woman's National Committee, the Executive Secretary, General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee and all other National Officials may be recalled at any time by the membership of the party in the same manner which has been provided for the initiation and conduct of national referendums.

Sec. 11. No motion shall be submitted to a referendum of the National Committee by correspondence unless supported within fifteen days by not less than five members of the National Committee from three different states.

Sec. 12. Neither the National Committee nor the Executive Committee shall appropriate funds of the National organization for any purpose not directly connected with the propaganda of Socialism or the struggles of labor; no more than one hundred dollars shall be appropriated to any organization other than a subdivision of the party; no application for financial assistance coming from local or other subdivisions of state organizations shall be entertained unless they have the indorsement of the state organization.

## ARTICLE VI.

### Executive Committee.

Sec. 1. The Executive Committee shall between sessions of the National Committee, be vested with all the powers and shall perform all the duties of the National Committee except that it shall have no power to call National Conventions, formulate rules for the conventions, recommend amendments to the constitution or fill vacancies in its own body or in the Woman's National Committee or in the office of the Executive Secretary or the General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee or to recall such members or officer.

Sec. 2. The Executive Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution, or with the rules of the National Committee. A stenographic report of all discussions taking place in the committee shall be kept for the information of the National Committee.

Sec. 3. The Executive Committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the National Committee; such minutes shall also be published in the Monthly Bulletin. Acts and resolutions of the Executive Committee shall become binding and effective upon their passage, but a member of the National Committee may within fifteen days after notice of such act or resolution has been mailed by the National Office to the members of the National Committee, move to reverse or modify such act or resolution, and such motion shall be disposed of in the same manner as other National Committee motions.

Sec. 4. All meetings of the National Committee and of the Executive Committee shall be held in the city in which the headquarters of the party shall be located.

Sec. 5. The Executive Committee shall print a specific statement in the Bulletin of all moneys expended for printing leaflets and books, and the names of the same and their authors.

#### ARTICLE VII.

##### Executive Secretary.

Sec. 1. The Executive Secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of \$1,500.00 annually and shall give a bond in a sum fixed by the National Committee.

Sec. 2. The Executive Secretary shall have charge of all affairs of the National Office, including the employment of necessary help, subject to the directions of the Executive Committee and the National Committee. He shall receive the reports of the state organizations and of the local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the National Office and the Lecture Bureau, the Literature Bureau and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the National Office.

Sec. 3. The Executive Secretary shall issue to all party organizations Monthly Bulletins which shall contain all important official reports and announcements; a report of the financial affairs of the party; a summary of the conditions and membership of the several state and territorial organizations; the principal business transacted by the National officials and such other matters pertaining to the organization of the party as may be of general interest to the membership. No personal correspondence shall be published.

The Bulletin shall be largely given to accounts of the more important organization and propaganda work of the national, state, territorial and local organizations, and to the work, discussion and explanation of new and effective methods of organization, education and propaganda.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

##### Representatives in Congress.

Sec. 1. Members of Congress elected on the ticket of the Socialist Party shall submit reports of their actions in Congress to the National Conventions and to the annual meetings of the National Committee.

Sec. 2. They shall carry out instructions which may be given to them by National Conventions, by the National Committee in session, or by a general referendum of the party.

Sec. 3. The Socialist representatives in Congress shall organize themselves into a Socialist Congressional group, separate and apart from all other political parties represented in Congress. They shall elect a chairman of the group, shall confer with each other on all measures involving questions of Socialist principles, policy and tactics, and shall vote on such questions as a unit according to the decision of a majority of the members.

#### ARTICLE IX.

##### Conventions.

Sec. 1. The regular National Conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for President and Vice-President of the United States are to be held.

Sec. 2. Special Conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership. Such general vote shall also fix the date and place of such special convention.

Sec. 3. The date and place of the regular conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee at its regular annual meeting held in the year preceding such convention.

Sec. 4. The National Convention shall be composed of three hundred delegates to be apportioned among the states in the following manner:

One from each State and Territory and the remainder in proportion to the average national dues paid by the organizations of such States and Territories during the preceding year. No delegate shall be eligible unless he is a resident member of the state from which his credential is presented, and shall have been a member of the party organization at least three years.

Sec. 5. Railroad fare, including tourist sleeper carfare, of delegates going to and coming from the conventions of the party and the per diem allowance of \$2.50 to cover expenses, shall be paid from the National Treasury, by setting aside a portion of the national dues sufficient to cover the same, to be estimated at the beginning of each year.

Sec. 6. The expenses of delegates attending conventions and of members of the National Committee and the Executive Committee attending the respective sessions of their committees shall be raised by setting aside such portion of the national dues as may be required to cover the same, to be computed by the National Committee annually in advance.

Sec. 7. The election of delegates to the National Convention shall, wherever possible, be completed not later than 60 days preceding the convention, and the respective state secretaries shall furnish the Executive Secretary with a list of accredited delegates immediately after said election.

The Executive Secretary shall prepare a printed roster of the accredited delegates to be sent to each delegate and forwarded to the party press for publication. Such list shall contain the occupation of each delegate at the time of his nomination and his office or employment in the party. All official reports required to be presented to the National Convention shall be printed and sent to each delegate elected at least fifteen days before the date of the convention and furnished to the party press for publication.

At the time and place set for the opening of the National Convention, the chairman of the National Committee shall call the convention to order, and shall call the roll to ascertain the number of uncontested delegates, and they shall permanently organize the convention.

Sec. 8. All national platforms, amendments of platforms, and resolutions adopted by any National Convention shall be submitted seriatim to a referendum vote of the membership. One-fourth of the regularly elected delegates shall be entitled to have alternative paragraphs to be submitted at the same time. Such alternative paragraphs, signed by one-fourth of such delegates, shall be filed with the Executive Secretary not later than one day after the adjournment of the convention.

#### ARTICLE X.

##### State Organizations.

Sec. 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the reorganization of state or territorial organizations which may have lapsed shall be under the direction of the Executive Committee and

in conformity with the rules of the National Committee.

Sec. 2. No state or territory may be organized unless it has at least ten locals or an aggregate membership of not less than two hundred, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states and territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution. When the membership of any state averages less than 150 per month for any six consecutive months the National Committee may revoke the charter of that state.

Sec. 3. The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto. No state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations, in order to favor the candidate of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or indorsement from any other party or political organization.

No member of the Socialist Party shall, under any circumstances, vote in primary or regular elections for any candidate other than Socialists nominated, indorsed or recommended as candidates by the Socialist Party. To do otherwise will constitute party treason, and result in expulsion from the party.

Sec. 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organizations shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory; provided, such propaganda is in harmony with the national platform and declared policy of the party. Their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the National Committee, its sub-committees or officers shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Sec. 5. The State Committees shall make monthly reports to the Executive Secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

During the months of January and July of each year, or at any other time required by the Executive Committee or by this constitution, the state secretaries shall furnish the Executive Secretary a list of all locals affiliated with their respective state organizations, together with the number of members in good standing, and the name and address of the corresponding secretary of each local. Refusal, failure or neglect to comply with this section shall subject the state organization to suspension from the Socialist Party and deprive such state organization of participation in the affairs of the Socialist Party, and shall be a forfeiture of the right to representation in the National Committee, the Executive Committee, the conventions and congresses of the party.

Sec. 6. The State Committees shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to five cents for each member in good standing within their respective states and territories. And only due stamps issued by the National Committee shall be affixed to members' dues cards as valid receipts for the payment of dues.

Sec. 7. The National Office shall also issue to the state secretaries "exempt stamps" free of charge, to be used by party members temporarily unable to pay

dues on account of unemployment caused by sickness, strikes, lockouts or any other condition not within their control. Cases where husband and wife are both party members and only one of them is receipt of an income the other may likewise be allowed to use such "exempt stamps."

Any member desiring to use such "exempt stamps" shall make application therefor to the financial secretary of his local organization, and such application shall be passed upon by such organization. "Exempt stamps" shall be issued only to members in good standing who have paid dues for at least three months and who are by the same action exempt from the payment of dues to the state and local organizations. The number of "exempt stamps" shall not exceed 10 percent of the total number of stamps obtained by the respective state organizations. The acceptance of "exempt stamps" by any member shall in no way disqualify such member from any rights and privileges of party membership.

Sec. 8. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

Sec. 9. No person shall be nominated or indorsed by any subdivision of the party for candidate for public office unless he is a member of the party and has been such for at least two years. But this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than two years.

Sec. 10. No local or branch organization shall be formed on the basis of the occupation of its members.

#### ARTICLE XI.

##### Headquarters.

Sec. 1. The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the National Committee.

#### ARTICLE XII.

##### International Delegates and International Secretaries.

Delegates to the International Congress and International Secretary shall be elected by referendum in the year in which the Congress is held. The call for nominations shall be made on the first day of January. Forty days shall be allowed for nominations, fifteen for acceptance and declarations and sixty for the referendum. There shall be one delegate for every twenty thousand members, ascertained by computing the average for the preceding year. The requisite number of candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected. The next highest in the election shall be the alternate. The expenses of the delegates and a per diem equal to the per diem fixed for national organizers and lecturers shall be paid out of the national treasury.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

##### Woman's National Committee.

Sec. 1. The Woman's National Committee shall have the general charge of propaganda and organization among women. All plans of said committee conducted in by the Executive Committee shall be carried out at the expense of the National Office.

Sec. 2. The General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee shall be attached to the National Office.

Sec. 3. The Woman's National Committee shall meet in regular session once each year, in conjunction with the session of the National Committee. Special meet-

ings of the Woman's Committee may be called at any time by the concurrent consent of the Executive Committee and the Woman's National Committee.

Sec. 4. Railroad fares and expenses of the members of the Woman's National Committee shall be paid by the National Office on the same basis as the fares and expenses of the members of the National Committee.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

##### Foreign Speaking Federations.

Sec. 1. Five branches of the Socialist Party working in any other language than English shall have the right to form a National Federation under the supervision of the Executive Secretary and the Executive Committee.

Sec. 2. Such National Language Federation shall have the right to elect an officer known as Translator-Secretary, who shall be conversant with his own language as well as the English language, and whose duty it shall be to serve as a medium of communication between his federation and the National Organization of the Socialist Party.

Sec. 3. When such National Language Federation shall have at least 500 members their Translator-Secretary shall be entitled to necessary office room in the National Office, and to a salary from the national body not to exceed \$28 per week, nor to be less than \$15, the exact sum to be fixed by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Such Translator-Secretary must be at least three consecutive years a member of the party except when his federation has not been affiliated with the party that length of time.

Sec. 4. Language federations shall pay to the National Office the same sum monthly per capita as paid by the State Organizations, receiving in exchange therefor due stamps. They shall also pay through the Translator-Secretary to the regular state and county or city organization 50 per cent of the dues paid by the English speaking branches. The Translator-Secretary shall pay to the respective State Secretaries the tax on all members of his nationality in the states. The State Secretary shall forward the county dues to the respective county secretaries, wherever there is an organized county.

Sec. 5. Branches of language federations shall be an integral part of the county and state organizations, and must in all cases work in harmony with the constitution and platform of the state and county organizations of the Socialist Party.

Sec. 6. All propaganda work of the language federations shall be carried out under the supervision of their executive officers according to the by-laws of the federations. Such by-laws must be in conformity with the constitution of the Socialist Party.

Sec. 7. Each Translator-Secretary shall submit a monthly report of the dues stamps sold during that period to the National and State offices. He shall make every three months, also, a report of the general standing of his federation to the National Office.

Sec. 8. The National Party shall not recognize more than one federation of the same language.

Sec. 9. Each national federation shall be entitled to elect one fraternal delegate to the National Conventions of the

party; provided, that such delegate shall have a voice but no vote.

#### ARTICLE XV.

##### Referendum.

Sec. 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the Executive Secretary to the referendum vote of the party membership, upon the request of at least three states representing at least 5 per cent of the entire membership of the party, on the basis of dues paid in the preceding year, or of five states regardless of membership. The term "state," as herein used, shall be construed to mean the membership of a state organization, the State Committee or a duly authorized State Executive Committee.

Sec. 2. Such a referendum may be initiated by one State, and when so initiated shall remain open for ninety days from the date of its first publication, and unless it shall receive the requisite number of seconds within such period it shall be abandoned. The vote on every such referendum shall close sixty days from the date of its submission.

Sec. 3. Referendums to revoke or amend the provisions of this constitution may be instituted only one year after the adoption of such provisions.

#### ARTICLE XVI.

##### Amendments.

Sec. 1. This constitution may be amended by a National Convention, National Committee in session, or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided. But all amendments made by a National Convention or National Committee in session shall be submitted seriatim to a referendum vote of the party membership.

Sec. 2. All amendments shall take effect sixty days after being approved by the membership.

#### ARTICLE XVII.

##### Tenure.

Sec. 1. The members of the Executive Committee, the Woman's National Committee, the National Secretary and the General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee, now in office, shall remain in office until June 1, 1913, when the members of the Executive Committee, the Woman's National Committee, the Executive Secretary and the General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee, elected by the National Committee as herein provided, shall take their respective places.

Sec. 2. As soon as this constitution shall take effect, the provisions of the same affecting the Executive Committee, the Woman's National Committee, the Executive Secretary, and the General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee shall be binding upon the corresponding officers under the present constitution in so far as they are capable of application to them, and when not so applicable, the provisions of the present constitution shall govern.

Between the time when this constitution takes effect and the first day of April, 1913, all state organizations shall elect members of the National Committee in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

## APPENDIX I

### Report of the Woman's Department.

To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:.

There is nothing more hopeful in the outlook for the Socialist Party than the rapid growth in the number of woman members and the increasing scope of their work in all matters pertaining to its welfare.

Ten years ago the woman's movement in our party was a negligible quantity, existing chiefly in the minds of a few devoted women.

At the birth of the present Socialist Party, which took place at the Unity Convention of 1901, there were eight women who attended as regularly elected delegates.

Their influence was that of individual women and not that of representatives of any special movement of unrest or protest among the women of the working class. Such a movement had not yet had time for formation and we find no mention made in the minutes of the convention of woman's activity in the party organization, or of any need for special propaganda among women. The only mention made of the party's attitude toward women is in the platform, which demands "equal civil and political rights for men and women."

Three years later, in the national convention of 1904, the number of women delegates had not increased. California, Oregon, Colorado, Iowa, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania each sent one, while Kansas sent two women in a delegation of six.

In the proceedings of this convention, also, we search in vain for any acknowledgment of the special wrongs or needs of the working women, or of the necessity for any particular line of work to reach them with the Socialist message and enlist them in the party organization.

The constitution remained silent upon the organization of women, and the platform simply demanded equal suffrage for men and women.

The Socialist women definitely made their debut in the party organization at the National Convention of 1908. Twenty of them appeared upon the floor of the convention as delegates from fourteen states. Each of the twenty had a decided opinion as to the best way to reach her sisters and bring them into the fold.

From the first day to the last no group in the convention was more active and aggressive than were the women.

During the years from 1904 to 1908 the Socialist party had awakened to the fact that the "woman question" was a vital, living issue and must receive consideration. So, on the afternoon of the first day, the committee on rules recommended that "a committee on women and their relationship to the Socialist Party shall be elected, to consist of nine members," and the committee was duly elected.

The report of this committee recommended that a permanent Woman's National Committee, consisting of five members, be elected to formulate plans for, and to have charge of, the special work of propaganda and organization among women. It also provided that a special woman organizer be kept permanently in the field.

Not only did the convention adopt the above plans for pushing the work among women, but it also enlarged upon the meager platform demand of 1904 by inserting the plank, "Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction."

The quiet, earnest work of the women pioneers had at least borne fruit and woman's share in the affairs of the party was now officially recognized. It but remained for her to outline her plan of action and put it into effect.

The Woman's National Committee proceeded to do this in a most efficient manner. A "Plan of Work for Women in Socialist Locals" was prepared and widely circulated.

Special leaflets dealing with many phases of the woman question and the industrial conditions particularly affecting women and children, were published.

By 1910 the special woman's work was so well established that the National Party Congress of that year embodied in the National Constitution provisions for its continuance. An amendment which was included in the report of the Committee on Constitution and adopted by the Congress provided that a Woman's National Committee, consisting of seven women, be elected in a manner similar to the election of the National Executive Committee and that it have charge of the propaganda and organization among women. It further provided that all plans of the committee concurred in by the National Executive Committee be carried out at the expense of the National Office.

The closing paragraph of the report of the Woman's National Committee contained the recommendation that there be installed a Woman's Department in the National Office and that the manager of this department be one of the regular employees of the office. The report was adopted.

Now, indeed, the women had become bona fide institution in the party organization. The Woman's National Committee elected a general correspondent to take charge of the Woman's Department and the work among women was established upon permanent basis.

#### GENERAL RESULTS OF 1910-'11.

Much has been accomplished within the past two years. Many local woman's committees have been organized, hundreds of thousands of leaflets for women have been



distributed. Women are serving as secretaries of five states, and of two hundred and seventy locals.

One member of the National Executive Committee, two members of the National Committee and one of the International Secretaries are women. Fifteen states have women State Correspondents. Among our best known national lecturers and organizers, eight are women, and over twenty women have come under our notice as doing exceptionally good work on the Socialist platform in a national way.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the results of the special agitation among women that the Socialist Party has been carrying on during the last two years.

We have been unable to get complete information regarding the number of women members of the party or the number of women's committees, although several women's letters have been sent to the local and state secretaries, asking them for this information. A very small per cent of the secretaries complied with the request. It is roughly estimated, however, that the women constitute one-tenth of the entire membership.

About two hundred and fifty circular letters were sent out to locals having active women members, requesting answers to certain questions. Thirty-five replies were received. A summary of the work done by the women in these thirty-five locals shows remarkable activity. But no summary in dollars and cents can measure the actual result of their work. It represents an educational growth that is preparing many thousands of women and young girls to take part intelligently in the class struggle and work side by side with their brothers in winning the emancipation of the working class.

The summary of the reports from these thirty-five committees shows that these locals have a combined membership of 1,677 women.

During the year 1911 these committees have held 850 meetings. This does not account for all the woman's meetings, held, even in these thirty-five places. In the New York and Chicago reports, only the largest and most important meetings were recorded. Meetings held by the woman members in the individual branches were not reported for either of these cities.

During the year 1911 and the latter part of 1910, these committees through their own efforts, raised nearly \$10,000, or, to be exact, \$9,740.09. This is exclusive of the money they helped to raise in the regular work of the locals; \$5,893.96 were raised for strike benefits, \$866.50 for campaign funds, \$529.49 for the support of the Socialist press, \$337.35 for assisting in the furnishing of local headquarters, and \$214.93 were spent for special literature for women.

When we realize that \$10,000 were raised by the women in only thirty-five out of the five thousand Socialist locals and branches in the United States, we can begin to appreciate that from a financial standpoint, if not from any other, it is important to enlist the women in the active work as members of the party.

In ten of these cities—those large enough to require the assistance of the women—they were at the polls serving as watchers and clerks. They also served as registration clerks and, in Los Angeles, went from house to house instructing the women how to vote.

During the Shirtwaist Strike in New York and the Garment Workers' Strike in Chicago, Socialist women addressed their

meetings, did picket service, gave benefits and assisted in every way possible.

The women not only fold and stamp the literature, but they go out with the men comrades and distribute it from door to door. They form themselves in squads and sell it at meetings, or distribute it free at the doors of factories and stores. Over 500,000 leaflets, besides thousands of copies of the Progressive Woman, have been distributed in this way.

### SOCIALIST SCHOOLS.

When women enter into any movement they take the children with them. Four of our large cities report excellent work being done among the children.

New York has several Socialist schools. Lessons are prepared by May Wood-Simons, Edith C. Breithut and others. The New York schools are experimenting with these lessons and if they are a success they will be published and put into general use throughout the country for next year's work. The demand for material for Socialist schools is constantly on the increase. By another year a systematic course of lessons should be ready for use.

Rochester, N. Y., has a school with an average attendance of two hundred pupils. Los Angeles, California, reports a splendid school which they call a Socialist Lyceum.

New Jersey has elected a special school committee, which has prepared a leaflet giving excellent instructions regarding the organization of Socialist schools. This committee is entering upon its work in a thorough manner and good results may be expected.

The New York State Committee on Socialist Schools prepared an outline on "How to Organize Socialist Schools." This has been published by the Woman's National Committee and recommended to be used in locals desiring to reach the children.

### ANTI-BOY SCOUT ORGANIZATION.

Bridgeport, Connecticut, has an Anti-Boy Scout organization, with a membership of thirty-nine boys. St. Louis has an organization of boys which they have named the Universal Scouts of Freedom. They are organized by wards, as a part of the work of the ward branches. Through their efforts one corps of Boy Scouts was induced to disband. They also made their influence felt by supporting Union Labor in the stand it took against permitting the Boy Scouts to take part in the parade on the occasion of President Taft's visit to St. Louis.

### WOMAN'S DAY.

Woman's Day, February 25th, was observed to a far greater extent than ever before.

Every available speaker was secured by the active locals and the meetings were well advertised.

The White Slave Traffic was the subject chosen for discussion and a special program upon this subject was prepared by the Woman's National Committee.

This program, consisting of songs, recitations and readings, fitted for a full evening's entertainment, was advertised in the weekly and monthly bulletins sent out from our National Office.

Over 150 orders were filled and many more were received, but the supply was exhausted.

Glowing reports of the success of the entertainments were sent in by the comrades from many places with the request that similar programs be furnished regularly.

The capitalist papers gave a surprising amount of space to the observance of this day, designating it as the Socialist Woman's

Day. In a few instances more than two columns were given to an account of the celebration.

### EQUAL SUFFRAGE PETITION.

In August, 1911, the Woman's National Committee recommended the circulation of a petition for woman suffrage, to be presented by Congressman Victor L. Berger, Socialist Representative from Wisconsin. The recommendation was concurred in by the National Executive Committee and the following petition was prepared:

"We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, over twenty-one years of age, hereby request you to submit to the legislatures of the several states for ratification an amendment to the National Constitution which shall enable women to vote in all elections upon the same terms as men."

One hundred thousand copies of this petition have been sent to all of the Socialist locals, thousands of labor organizations, and to every source from which it was believed signatures could be obtained.

Requests for them are still being received. We have sent out the call for all signed petitions to be returned to the National Office and will complete the counting and forward them to Congressman Berger within the next month.

The circulation of this petition has been of great educational value and has afforded one of the best means by which the position of the Socialist Party upon the question of equal suffrage for men and women has been verified.

On January 16, 1912, Congressman Berger introduced in the House of Representatives the following Joint Resolution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

### ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SECTION 2. When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied or in any way abridged on the ground of sex, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such citizens shall bear to the whole number of male and female citizens twenty-one years of age in such state."

### WOMAN ORGANIZERS.

At the opening of the Woman's Department in the National Office, Anna A. Maley was the only National woman organizer sent out by the Woman's National Committee. Comrade Maley is one of the most capable organizers in the Socialist Party. Her work proved of great service to the committee. Later she gave up the work to become the editor of "The Commonwealth."

Florence Wattles and Nellie M. Zeh were elected as organizers for the committee.

Comrade Wattles was assigned to Indiana. As a result of seven weeks' work in this state, two local committees were organized and the woman's movement was given great impetus throughout the state. Much of her work was in unorganized places. She organized many locals, though the movement was too new to form committees of women.

In December, 1911, Comrade Wattles began work in Pennsylvania. During the four months in that state she has organized forty committees and has strengthened not only the work among women, but the general movement as well. The state secretary of Indiana has requested that she be returned to that state for the remainder of the campaign and this has been so arranged.

Comrade Zeh was unable to enter upon the work at that time, but she is now preparing to take it up along special lines in the south.

Mary L. Geffs was authorized to do some special work in Colorado, with encouraging results.

Janet Fenimore, Prudence Stokes Brown and Madge Patton Stephens have been elected by the committee to serve as woman organizers during the coming campaign.

Among the organizers who have carried on the general propaganda work, special credit is due to Mila Tupper Maynard, Theresa Serber Malkiel, Ella Reeve Bloor and John M. Work for their earnest efforts to strengthen the movement among the women. In addition to their regular duties, when in the field work, they made a special plea to women to join the party and urged the comrades to elect the woman members of the respective locals into committees to carry on the propaganda among women.

They sent in to the General Correspondent the names of the active women along the route, thereby enabling the General Correspondent to communicate directly with these women and explain the work to be done in their locality.

If all our organizers would adopt this plan the beneficial results upon the organization would soon be felt.

### LITERATURE FOR WOMEN.

The Woman's National Committee, through the National Office, has published leaflets upon the following subjects: Boys in the Mines, Boytown Railroad, Boy Scout Movement, Crimes of Capitalism, Work Among Women, Children in Textile Industries, Class War, Elizabeth Cady Stanton on Socialism, Frances E. Willard on Socialism, Socialism vs. Alcoholism, Literature for Women, Plea to the Club Women, Poverty the Cause of Intemperance, The Teacher and Socialism, To the Working Woman, To Wives of Tollers, Underfed School Children, Why the Professional Woman Should Be a Socialist, Wimmin Ain't Got No Kick, Woman, Comrade and Equal, The Worker and the Machine, Why You Should Be a Socialist, and Woman's Work in Socialist Locals.

Other than these leaflets, the special Socialist literature for women handled by the National Office is exceedingly limited. It consists of the following: Socialism and the Home, Woman and the Social Problem, Women and Socialism, A Woman's Place, and Bebel's "Woman and Socialism."

### LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN.

There is a growing demand for Socialist literature for children. The supply of this is even more meager than that for women. At present we have nothing on hand that is

ally applicable to the needs of the average child.

### NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.

At the request of the Woman's National Committee, many of our well known comrades contributed short articles upon questions of importance to women. Twenty-three articles were sent out during the year 11, each going to about 125 papers. If this paper had printed each article, an equivalent of 2,875 articles would have been in circulation through the work of the Woman's National Committee.

The newspaper propaganda is developing as one of the most important departments of our work. No other woman's organization in the United States—I may say of the world—has such an opportunity to carry its propaganda into working-class masses.

We have at our disposal about four hundred Socialist and other Labor papers that will print upon the average two articles pertaining to women each month. This means an equivalent of 800 articles each month, or 9,600 a year. And the list steadily increases in number.

### NATIONAL TEACHERS' BUREAU.

The Socialist Teachers' Bureau is gradually growing in importance as a useful department in the work of the National Office.

It was started in August, 1911, by Comrade Terence Vincent, who conducted it in an able manner. Later it was placed in the hands of the Woman's Department.

The purpose of the Bureau is to enable Socialist teachers to get in touch with Socialist members of School Boards. Also by having a complete list of Socialist teachers on file in the National Office, something in the nature of a loose organization exists which is easy to circularize and to keep in touch with all matters pertaining to their special line of work.

It is useless to apply for assistance in regard to securing either a position or a teacher unless the applicant encloses proof of his paid-up membership in the party. Compliance with this request is a necessary safeguard.

When this proof has been furnished the application is placed on file. All information is considered strictly confidential—only those applicants who have proved their party membership being entitled to it. A Socialist teacher applying for a position receives a list of the positions open, together with the available information regarding salary and grade. A Socialist school director applying for a teacher receives a list of teachers, stating the positions they are prepared to fill. Then correspondence may be opened between the director and the teacher, and the work of the National Office along this line has been fulfilled.

At the present time we have on hand applications for positions from forty-nine teachers and inquiries regarding the securing of Socialist teachers to fill twenty vacancies.

The National Office does not guarantee positions, nor does it guarantee good faith on the part of either applicant. It simply helps to bring the teacher and the position together, rendering service free of charge. It does this because of the ever growing demand of school directors for Socialist teachers, and of Socialist teachers for positions in which they can teach unimpeded by the prejudice of capitalist-indebted school boards.

### FOREIGN SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS.

Thus far the Woman's Department has been obliged to concentrate its energies upon the work of reaching the women of the general membership and has found it impossible to conduct special propaganda work among our foreign speaking comrades. The time is now at hand, however, when a start along these lines can be made and preparations are on foot toward this end.

The foreign translator-secretaries have selected the women's leaflets best suited to their purposes and the National Office will publish them in their respective languages.

In the large cities where the Central Woman's Committees are elected to conduct the work of agitation and organization throughout all branches, special effort will be made from this time forth to co-operate with the women in foreign speaking organizations and induce them to send representatives to the Central Woman's Committee.

The Finnish women are doing most excellent work. They have their own weekly paper called "Toveritar," meaning "The Comrades." It consists of eight pages and is well gotten up in every way. Comrade Heien Vitikainen is the editor.

In our Finnish locals the women constitute one-third of the membership and are active in all branches of the work. This no doubt accounts for the fact that the Finnish have one of the most perfect and efficient organizations in the United States. The women are working in the Socialist Party side by side with the men, both of them concentrating their energies upon its work.

The German women comrades of New York City are doing active work. They have organized in separate woman's branches with a total of about 280 members. They also sent a German woman organizer into the field and she formed organizations in Chicago, Syracuse, Rochester and Philadelphia.

The German women raised contributions for the campaign fund and for the Volks-Zeitung, the New York Call and other Socialist papers. They also prepared and distributed Socialist leaflets printed in the German language.

No reports have been received from other nationalities.

### WOMEN'S PERIODICALS.

The Progressive Woman is the only Socialist publication for English-speaking women in the United States. It has a circulation of about 12,000.

This paper has made a valiant fight for its life, and has received all possible support from the Woman's National Committee. It has been a great help to the committee and has been one of the means through which so much work has been accomplished.

During 1911 programs for use in Socialist locals were prepared by the Committee and published monthly in the Progressive Woman. In other ways it enabled the Woman's National Committee to carry on its work, and it is today the only woman's paper for carrying the Socialist message into English-speaking homes.

During the Mexican revolution, when every effort was being made to fan the military spirit into white heat in the United States, this paper was turned over to the Woman's National Committee and a special anti-military edition was prepared. Over 30,000 copies were placed in circulation. (Address, The Progressive Woman, 111 North Market Street, Chicago, Ill.)

"Toveritar," or "The Woman Comrade," is a Finnish weekly paper for women. It has a circulation of about 5,000 and is doing good educational work among the women of that nationality. Articles sent out by the woman's department are published in this paper, and in every way it co-operates with the Woman's National Committee. (Address Toveritar, Tenth and Duane, Astoria, Ore.)

Life and Labor is a monthly magazine appealing especially to women engaged in the industries. It is the official organ of the Woman's Trade Union League and it is deserving of our recommendation and support. We should place it in the hands of all women, especially those who are working in industries that can be organized. (Address Life and Labor, 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.)

The Forerunner is another monthly magazine that is worthy of the attention of the Socialists. It is filled with vital truths, presented in a way that appeals to the average woman, whether in the home or out, young or old. Before the reader is aware of it, her ideas have changed from the old conservative viewpoint to the new radical revolutionary position. It is worth while for us to aid in the circulation of The Forerunner. (Address The Forerunner, 67 Wall Street, New York City.)

The Young Socialist Magazine is the only Socialist magazine for children in the United States. It contains educational articles and stories tending to teach the children of the working class a correct appreciation of the class struggle. It should be in the hands of every child in the Socialist movement. (Address The Young Socialist Magazine, 15 Spruce Street, New York City.)

The editors of all of the above magazines are Socialists.

#### NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY.

At the present convention twenty-five women were elected regular delegates, which is a fair representation, being about one-tenth of the entire number of delegates.

For the first time the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party was represented by a fraternal delegate at the National Woman's Suffrage Convention, held at Louisville, Ky., on October 17, 1911.

For the first time Socialists took part in the congressional suffrage hearing held in Washington, March 13th. The Socialist Party was represented by three Socialist women. This was due to the fact that we now have a Socialist representative in Congress, and one of the suffrage resolutions before the House was presented by him.

For the first time Socialist women were elected as delegates to the International Socialist Congress, held at Copenhagen in August, 1911. Three women delegates from the United States attended this Congress, and one of them was chosen by the United States delegation to serve as its reporter of the proceedings.

#### SUMMARY.

It has taken but two years for the women to demonstrate the great value of their organized efforts in the work of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party realizes as never before the absolute necessity of reaching the women with the message of Socialism. The National Executive Committee, the Woman's National Committee and the National Office are sparing no effort

in educating them to an understanding of their class interests and in bringing them into the party as dues-paying members having the same duties and the same responsibilities as the men.

Not only are they educating the women they are losing no opportunity to teach the men members of the party the senseless futility and the criminal ignorance manifested when one-half of the working class strives to free itself from slavery while leaving the other half in bondage. Women and men, not divided upon a basis of sex, but united upon the basis of working-class solidarity, are a necessary part of the working class program.

The educational results from carrying on a national equal suffrage campaign through the medium of a petition are incalculable. Thousands of men and women, with petitions and pencil in one hand and Socialist leaflets in the other, have gone from house to house, have invaded thousands of meetings and have carried on a tremendous agitation and education, not only for equal political rights for women and men, but for complete industrial freedom for the entire working class.

Within the organization of the Socialist Party the woman's committees have already proved to be a source of strength and power for good. Through their systematic work as regularly elected committees of their various locals they are bringing new life and social energy into the routine of the party work.

As a means of reaching the organized workers, whether it be during the stress of a great strike, or in the every-day work of their trades, the Socialist women have demonstrated their especial fitness to handle with class-conscious loyalty and unfailing tact the difficult situations that arise.

In the realm of practical politics they have proved themselves apt students. As watchers and clerks at the polls they have proved their ability not only to understand and carry out the instructions governing the elections, but to deport themselves with a quiet dignity that never fails to abolish coarse language or unmanly conduct.

In assisting in campaigns they falter at no task of endurance. No duty is too small, no task too great for them to attempt for the sake of the cause they love.

The Socialist woman is no longer an unknown quantity. She is an immeasurable constructive force in the growing working class movement. In large numbers she is joining with the men of her class, and through their united efforts freedom for all humanity will be won.

The question of women and their work in the party is of more importance and should receive more careful consideration by the convention than ever before. The time is ripe for earnest discussion of the woman question. We should go from the convention with clearly defined ideas as to the best plans for educating the women of America to a class-conscious understanding of their needs and of enlisting them for active service in the great army of the working class—the Socialist Party.

Fraternally submitted,  
META BERGER,  
WINNIE E. BRANSTETTER,  
GRACE D. BREWER,  
ELLA CARR,  
LENA MORROW LEWIS,  
MAY WOOD-SIMONS,  
LUELLA TWINING,  
Woman's National Committee  
CAROLINE A. LOWE,  
General Correspondent

## APPENDIX J

### Reports of the Majority and Minority Committees on Immigration.

#### (a) MAJORITY REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION.

At the national congress of the Socialist Party in 1910, the Committee on Immigration presented a majority report signed by Ernest Untermann, Joshua Wanhope and Victor L. Berger, and a minority report signed by John Spargo.

The majority report declared that the interests of the labor unions and of the Socialist Party of America demanded the enforcement of the existing exclusion laws which keep out the mass immigration or importation of Asiatic laborers.

The minority report declared that the danger from Asiatic labor immigration or importation was more imaginary than real and that, therefore, the Socialist Party should content itself with an emphasis upon the international solidarity of all working people regardless of nationality or race. The minority report did not state whether the Socialist Party should demand the repeal of the existing exclusion laws. When asked during the debate whether he favored the repeal of these laws, Comrade Spargo declined to commit himself to a definite answer.

In the course of the discussion, Comrade Morris Hillquit introduced a substitute for both reports. This substitute evaded the question for or against the existing exclusion laws, merely demanding that the mass of importation of contract laborers from all countries should be combated by the Socialist Party.

An amendment to this substitute, demanding a special emphasis upon the fact that the bulk of the Asiatic immigration was stimulated by the capitalists and for this reason should be excluded, was offered by Comrade Algernon Lee.

After a debate lasting nearly two days, the congress adopted Hillquit's substitute by a vote of 55 against 50.

This close vote induced the congress to recommit the question for further study to a new committee on immigration with instructions to report to the national convention of 1912.

In this new committee the same alignment immediately took place. After a fruitless effort of the chairman to get unanimous action, the majority decided to act by itself and let the minority do the same.

Continued study and the developments on the Pacific Coast during the last two years convinced the majority of this committee more than ever that the existing exclusion laws against Asiatic laborers should be enforced and be amended in such way that they can be more effectively enforced. The details of the necessary amendments should be worked out by our representatives, or by our future representatives, in Congress and submitted for ratification to the Committee

on Immigration, which should be made permanent for this purpose.

It does not matter whether Asiatic immigration is voluntary or stimulated by capitalists. There is no room for doubt that the capitalists welcome this immigration, and that its effect upon the economic and political class organizations of the American workers is destructive.

It is true that all foreign labor immigration lowers the standard of living, increases the unemployed problem and supplies the capitalists with uninformed and willing tools of reaction. But of all foreign labor immigration, the Asiatic element, owing to its social and racial peculiarities, is the most difficult to assimilate and mold into a homogeneous and effective revolutionary body. It is all the more dangerous to the most advanced labor organizations of this nation, because it adds to and intensifies the race issue which is already a grave problem in large sections of this country.

In the European countries the labor unions and the Socialist Party are not confronted by the task of educating, organizing and uniting vast masses of alien nationalities and races with the main body of the native class-conscious workers. Where alien immigration enters into the European labor problem, it plays but an insignificant role compared to the overwhelming mass of native workers. America is the only country in which the labor unions and the Socialist Party are compelled to face the problem of educating, organizing and uniting not only the native workers but a continually increasing army of foreign nationalities and races who enter this country without any knowledge of the English language, of American traditions, of economic and political conditions. The disappearance of the Western frontier has intensified the difficulties of labor organizations and Socialist propaganda to such a degree that it has become an unavoidable task to decide whether restrictive measures shall or shall not be demanded in the interests of the labor unions and of the Socialist Party. Since the race issue enters most prominently into this problem and has for years been the central point of restrictive legislation, the Socialist Party has been compelled to take notice of it.

Race feeling is not so much a result of social as of biological evolution. It does not change essentially with changes of economic systems. It is deeper than any class feeling and will outlast the capitalist system. It persists even after race prejudice has been outgrown. It exists, not because the capitalists nurse it for economic reasons, but the capitalists rather have an opportunity to nurse it for economic reasons because it exists as a product of biology. It is bound to play a role in the economics of the future society. If it should not assert itself in open warfare under a So-

cialist form of society, it will nevertheless lead to a rivalry of races for expansion over the globe as a result of the play of natural and sexual selection. We may temper this race feeling by education, but we can never hope to extinguish it altogether. Class-consciousness must be learned, but race-consciousness is inborn and cannot be wholly unlearned. A few individuals may indulge in the luxury of ignoring race and posing as utterly raceless humanitarians, but whole races never.

Where races struggle for the means of life, racial animosities cannot be avoided. Where working people struggle for jobs, self-preservation enforces its decrees. Economic and political considerations lead to racial fights and to legislation restricting the invasion of the white man's domain by other races.

The Socialist Party cannot avoid this issue. The exclusion of definite races, not on account of race, but for economic and political reasons, has been forced upon the old party statesmen in spite of the bitter opposition of the great capitalists.

Every addition of incompatible race elements to the present societies of nations or races strengthens the hands of the great capitalists against the rising hosts of class-conscious workers. But the race feeling is so strong that even the majority of old party statesmen have not dared to ignore it.

From the point of view of the class-conscious workers it is irrational in the extreme to permit the capitalists to protect their profits by high tariffs against the competition of foreign capital, and at the same time connive at their attempts to extend free trade in the one commodity which the laborer should protect more than any other, his labor power.

It is still more irrational to excuse this self-destructive policy by the slogan of international working class solidarity, for this sentimental solidarity works wholly into the hands of the capitalist class and injures the revolutionary movement of the most advanced workers of this nation, out of ill-considered worship of an Asiatic working class which is as yet steeped in the ideas of a primitive state of undeveloped capitalism.

A proper consideration of working class interests, to which the Socialist Party is pledged by all traditions and by all historical precedent, demands that our representatives in the legislative bodies of this nation should reduce the tariff protection of the capitalists and introduce a tariff, or tax, upon unwholesome competitors of the working class, regardless of whether these competitors are voluntary or subsidized immigrants. Real protection of American labor requires a tariff on labor power and the reduction and gradual abolition of the tariff on capital. Such labor legislation already exists in British Columbia and has proved effective there.

The argument that the menace of Asiatic labor immigration is more imaginary than real overlooks the obvious fact that this menace has been minimized and kept within bounds by the existing exclusion laws, and that it can be eliminated altogether by a strict enforcement and more up-to-date amendment of these laws.

The majority of this committee realize, of course, that the development of capitalism in China, India and Japan will necessarily tend to bring the American laborer into competition with the Asiatic laborer, even if the Asiatic does not come to the shores of this country. But the exclusion of the Asiatic from the shores of this country will

at least give to the American laborer the advantage of fighting the Asiatic competition at long range and wholly through international commerce, instead of having to struggle with the Asiatic laborer for jobs upon American soil. This will tend to abolish the labor of children and women in American factories, to maintain a rational standard of living and to reduce the unemployed problem for adult male workers.

International solidarity between the working people of Asia, Europe and America will be the outcome of international evolution, not of sentimental formulas. So long as the minds of the workers of nations and races are separated by long distances of industrial evolution, the desired solidarity cannot be completely realized, and while it is in process of realization, the demands of immediate self-preservation are more imperative than dreams of ideal solidarity.

The international solidarity of the working class can be most effectively demonstrated, not by mass immigration into each others' countries, but by the international co-operation of strong labor unions and of the national sections of the International Socialist Party.

Socialism proves itself a science to the extent that it enables us to foretell the actual tendencies of future development.

This is the general principle that guides us in the struggle against the capitalist classes of the world. We work for the transformation of capitalist into Socialist society, not so much because sentiment, longing, dogma or argument drive us, but because we are convinced that the dominant tendencies of capitalism work in the direction of Socialism.

This point of view has been almost wholly overlooked in the discussion and practice of these "immediate" policies which serve as our conscious steps in the direction of Socialism.

In our general propaganda and party organization, we work for the prophesied outcome of capitalist development and shape our actions in harmony with the foreseen probable course which the majority of the citizens will be compelled to adopt during the revolution of the human mind towards a Socialist consciousness.

Not so in discussing and acting upon questions of immediate policy, such as the exclusion of Asiatic laborers from the United States. Instead of clearly foretelling the inevitable policy which the majority of the voters of this nation will be compelled to adopt in this particular instance, we are supposed to shape our actions in response to sentimental, utopian or dogmatic arguments dictated by the personal likes or dislikes of a few individuals.

Instead of scientifically foretelling the inevitable logic of events, we are supposed to listen to a logic inspired by the sophistry of the advocates of unrestricted immigration.

Those who affirm the sentimental solidarity of the working classes the world over and at the same time demand a restriction of the stimulated mass importation of contract laborers admit unwillingly that this ideal solidarity is really impossible. And while they thus contradict their own sentimental assertion, they evade the real issue by an exaggerated reverence for a utopian race solidarity.

The common sense Socialist policy under these circumstances is to build up strong national labor unions and strong national Socialist parties in the different countries and work toward more perfect solidarity by an international co-operation of these labor unions and parties. To this end the So-

ist Party of America should consider all the interests of those native and foreign working class citizens whose economic and political class organizations are destined to be the dominant elements in the social revolution of this country.

In the United States this means necessarily the enforcement of the existing exclusion laws against Asiatic laborers, and amendment of these laws in such a way that the working class of America shall justify its strategic position in the struggle against the capitalist class.

The majority of this committee are not opposed to the social mingling of races through travel, education and friendly association upon terms of equality. But we are convinced that the mass of the voters, through the growth of social consciousness, will rather eliminate more and more those stirring elements of social development which interfere with an orderly and systematic organization of industrial and political democracy. They will not be anxious to intensify the unemployed problem and the race issue, but will strive to transform the international working class solidarity from a utopian shibboleth into a constructive policy. They will use their collective intelligence to reduce the evils growing out of unemployment and race feeling, until we shall be able to eliminate those evils altogether and strip race feeling at least of its fatalities.

This tendency is so plainly evident to the majority of this committee that we can afford to dispense with appeals to passion. This question will not be solved by a repetition of phrases, but by a conscious and constructive policy which will enforce itself as an inevitable step in the direction of working class solidarity and Socialism in the world over.

ERNEST UNTERMANN,  
Chairman.  
JOSHUA WANHOPE,  
J. STITT WILSON,  
ROBERT HUNTER.

#### MINORITY REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION.

We, the undersigned, propose that this convention endorse the position taken on the question of immigration by the International Congress at Stuttgart.

(Signed) MEYER LONDON,  
(Signed) JOHN SPARGO,  
(Signed) LEO LAUKKI.

#### STATEMENT OF LEO LAUKKI OF THE MINORITY OF THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION.

The question to be decided is: "Shall the Socialist Party commit itself to the policy of exclusion of Asiatic labor from America and for what reasons?"

The majority report of the Committee on Immigration to the national congress in 1910, signed by Ernest Untermann, Victor Berger and Joshua Wanhope, members of the committee, declared that the interests of labor unions and of the Socialist Party demanded the enforcement of the existing exclusion laws which keep out the immigration of the Asiatic laborers. It therefore commended to our party the policy of exclusion in regard to the immigration, and for reasons that will be stated here and analyzed.

The minority report to the same congress, signed by John Spargo, also a member of the committee, while assuming the danger from Asiatic immigration to be more imaginary than real, declared that the Socialist Party should content itself with an emphasis upon the international solidarity of

all working people regardless of nationality or race. But the question, Shall the Socialist Party in the principle and hence in practice, commit itself to the policy of exclusion or shall it not, Comrade Spargo evaded and so left it undecided by declaring (from the floor) that—

"If the time comes when we, after serious, honest, conscientious and prolonged effort, have to say we have failed and we cannot do it, and in protection of ourselves we must close the doors to the Asiatic, I shall be ready to close the doors. If it comes to the time when we must close the door to the Italian, I shall be ready to close the door. If the time comes when we have got to close the door against men of my own race, I shall say: We must close the door. But that time is not yet."

The majority report declared the time to be here already and so the minority report was done, it lost all its force by that declaration of Comrade Spargo.

Adopting the substitute resolution presented by Comrade Morris Hillquit, which totally evaded the question to be decided, only demanding that the party should combat the mass importation of contract laborers from all countries, the congress referred the question back to the committee with instructions to report to the national convention in 1912.

Since that time there has been drafted by Comrade Ernest Untermann and signed by Comrades Robert Hunter, Joshua Wanhope and J. Stitt Wilson a majority report, which in the main follows the same lines as the majority report to the congress of 1910 and declares in favor of exclusionary policy.

There will be also a minority report to be presented by Comrade Spargo, but up to date it has not been sent to the undersigned and therefore it cannot be referred to.

The demand that the Socialist Party should declare itself in regard to the Asiatic or other immigration labor in favor of exclusion is based upon the following two assumptions:

1. That the strategic position of the American working class in its struggle with capitalism and against the capitalist class will be better if the Asiatic immigrant labor will be excluded from the United States, or vice versa, that the immigration of Asiatic labor places the American working class strategically more or less in a disadvantageous position to successfully combat the American capitalist class, to maintain its standard of living, or better its conditions.

2. That the Asiatic laborers in contradistinction to the laborers of all other nationalities immigrating to United States are racially unable to be arrayed in the ranks of American working class against the capitalist exploitation and oppression; that in regard of them it is impossible for our party to accept the same policy as in regard of other immigrant nationalities—the Scandinavians, the Slavs, the Southern Europeans, the Balkans and others; that we cannot accept the policy of organizing the Asiatics economically and politically, because they are of a "backward race."

According to the first assumption the American working class with the purpose to gain the most advantageous strategic position against the capitalist class should seclude itself from the competition of Asiatic labor by trying to erect barriers, real "Chinese walls," in the form of exclusion laws against the Asiatic working men and women compelled by the iron laws of economic evolution to leave their native land.

At the same time it shows the folly of assuming that "an international question can be solved through national seclusion."

It is the irony of fate that, the same nation that has been the foremost tool of capitalist evolution in breaking down the hundred years' old walls of China by opening its ports and gates for the European and American merchandise, capital, money and labor and so teaching the Asiatics the omnipotence of economic evolution, teaching them that their great walls and seclusion avail to nothing before international capitalism, it is really a big irony of fate that now the same nation in these days of the triumph of international capitalism over the thousand years old seclusionist culture of China in the Chinese revolution, takes up that worn idea from the Chinese and yells: "We want seclusion!" We want a Chinese wall around the dear United States to keep out all those foreigners to save our culture and our standard of living from their destroying competition."

There are many reasons which prove that the working class cannot successfully fight capitalism isolated, secluded in national or other units, closed between national boundaries, and the main reason is, that the economic evolution does not tolerate any barriers and boundaries. It leaps over them—they may have been constructed of the best kind of steel and beaten or written in as many statute books as there are in the United States. For the capitalism of the present day the Pacific Ocean is only a pond and the keeping of Asiatic laborers on that side of the Pacific has almost as much meaning economically for the strategic position of the American working class as were the Asiatics living in Canada.

The idea that seclusion will give a nation an advantage in its relation to other nations is as old as the earth, and evolution has always shown it to be fallacious.

So in the history of social life this idea has been many times tried and shown to be utopian, conservative and often reactionary in its workings. The many communistic societies of last century tried here and in Europe were only unsuccessful experiments with this idea of solving the social question by seclusion from the whole outer world, isolated from it in all possible ways.

Also the "closed for non-relatives and for non-acquaintances, pure and simple, craft unions" are another experiment with this seclusion idea, and the McNamara case shows how successfully it works. The whole American Federation of Labor can be said to lack force and power only because it is ridden by the idea that as many workers as possible should be out of its unions. "Let us exclude as many as possible from our trade and our union and we can maintain our wage scale," is the slogan of every craft union. And what is economic evolution now teaching to the isolated craftsmen who have secluded themselves behind their big initiation fees? Every one of you knows. May it only be said here that the idea of excluding the Asiatic laborers from America is the same idea and emanates before this convention from the garbage pile of outworn ideas of the A. F. of L.

In the class struggle the working class gets its strength and power relative to the capitalist class from the industrial evolution. It gets it from the position it holds in the industrial production and distribution, from the dependence of the social life upon it, and not from the racial or national character of the working class. If the economic evolution of a nation is backward, its working people have very little power and strength; it may then, nationally and linguistically, be as homogeneous a whole as can be, e. g., the Japanese working class. Vice versa, a working class nationally het-

erogeneous can be unconquerable if only is in a commanding economic relation to the capitalist class and to society as a whole; for example, Lawrence, Mass.

Therefore, the American working class can as well maintain its position against the capitalists, better its conditions, force the enemy out of business be the Asiatic workers in its ranks or not. Industrial position it occupies, and it only, gives it all the force it needs. At the same time this same industrial evolution can transform the Asiatic immigrant laborer to an American industrial proletarian by forcing him ahead in the fight against capitalism, by forcing him to join the forces working for the organization, education and emancipation of the proletariat, by forcing him to be just as working an ally to the American workers of other nationalities as they are to each other. The Asiatics when thrown into the industrial mills of America cannot forever remain Asiatics; they will get the habits of the American industrial worker; they will undergo the same sufferings in the same way and so into their hearts will grow the same hatred and the same desires as in the hearts of the Western workers. Economic life itself arrays them against capitalism. **THEY CAN AND THEY WILL BE ORGANIZED AGAINST THE CAPITALIST CLASS, BOTH IN THEIR NATIVE LAND AND IN AMERICA. EVERYWHERE WHERE THEY BECOME INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIATS.**

To understand that this policy of seclusion will not at all strengthen the strategic position of the American working class relative to its exploiter, we must only think what an absurdity it would be to claim that if the Asiatics were excluded from the United States, the standard of living of the American working class would rise, the American workers would then be able to win so and so much concessions from their exploiter, the international capitalism. Everyone understands that competition of Asiatic labor in America does decide the wages and the standard of living of the American working class, that the mode of production and distribution, the evolution of the industrial life decides it. If the industrial life develops in the direction that it does not need intelligent, well-fed and well-educated labor power as before, the wages and standard of living will go down; capitalism will force them down either by using cheap paid foreigners or native labor, women and children. And vice versa, the industrial evolution develops in such a way as to necessitate general forward evolution of the proletariat, demands more and more intelligence, education, physical and psychological power of the working class, we socialists believe that it does and upon which scientific knowledge all our hopes for the future supremacy of working class lies, in that the standard of living cannot be forced down by immigrant labor competition or otherwise. On the contrary the industrial life will raise the immigrant labor to the same higher standard demanded by the economical production itself. All the talk that the Asiatics force down the standard of living of the American working class is only an echo from the disappearing of the craftsman before the industrial worker. While that is a fact it does not mean that the standard of living of the whole American working class is going down. On the contrary, it is the craft worker who, with his seclusionist ideas, is swept aside by the industrial evolution and who, not understanding this evolution,



like a King Canute, tries, by all kinds of silly means, to bid the tide of evolution stay back, and so he also yells out to the wide world, "Look here, what the Asiatics do; they force down our (he doesn't say "my") standard of living. Exclude them!" And the echo (the merely the catchers) answers, "Really, they force down the standard of living of the American working class. Exclude them!" And they call scientific Socialism!

To prove this, it suffices only to mention the fact that the common laborers in the Western States, where this Asiatic immigration is acute, in general do not join in the cry, "Exclude the Asiatics." They do not even give any notice to the whole question; it does not exist for them. The same applies to the foreigners, at least to the American laborers working in the Pacific coast mines, sawmills, lumber camps and as fishers. They haven't any such silly bias as that especially the Asiatics lower the standard of living of the American working class. When they lack work and fair wages they seek for the reasons elsewhere, in the industrial conditions of the time and in the fact that the native-born workers, for the reason of their isolated craft's position, are keeping the American working class weak; it is in a state of almost paradoxical disorganization and conservatism.

For us Socialists it is not merely sentimentalism to believe that the industrial proletariat, be he of what race or nationality whatever, will be arrayed and organized against capitalism to fight the capitalist class both economically and politically; but it is a scientific fact, upon which our whole movement is founded, and it has by history, past and present, so amply been proven to be true, that there is needed an overwhelming mass of facts to overthrow it, and not merely assumptions, which are the main content of the majority report to this and the preceding convention.

Our party must remember, before the policy presented by the majority report can be warranted, that both it and the unions have done practically nothing in regard to the Asiatic laborers in the other way. They have not even tried to organize the Asiatic laborers, any more than they have tried to organize the other foreign workers of the United States, and still they have courage to claim that the Asiatics cannot be organ-

ized. At least before our party in this question can refute its basic principles and declare itself in favor of a policy which is mainly sought for only by the blind clamors of disappearing craft workers and small traders of the Pacific coast, it must try the other way; it must try to reach the Asiatics as well as all other nationalities in the United States by its ideas and organization.

Therefore the only recommendation that can be made to this convention in regard to the Asiatic laborer is:

"That the Socialist party place an organizer among these Asiatic workers who can speak their languages and in every other way try to help the Asiatics to become acquainted with the Socialist ideas and movement and to form a national Asiatic Socialist organization along the same lines that the other nationalities are organized.

"That the Socialist party declare itself in opposition to the discrimination against Asiatic workers, politically or otherwise, and demand for them the same civil and political rights which it demands for other races and nationalities in the United States."

What becomes of the fact that Asiatics as well as other foreign and native workers, especially women and children, are exploited by the American capitalists as so-called cheap labor, to replace the higher paid craft workers and so throwing them out into the ranks of the industrial proletariat? It cannot be hindered in the least by any reactionary policy of the dying semi-bourgeoisie and craftsmen. But this cheap paid industrial proletariat can be hindered from selling its labor power too cheap; it can and it will be induced to raise its standard of wages, to better its working and living conditions by the general policy of our party, of which the most effective in this regard will be the demand—

For a general eight-hour working day.

For a minimum wage scale.

It will be self-evident that when the length of the day and the compensation for the work are stipulated by general laws, backed and enforced by the workers themselves, there will be no possibility nor reason for any capitalist to employ cheap labor. The effects of the cheap labor will disappear only in this way.

LEO LAUKKI.

## APPENDIX K

### Report of Committee on Municipal and State Program.

#### PREAMBLE.

Socialism cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist Party is a minority party. Nor can it be inaugurated in any single city. Furthermore, so long as national and state legislatures and particularly the courts are in the control of the capitalist class, a municipal administration even though absolutely controlled by Socialists, will be hampered, crippled and restricted in every possible way.

We maintain that the evils of the present system will be removed only when the working class wholly abolish private ownership in the social means of production, collectively assume the management of the industries and operate them for use and not for profit, for the benefit of all and not for the enrichment of a privileged class. In this the Socialist Party stands alone in the political field.

But the Socialist Party also believes that the evils of the modern system may be materially relieved and their final disappearance may be hastened by the introduction of social, political and economic measures which will have the effect of bettering the lives, strengthening the position of the workers and curbing the power and domination of the capitalists.

The Socialist Party therefore supports the struggles of the working class against the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist class, and is vitally concerned in the efficiency of the parliamentary and administrative means for the fighting of the class struggle.

Furthermore, it should be distinctly understood that the following suggested municipal and state program is not put forth as mandatory or binding upon the state or local organizations. It is offered as suggestive data to assist those localities that may desire to use it, and as a basis for the activities of Socialist members of state legislatures and local administrations.

#### STATE PROGRAM.

##### I.

#### Labor Legislation.

- (1) An eight-hour day, trades union scale and minimum wage for both sexes.
- (2) Legalization of the right to strike, picket and boycott.
- (3) Abolition of the injunction as a means of breaking strikes and the establishment of trial by jury in all labor disputes.
- (4) Prohibition of the use of the military and the police power to break strikes.
- (5) Prohibition of the employment of private detective agencies and police forces in labor disputes.
- (6) The repeal of all military law which surrenders the power of the governor over the militia to the federal authorities.
- (7) Requirements that in time of labor disputes advertisements for help published

by employers shall contain notice of the fact that such labor dispute exists. Provision to be made for the prosecution of persons who shall employ workers without informing them that such labor trouble exists.

(8) Prohibition of employment of children under the age of sixteen, compulsory education, and the pensioning of widows with minor children where such provision is necessary.

(9) The organization of state employment agencies and rigid control of private agencies.

(10) Suitable safeguards and sanitary regulations in all occupations with ample provision for frequent and effective inspection of places of employment, machinery and appliances.

(11) Old age pensions, sick benefits and accident insurance to be established.

(12) Workmen's compensation laws to be carefully drawn to protect labor.

##### II.

#### Home rule for cities.

##### III.

#### Public Education.

(1) Compulsory education of both sexes up to the age of sixteen years with adequate provision for further courses where desired.

(2) Establishment of vocational and continuation schools and manual training for both sexes.

(3) Free text books for teachers and pupils; uniform text books on all subjects to be furnished free to public schools.

(4) Physical training through systematic courses of gymnastics and open air exercises. Open air schools and playgrounds.

##### IV.

#### TAXATION.

(1) A graduated income tax; wages and salaries up to \$2,000 to be exempt.

(2) Graduated inheritance tax.

(3) All land held for speculation and all land not occupied or used by the owners to be taxed up to full rental value.

##### V.

#### PUBLIC WORKS AND CONSERVATION

(1) For the purpose of developing and preserving the natural resources of the state and offering additional opportunities of labor to the unemployed, the states shall undertake a comprehensive system of public works, such as the building of roads, canals, and the reclamation and irrigation of land. All forests, mineral lands, waterways and natural resources now owned by the states to be conserved and kept for public use.

(2) The contract system shall be abolished in all public works, such work to be done by the state directly, all labor to be employed not more than eight hours per

day at trade union wages and under the best possible working conditions.

## VI.

## LEGISLATION.

- (1) The legislature of the state to consist of one house of representatives.
- (2) The initiative, referendum and recall to be enacted.

## VII.

## EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

- (1) Unrestricted political rights for men and women.
- (2) Resident qualification for all elections not to exceed 90 days.
- (3) The right to vote, not to be contingent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or labor.

## VIII.

## AGRICULTURE.

- (1) Extension of the State Agricultural and experimental farms for crop culture, for the distribution of improved seeds, for the development of fertilizers, for the design and introduction of the best types of farm machinery, and for the encouragement of the breeding of superior types of stock.
- (2) All land owned by the state to be retained, and other land brought into public ownership and use by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise: Such land to be organized into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.
- (3) Landlords to assess their own lands, the state reserving the right to purchase such lands at the assessed value.
- (4) State insurance against pestilence, diseases of animals and plants and against natural calamities.

## IX.

## DEFECTIVES AND DELINQUENTS.

- (1) The present unscientific and brutal method of treating criminal persons, defectives and delinquents to be replaced by modern scientific and humane methods. This to include the abolition of all death penalties, of the prison contract system, of isolated confinement. Penal institutions to be located in rural localities with adequate healthful open air employment and humane treatment.

## MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

## I.

## LABOR MEASURES.

- (1) Eight hour day, trade union wages and conditions in all public employment and on all contract work done for the city.
- (2) Old age pension, accident insurance and sick benefits to be provided for all public employees.
- (3) Special laws for the protection of both women and children, in mercantile, domestic and industrial pursuits.
- (4) The abolition of child labor.
- (5) Police not to be used to break strikes.
- (6) Rigid inspection of factories by local authorities for the improvement of sanitary conditions, lighting, ventilating, heating and the like. Safety appliances required in all cases to protect the worker against dangerous machinery.
- (7) Free employment bureaus to be established in the cities to work in co-operation with state bureaus. Abolition of contract system and direct employment by the city on all public works.
- (8) Free legal advice.
- (9) The provision of work for the unemployed by the erection of model dwell-

ings for workmen; the paving and improvement of streets and alleys, and the extension and improvement of parks and playgrounds.

## II.

## HOME RULE.

- (1) Home rule for cities; including the right of the City to own and operate any and all public utilities; to engage in commercial enterprises of any and all kinds; the right of excess condemnation, both within and outside the City and the right of two or more cities to co-operate in the ownership and management of public utilities; the City to have the right of issuing bonds for these purposes up to 50% of the assessed valuation, or the right to issue mortgage certificates against the property acquired, said certificates not to count against the bonded indebtedness of the City.

## III.

## MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

- (1) The City to acquire as rapidly as possible, own and operate its public utilities, especially street car systems, light, heat, and power plants, docks, wharves, etc. Among the things which may be owned and operated by the City to advantage are slaughter houses, bakeries, milk depots, coal and wood yards, ice plants, undertaking establishments and crematories.
- On all public works, eight hour day trade union wages and progressive improvement in the condition of labor to be established and maintained.

## IV.

## CITY PLATTING, PLANNING AND HOUSING.

- (1) The introduction of scientific city planning to provide for the development of cities along the most sanitary, economic and attractive lines.
- (2) The City to secure the ownership of land, to plat the same so as to provide for plenty of open space and to erect model dwellings thereon to be rented by the municipality at cost.
- (3) Transportation facilities to be maintained with special reference to the prevention of overcrowding in insanitary tenements and the creation of slum districts.

## V.

## PUBLIC HEALTH.

- (1) Inspection of food.
- (2) Sanitary inspection.
- (3) Extension of hospital and free medical treatment.
- (4) Child welfare department, to combat infant death rate prevailing especially in working class sections.
- (5) Special attention to eradication of tuberculosis and other contagious diseases.
- (6) System of street toilets and public comfort stations.
- (7) Adequate system of public baths, parks, playgrounds and gymnasiums.

## VI.

## PUBLIC EDUCATION.

- (1) Adequate number of teachers so that classes may not be too large.
- (2) Retirement fund for teachers.
- (3) Kindergartens to be established and conducted in connection with all schools.
- (4) Adequate school buildings to be provided and maintained.
- (5) Ample playgrounds with instructors in charge.
- (6) Free text books and equipment.
- (7) Penny lunches, and where necessary, free meals and clothing.

(8) Medical inspection including free service in the care of eyes, ears, throat, teeth and general health where necessary to insure mental efficiency in the educational work, and special inspection to protect the schools from contagion.

(9) Baths and gymnasiums in each school.

(10) Establishment of vacation schools and adequate night schools for adults.

(11) All school buildings to be open or available for the citizens of their respective communities, at any and all times and for any purposes desired by the citizens, so long as such use does not interfere with the regular school work. All schools to serve as centers for social, civic and recreational purposes.

## VII.

### THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND VICE.

(1) Socialization of the liquor traffic; the city to offer as substitute for the social features of the saloon, opportunities for recreation and amusement, under wholesome conditions.

(2) Abolition of the restricted vice districts.

## VIII.

### MUNICIPAL MARKETS.

Municipal markets to be established where it is found that by this means a reduction may be secured in the cost of the necessities of life.

### PERMANENT COMMITTEE ON MUNICIPAL AND STATE PROGRAM RECOMMENDED.

Your committee would recommend that the Convention appoint a permanent committee of seven on state and municipal affairs. The purpose of the committee to be to study the problems involved in municipal and state legislation, collect information and data bearing thereon and to submit to the next National Congress suggestions and recommendations for municipal and state activities and program. The committee should have power to fill vacancies that may occur on their committee.

### STUDY OF UNEMPLOYMENT RECOMMENDED.

The Committee on Municipal and State Program, to which was referred the following resolution relative to the study of the problem of the unemployed, unanimously recommended its adoption:

By Winfield R. Gaylord, of Wisconsin.  
Whereas, The problem of unemployment has been recognized by reports of federal and state authorities to be one of the primary problems of our civilization; and

Whereas, The formulation of definite demands for the remedying of the conditions of unemployment must be based upon definite information as to the conditions and facts of unemployment in this country; and

Whereas, Labor organizations in other countries have established a statistical basis of the facts relating to the unemployment of their own members and the workers in their respective industries, which facts have become the basis of a definite program for the relief of the unemployed by means of state and municipal aid and the institution of national channels for reducing unemployment; and

Whereas, There is no body of information available relating to the conditions of employment in the organized industries, so far as the offices of the national international unions are concerned, and only two or three states have undertaken any seri-

ous investigation of the facts relating to this subject; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Party does hereby urge upon the various state organizations the imperative necessity of pressing the matter of an official investigation by state authorities of the facts and conditions of unemployment in the various states of the union, upon some uniform basis as to method; and be it also

Resolved, That the Socialist Party also urges upon the executive heads of the various labor organizations the importance of keeping and tabulating accurate records of the conditions of employment in their respective trades and industries upon some common and uniform basis as to method. Be it also

Resolved, That the National Secretary of the Socialist Party be instructed to forward copies of these resolutions to the secretaries of the various labor organizations and federations, state, national and international.

### ESTABLISHMENT OF LEGISLATIVE BUREAU RECOMMENDED.

The Committee on Municipal and State Program, to which was referred the following resolution relative to the establishment of a Legislative Bureau, introduced by W. R. Gaylord of Wisconsin, unanimously recommend its adoption:

Whereas, It is more than likely that there will be representatives of the Socialist Party in twelve or more state legislatures after the fall elections; with scores of municipal officers already elected and scores more to be elected; and

Whereas, The majority of these representatives will be without adequate information or aid in the preparation of proper material for their legislative work in most of the states; and

Whereas, It is desirable that there should be as far as possible a unity of purpose and program in the work of the various Socialist legislative groups, which can be attained only by securing some definite method and channel of co-operation to that end; and

Whereas, It is impossible even now for the Socialist municipal officers and members of legislative groups having experience to comply with the demands made upon them in this direction; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there shall be created a department which shall be known as the Legislative Bureau of the Socialist Party, to be placed in charge of a capable secretary with adequate training for that work; the salaries and expenses of the office to be regulated by the N. E. C. Be it further

Resolved, That it shall be the duty of this bureau to secure all possible information from sources in this and other countries, such as shall be of help to the various state and municipal elected officials of the Socialist Party, and to furnish this information on request to these officials or to other local, state or national officers of the Socialist Party; and to render such aid as may be convenient in the matter of drafting legislative propositions.

### RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE.

Your committee on municipal and state program to which was referred the following resolution by Comrade Simmons of New York, proposing that the National Convention adopt the general plan of Socialist control proposed by Local Glenville, New York, would recommend that the same be referred to the permanent committee on

municipal and state program for further consideration and later recommendation:

# PLAN FOR SOCIALIST CONTROL.

Whereas, Socialists are reproached for having no measure in taking over the production and distribution, and

Whereas, The increasing participation of Socialists in Government makes the formation of some definite plan of Socialist control more and more imperative

Therefore, By the Socialist Party of America in convention assembled that the

"General  
Proposition  
Party"

al Plan of Socialist Control" proposed by Local Glenville, of the Socialist Party be endorsed and adopted.

Respectfully submitted,

CARL D. THOMPSON, Chairman.  
ANNA A. MALEY,  
JOHN C. KENNEDY,  
THOS. M. TODD,  
W. W. FARMER,  
GEO. W. DOWNING,  
MARGUERITE PREVEY,  
ERNEST BERGER,  
R. E. DOOLEY.

## APPENDIX L

### Report of National Secretary.

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party:

Dear Comrades:—I submit a summary of the principal phases of our party's progress, together with recommendations for the future.

#### FINANCES.

A complete record of the finances of the National Office is to be found in the monthly financial statements contained in the Monthly Bulletins, in the annual reports made at the close of each year and in the audits published from time to time. I shall not repeat the figures here.

#### LITERATURE.

The average amount of money per month received at the National Office for literature, as far back as the records show, is as follows:

1904 average per month.....	\$ 349.99
1905 average per month.....	42.23
1906 average per month.....	188.49
1907 average per month.....	117.84
1908 average per month.....	498.38
1909 average per month.....	142.86
1910 average per month.....	481.41
1911 average per month.....	663.95
1912 average for first three months	1,158.30

Thus far in 1912 the National Office published the following literature:

300,000 National Platforms.  
1,000,000 copies of "The Growing Grocery Bill," by Allan L. Benson.  
2,000,000 leaflets.

It is my opinion that the greatest mission of the National Office in the future is to be the publisher and disseminator of Socialist Literature. Such activity is distinctly a national matter. The only question involved is whether it shall be done by private concerns or by the organization. In the annual report in January I expressed the opinion that the National Office ought to become the greatest, if not the only, publisher of Socialist literature. The only objections I have heard since then have come from private publishers. Their ostensible reason for objecting is that it might result in paternalism within the party. This is identically the same objection which our enemies make against Socialism. And it is equally as fallacious. Just as we propose to prevent Socialism from developing paternalism by surrounding it with safeguards, so also we can and will prevent the party from developing paternalism by surrounding it with safeguards. It is already surrounded with safeguards, for that matter, but if we need more, let us have more. Instead of trying to make the clock of progress run backward.

There need not be the slightest hostility toward the private publishers. The National Office should absorb them on terms

which will be fair to all. It is a waste of time and energy to investigate the private concerns, except in so far as it calls attention to the fact that the party should be its own publisher. They have done good work, and the party has no right to object to their activities so long as it does not supply the demand for literature itself.

When the National Office goes into the literature business in earnest, the private publishers will come to it, asking to be absorbed. They can no more compete with the National Office than a private postoffice could compete with the government.

The National Constitution already authorizes the publishing of Socialist literature by the National Office. Unless the convention takes action to the contrary, it will be taken for granted that the constitution also authorizes the installation of a printing plant by the National Office in order to publish literature to better advantage, in case it should be more economical. It will undoubtedly be more economical if the literature business of the office is expanded as herein suggested.

#### ORGANIZATION AND AGITATION.

Of late, in order not to interfere with arrangements made by the state organizations, the dates for national lecturers and organizers have not been made by the National Office, except in cases of foreign speaking organizers whose dates have been arranged by the National Translator-Secretaries. The plan has been to assign organizers to states where needed, the National Office paying the deficits.

At the time of the national congress of 1910, six of the states were unorganized, namely: Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi. Virginia became an organized state in October, 1910; Georgia, in January, 1911; Mississippi, in July, 1911, and North Carolina, in March, 1912.

Of the two remaining unorganized states, Delaware has six locals.

South Carolina has nine locals and eight members at large. It is probable that a state organization will be formed soon.

The unorganized territory of Alaska has fourteen locals and four members at large. It is probable that a territorial organization will be formed there soon.

In January, 1912, the District of Columbia, separated from the State organization of Maryland and received a charter of its own, having the same rights as a state organization.

In Porto Rico we have one local.

In the Canal Zone we have a number of members at large.

#### LYCEUM DEPARTMENT.

The lyceum subscription lecture course plan has been very successful from the

standpoint of education and from the standpoint of organization. It has put thousands of Socialist books and pamphlets into circulation. It has put thousands of subscriptions on the mailing lists of the Socialist publications. It has attracted thousands of new hearers to listen to an explanation of what Socialism is, what it has done, and what it proposes to do. And it has increased the membership and the efficiency of the locals adopting it. The greatest credit must be given to L. E. Katterfeld, head of the department.

Whether or not the lyceum plan shall be continued depends upon the policy to be adopted by the convention. If the convention decides that the lecture work should be handled by the National Office, it should be continued. If, on the other hand, the convention decides that lecture work should be in the hands of the state organizations, the National Office should entirely cease touring any speakers except the candidates for president and vice-president and foreign speaking lecturers and organizers.

I can see good arguments on both sides, and I am indifferent as to which course is taken. But, if the National Office is to continue the plan, it should be done with the specific sanction of the convention and with the definite understanding that no state organization shall have the right to decrease the efficiency of the course by keeping it out of the state. Either give the National Office a free hand or none at all.

In case the plan is continued, it should be so modified that the locals will be anxious to accept it, instead of having to be coaxed to do so.

It should also be so modified that any live local, no matter how small, could take advantage of it.

It should also be so modified that the locals will make a payment in advance. This is necessary for two reasons. First, because the National Office must not be compelled to practically suspend all other activities for several months in order to pay the preliminary expense of the Lyceum Department, as it did last year. Second, in order to guard against loss when locals cancel their contracts.

It would also necessarily have to be modified so that the wages of the lecturers would be three dollars per day and expenses, unless the convention, and later the membership by referendum vote, decided to increase them. The three-dollar rate was fixed by referendum vote of the membership. The constitutional provision for special lecturers paying a commission to the National Office does not apply to the Lyceum lecturers. I have no objection to their wages being increased somewhat over the three-dollar rate, but I do not think they ought to be increased to equal the rate paid this year. If any increase is made, it should also apply to national organizers and lecturers and to the heads of departments in the National Office. It is, of course, unjust to pay a Lyceum lecturer who makes the high places and stops at the best hotels higher wages than we pay to a pioneer organizer who makes the hard places and puts up with all manner of hardship and inconvenience. And, as for the heads of departments, while their employment may be a trifle more steady, they have equally hard work and much greater responsibility.

A separate report for the Lyceum Department will be made by L. E. Katterfeld, head of the department, and I request

that he be given a hearing when the matter comes up for discussion, although he is not a delegate.

### WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT.

This department has developed constantly since it was made a part of the work of the National Office by the National Congress of 1910. It has demonstrated its value to the cause of woman's emancipation, under the direction of the Woman's National Committee and the General Correspondent, Caroline A. Lowe.

And well it may. For, Socialism would not be worth having if it left half the race enslaved. The awakening of woman is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. Our Woman's Department is playing an important part, and is destined to play a still more important part, in securing the triumph of the woman's movement and of Socialism.

A number of States have state correspondents and the locals and branches are electing women's committees to carry on special propaganda among the women and children. The monthly programs have been widely used. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets have been put into circulation. Special women's organizers have been sent into the field. Special articles have been furnished to the press. A petition for equal suffrage was gathered.

A teachers' bureau is also conducted in connection with the Woman's Department, the object of which is to put Socialist teachers and Socialist school boards or patrons in touch with each other.

A separate report for the Woman's Department will be made by the Woman's National Committee.

### MEMBERSHIP.

The Socialist Party was organized early in August, 1901. The records are too incomplete to determine just how many members we had in the years 1901 and 1902. The membership for each year since then, based on the average dues received, is as follows:

1903	15,975
1904	20,763
1905	23,327
1906	26,784
1907	29,270
1908	41,751
1909	41,479
1910	58,011
1911	84,716
1912 (first three months)	125,826

The number of locals and branches is approximately five thousand.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Since the National Congress of 1910 and the party referendum following the same, the national constitution has been amended by referendum vote as follows:

Referendum "A," 1911, by Hallettsville, Texas, adding a new section (Section 3) to Article III, relating to the election of National Officers annually, and limiting the number of terms of office to two, was adopted April 19, 1911, by a vote of 9,050 to 8,511—majority 539.

Referendum "B," 1911, by Local New York, striking out the limiting of terms clause in Section 3, Article III, was adopted by a vote of 11,057 to 7,428—majority 3,629.

### THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The vote in each state beginning with the Social Democratic party vote of 1900, up to and including the vote of 1910, is as follows:

	1900.	1902.	1904.	1906.	1908.	1910.
Alabama .....	928	2,312	1,853	389	1,399	1,633
Arizona .....	...	510	1,304	1,995	1,912	...
Arkansas .....	27	...	1,816	2,164	5,842	9,196
California .....	7,572	9,592	29,533	17,515	28,659	47,819
Colorado .....	684	7,177	4,304	16,938	7,974	9,603
Connecticut .....	1,029	2,804	4,543	3,005	5,113	12,179
Delaware .....	57	...	146	149	240	556
Florida .....	603	...	2,337	2,530	3,747	10,204
Georgia .....	..	...	197	98	584	224
Idaho .....	..	1,567	4,954	5,011	6,400	5,791
Illinois .....	9,687	20,167	69,225	42,005	34,711	49,896
Indiana .....	2,374	7,111	12,013	7,824	13,476	19,632
Iowa .....	2,742	6,360	14,847	8,901	8,287	9,685
Kansas .....	1,605	4,078	15,494	8,796	12,420	16,994
Kentucky .....	770	1,683	3,602	1,819	4,185	5,239
Louisiana .....	...	...	995	603	2,538	706
Maine .....	878	1,973	2,106	1,553	1,758	1,641
Maryland .....	908	499	2,247	3,106	2,323	3,924
Massachusetts .....	9,716	33,629	13,604	20,699	10,781	14,444
Michigan .....	2,826	4,271	8,941	5,994	11,586	10,608
Minnesota .....	3,065	5,143	11,692	14,445	14,527	18,363
Mississippi .....	...	...	393	173	978	23
Missouri .....	6,128	5,335	13,009	11,528	15,431	19,957
Montana .....	708	3,131	5,676	4,638	5,855	5,412
Nebraska .....	823	3,157	7,412	3,763	3,524	6,721
Nevada .....	...	...	925	1,251	2,103	3,637
New Hampshire .....	790	1,057	1,090	1,011	1,299	1,072
New Jersey .....	4,609	4,541	9,587	7,766	10,249	10,134
New Mexico .....	...	...	162	211	1,056	...
New York .....	12,869	23,400	36,883	25,948	38,451	48,982
North Carolina .....	...	...	124	...	345	437
North Dakota .....	518	1,245	2,017	1,689	2,421	5,114
Ohio .....	4,847	14,270	36,260	18,432	33,795	62,356
Oklahoma .....	815	1,963	4,443	4,040	21,779	24,707
Oregon .....	1,495	3,771	7,651	17,033	7,339	19,475
Pennsylvania .....	4,831	21,910	21,863	18,736	33,913	59,639
Rhode Island .....	..	...	956	416	1,365	529
South Carolina .....	...	...	22	32	100	70
South Dakota .....	169	2,738	3,138	2,542	2,846	1,675
Tennessee .....	410	...	1,354	1,637	1,870	4,571
Texas .....	1,846	3,615	2,791	3,065	7,870	11,538
Utah .....	717	3,069	5,767	3,010	4,895	4,889
Vermont .....	371	...	844	512	547	1,067
Virginia .....	145	155	218	...	255	987
Washington .....	2,006	4,739	10,023	8,117	14,177	15,994
West Virginia .....	268	...	1,572	2,111	3,679	8,152
Wisconsin .....	7,095	15,970	28,220	24,116	28,164	40,533
Wyoming .....	..	552	1,077	1,827	1,715	2,155
Total .....	96,931	223,494	409,230	331,043	424,483	607,674

## ELECTED OFFICIALS.

Our successes at the polls are too familiar to need elaboration. The number of elected officials, which was very slight two years ago, has now increased to goodly proportions. Strange as it may seem, it is difficult to secure accurate information on this subject. As nearly as we were able to obtain the data, there were 1,039 of them in office at the beginning of the present year, classified as to the nature of their offices as follows:

Auditors (city) .....	10
Attorneys (city) .....	4
Aldermen .....	145
Assessors .....	61
Collectors .....	2
Commissioners (city and town-ship) .....	9
Commissioners (street) .....	1
Commissioners (park) .....	2
Commissioners (charter) .....	5
Commissioners (public works) ..	1
Congressmen .....	1
Clerks (city, township and county) .....	25
Clerks (court) .....	1
Coroners .....	7
Councilmen .....	160
Comptrollers .....	3
Constables .....	57
Directors .....	1
Election Officials .....	45
Judges (civil) .....	2

Justices of the Peace .....	55
Listers .....	2
Magistrates .....	1
Marshals .....	18
Mayors .....	56
Members of Constitutional Convention .....	1
Pound-Keepers .....	4

## POLICE OFFICIALS:

Police Magistrates .....	3
Police Judges .....	15
Officers .....	4

Presidents of Council .....	22
Road Overseers .....	6
Recorders .....	4
Registrars of Deeds .....	2
Representatives (state) .....	18

## SCHOOL OFFICIALS:

Presidents and School Boards ..	2
Members of School Boards .....	40
School Trustees .....	16
School Directors .....	70
School Comptrollers .....	2
Chairmen of Boards .....	2
School Supervisors .....	1
Members of Board of Education ..	12
School Clerks .....	7
School Treasurers .....	3

Surveyors .....	2
State Senators .....	2
Sheriffs .....	1



Supervisors (county, town and city) .....	40
Supervisors (of assessments) ..	1
Treasurers .....	29
Trustees (library) .....	2
Trustees (township, village, city) ..	39

**TOWN OFFICIALS:**

Village Presidents .....	4
Members of Board of Selectmen ..	2
Members of Village Boards .....	4
Superintendents of Poor .....	3
Members of Board of Public Affairs .....	3
Chairmen of Town Boards .....	1
Chairmen of Board Trustees .....	1
Town Chairmen .....	1
Other Town Officials .....	9

Vice Mayors .....	1
Total .....	1,039

**THE SOCIALIST PRESS.**

Since the national congress of 1910, two additional daily papers in the English language have been started, namely: The Milwaukee Leader, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the Alarm, Belleville, Illinois. Weekly papers have sprung up in many places, over one hundred and fifty of them being co-operative papers. The mailing list at the National Office shows that the number of Socialist papers now published in this country is as follows:

Daily, English .....	5
Daily, foreign .....	8
Weekly, English .....	262
Weekly, foreign .....	36
Monthly, English .....	10
Monthly, foreign .....	2

**PROPAGANDA PRESS SERVICE.**

Each week the National Office sends out mimeographed articles to about four hundred Socialist, union and other papers. We offer to send them to any paper that will print at least one article per week. Comrades in various places have made such arrangements with their local non-Socialist papers, and we have placed them on the mailing list.

**NEWS PRESS SERVICE.**

During the sessions of Congress the National Office has sustained a press representative in Washington. He sends daily news service by mail to the Socialist dailies, and weekly service to the weekly Socialist and a number of union papers, and furnishes telegraphic service as desired. All of this service, except the telegraphic, is financed by the National Office and is supplied to the papers free of charge.

The National Office also sent a special press representative to Indianapolis for a short time. It rendered financial assistance to the representative of the Socialist press at Los Angeles. And it has arranged to cover the national convention for the Socialist press.

**FOREIGN SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS.**

There are now seven foreign speaking organizations affiliated with the party, as follows:

Bohemian, Finnish, Italian, Polish Alliance, Polish Section, Scandinavian and South Slavic.

All of these organizations are making substantial progress in carrying on Socialist propaganda among their own people.

An effort is now being made to unite the two Polish organizations.

Separate reports will be made by the Translator-Secretaries.

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.**

Our relations with the international movement have been fraternal and mutually helpful.

In the eighth International Socialist Congress, held at Copenhagen, Denmark, from August 28 to September 4, 1910, our party was represented by eight delegates, namely: Victor L. Berger, Wm. D. Haywood, Robert Hunter, Morris Hillquit, Lena Morrow Lewis, John Spargo, May Wood-Simons and Luella Twining.

**CONSTITUTIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS.**

I request that the following recommendations be submitted to the Committee on Constitution:

We have come to the point where the itch for office is likely to cause an influx of old party politicians into our ranks. We should increase the length of membership necessary to be a candidate for public office. Doubtless an attempt will be made to let down the bars and make it easier to get into the party and easier to run for office. It should be made harder, not easier. This is too critical a juncture in our movement to throw down the safeguards and allow it to become the prey of designing self-seekers.

The signing of blank resignations by our candidates for public office should be made obligatory. Even though the capitalist courts might declare such resignations void, their moral effect is great. But no committee should be entrusted with the power to fill out and file such resignations. The membership in the territory covered by the office should alone have the power to decide when such action is to be taken.

The National Executive Committee and the Woman's National Committee should be elected from districts, so that the entire nation will be represented, such districts to be apportioned according to membership.

The provision for the Woman's Department in the National Office, which now stands merely as a provision adopted by the party congress, should be made a part of the constitution. The General Correspondent should be made electable by the Woman's National Committee, and dischargeable by it or by the National Secretary. At present she is appointed by the National Secretary, with the approval of the Woman's National Committee, and dischargeable by either.

To avoid a repetition of the fiasco which we have enacted this year in selecting the time and place for the national convention, it should be provided that the conventions and congresses are to be held in the city where the national headquarters are located, and that they are to be held in May or June. The National Executive Committee or the National Secretary should be given authority to fix the exact date, which would naturally be affected by the times when appropriate halls could be secured, and other circumstances. It is the natural thing for the other parties to jockey over the place of their conventions, but it is idiotic for us to do so.

The article about referendums needs to be overhauled. Branches should be given the power to initiate or second referendums. The time when a proposed referendum expires should be the 15th of the second month after its publication in the Monthly Bulletin. At present the comments of locals or branches on proposed referendums are published in the Weekly Bulletin and also in the Monthly Bulletin. As the Weekly Bulletin is a mimeographed document and must have some limit to it, this practice is becoming impracticable.

They should be published in the Monthly Bulletin only. These comments are on the increase. They show a healthy interest in party affairs and they need to be encouraged. But, unfortunately, a local dominated by a freak can take advantage of this right and degenerate it into a nuisance. To avoid this, and also to keep the comments within reasonable space limits, each local or branch making such comments should be required to pay the cost of publishing them. When a referendum is proposed, another referendum to the same effect should not be permitted within a given length of time. And when a referendum is adopted, a referendum to undo it should not be permitted within a given length of time. The referendum is our great safeguard, and it must not be allowed to be reduced to an absurdity. It should be made entirely serviceable and at the same time fool-proof.

Branches should also be given the power to nominate candidates for national party offices.

We ought to have some method of furnishing due stamps to distressed and unemployed members, without payment by them, and also without placing the burden on the branch, local or state organizations. If the National Office furnished such stamps, they would cost nothing except the trifling amount paid for printing them. They should be identical with all the other due stamps, so that there would be no taint of charity attached to them. The local secretaries should have the power to make requisition upon the state secretaries for whatever number of stamps are needed for this purpose, and the state secretaries should have the power to make requisition upon the National Secretary for them, without any money changing hands anywhere along the line.

Wherever practicable, candidates for public office should be nominated by referendum vote. It is entirely feasible to nominate our candidates for president and vice-president in that manner. Of course, it is too late to do it this time, but it should be done hereafter. It will not only be the proper method of nominating, but it will vastly increase the usefulness of our national conventions. They are now largely spoiled by the fact that they have such candidates to select. The provision should be so worded that in case of vacancy for president, the candidate for vice-president would take this place, and in case of vacancy for vice-president, the next highest would take his place.

State organizations should be required to furnish the National Office with a list of the local and branch secretaries in the state. Any state refusing or neglecting to do so thereby fails to co-operate with the rest of the organization, and it should be denied the right to participate in national affairs. It should be denied the right to vote on national referendums, or to initiate or second referendums, or to nominate candidates for national party positions. Its members of the National Committee should also be denied the right to vote on that committee. If it has any members of the National Executive Committee or the Woman's National Committee, they should be denied the right to act on those committees.

The provision requiring the National Office to take a referendum vote of a state in order to select state officers, upon presentation of a petition in case of controversy, should be struck out. It cost the National Office considerably more than a hundred dollars last year without accomplishing anything at all. It is unworkable,

unwise and unjust. Unworkable, because it is practically impossible to tell whether a petition is valid or not, or to tell who would be eligible to vote in the referendum. Unwise, because states can settle their own trouble much better than the National Office can settle it for them. Unjust, because it disfranchises a large portion of the members.

The condition in which the party congress of 1910 left the matter of the foreign speaking organizations is unsatisfactory to everybody. It is unsatisfactory to the national organization, to the state organizations, to the county and local organizations and to the foreign speaking organizations themselves. Part of these organizations get their dues stamps from the National Office and part of them get them from their locals. Part of them pay full local and state dues, part of them pay fifty per cent of the local and state dues, and part of them only pay national dues and do not pay any local and state dues at all. This unsystematic lack of arrangement is intolerable. The constitution should be so changed that all of them would be affiliated in the same manner. They should all pay fifty per cent of the local and state dues. And they should all pay their local, state and national dues to their respective national translator-secretaries, to be properly apportioned by them. The national dues should be paid in full as heretofore, because the National Office pays the wages of the translator-secretaries and furnishes them office room free of charge, besides appropriating large sums of money to assist them in organizing work. Not more than one organization of any single nationality should be permitted to affiliate.

Free-lancing should be abolished. When a comrade makes isolated dates with locals or branches it cannot properly be called free-lancing, and if done with the consent of the state organizations there can be no objection to it. In fact, it is a nuisance for the organization to handle such dates itself. But comrades should not be permitted to make up tours in any way except through the organization, and at the regular rates. The National Executive Committee has wisely stated that it is the sense of the committee that all lectures delivered by Socialist Party members for Socialist Party locals should be arranged by the organization of the party upon the usual terms, and that Socialist Party lecturers working for non-party lyceums be requested to make a stipulation with such lyceums that application for dates shall not be made to party locals or branches. This statement should be embodied in the constitution. And, lest it should be construed to only apply to capitalist lyceum bureaus, it should be definitely provided that Socialist papers, and periodicals shall not engage in the practice of touring lecturers. It is outside their domain, and it interferes with the legitimate work of the organization.

The National Executive Committee and the National Committee should be prohibited from appropriating or loaning the party funds for purposes outside the activity of the national organization. Special calls for funds may well be made in special cases, but when money is voted out of the regular party funds, it keeps the National Office stripped of money and prevents it from developing its legitimate functions. Each appropriation or loan decreases the activity of the organization just that much.

There is no need of tying up several thousand dollars in a mileage fund by setting aside any percentage of the dues for that purpose. The necessary amount can

accumulated immediately before a convention or congress by proper administration. That provision should be struck out of the constitution.

Since the membership has greatly increased, the apportionment of delegates to national congresses and conventions, delegates to international congresses, and national committeemen, should be changed accordingly.

It is a waste of money to publish in book form the speeches made at our national conventions and congresses. The proceedings, exclusive of speeches and mere parliamentary matter, should be published. This would prevent a waste of several hundred dollars.

There should be an information department in the National Office to act as a clearing house regarding the activities of elected officials. They need to have the benefit of each other's experience, without the cost of them having to conduct a voluminous correspondence in order to secure it. Comrades in general also need this information. Such a department might also collect and furnish data on all manner of public and administrative questions.

Consideration should be given to the matter of creating departments in the National Office for the furtherance and development of the work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and of the Young People's Socialist League. These excellent activities ought to be carried on as integral parts of the organization.

The constitution should be so amended that the election of National Secretary will be at least one month before he takes office. As it stands at present, his term begins only a day or two after the elections close. This is unfortunate both for the elected and the defeated candidates, as they do not know what to count on nor whether they are at liberty to make other arrangements.

There should be a regular time set for the books of the National Office to be audited, and a method provided for selecting auditors.

The bookkeeper and assistant bookkeeper of the National Office should be required to give bond, or else the provision requiring the National Secretary to give bond should be struck out. Just as the cashier of a bank has greater opportunity to get away with the funds than the president has, so the bookkeeper and assistant bookkeeper have greater opportunity along that line than the National Secretary has. They make the entries in the books, handle the receipts and take them to the banks for deposit. I have the utmost confidence in them, but I am under bond myself, and the same caution which requires me to give bond should require it of them.

It is no longer necessary for us to print the National Office from publishing an official organ or a periodical. It might be more advantageous for us to do so. At the same rate, the way should be opened by striking out those portions of the constitution.

Our leaflets, our propaganda press service and our news press service show too plainly that we have outgrown those provisions. Steps might well be taken to secure the second class mailing rate for the Monthly Bulletin so as to send it direct to a member who subscribes, and expand it into a monthly magazine.

The party press should be owned and controlled by the party organizations, local, state and perhaps national. As for co-operative papers, there are now no more than eight companies publishing a total of over a hundred and fifty such papers,

at comparatively slight expense. Their value has been demonstrated by the election returns. These companies should be absorbed by the state or national organizations and the plan developed until there is a paper in every locality in the country. Or, in case it is not found feasible to absorb these companies, the organization should proceed to produce such papers anyhow. As to whether it should be done by the state or the national organization depends upon the wishes of the state organizations. If any considerable portion of them are unwilling to have the National Office handle the matter, it should be left to the states. This subject should receive the serious attention of the convention.

The National Executive Committee should be given authority to levy special assessments for the purpose of erecting buildings and purchasing printing machinery, also for the purpose of buying the necessary land for the buildings.

### CAMPAIGN RECOMMENDATIONS.

I request that the following recommendations be submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means.

So far as the National Office is concerned, the campaign this year should be a literature campaign. It will be necessary, of course, for the National Office to tour the candidates for president and vice-president, and for the national translator-secretaries to tour speakers among the locals and branches in their own languages. But, in general, it is very unsystematic and uneconomical for the national and state organizations each to tour speakers over the same territory. Since the state organizations will be touring speakers anyhow, they should be allowed to tour all of them, with the above exceptions. This will avoid many confusions and much bad blood. The National Office can of course use its good offices in assisting the state organizations and the speakers to get connected up together. Either this method should be adopted, or else the state organizations should practically abandon the touring of speakers during the campaign and turn the whole matter over bodily to the National Office, which they will hardly be willing to do.

If the National Office is permitted to confine itself largely to a literature campaign, it can flood the entire nation with literature. My idea is to secure the co-operation, so far as possible, of every local and branch in the United States in making systematic house-to-house distributions of leaflets once a week throughout the campaign; to get out a different leaflet each week for this purpose; to sell them to the locals and branches at cost; to furnish them free of charge to locals, branches and comrades who will undertake to distribute them in unorganized communities; to make use of the mailing list companies to send literature to vast numbers of non-Socialists; and to publish pamphlets at rock bottom prices. In this manner the National Office can carry on a stupendous literature campaign such as the Socialist Party has never undertaken or dreamed of undertaking in the past, provided we are permitted to concentrate upon it, and provided the National Office funds are not permitted to be voted away as appropriations.

It would be a mistake to have another Red Special. It was the right thing in 1908, but it would be a mistake to repeat it, for it would sap the finances and prevent the state and national organizations from carrying on the wide activities which will otherwise be possible. Immense meet-

ings can be arranged for the candidates in the regular manner, and they can be utilized for the purpose of putting vast quantities of literature into circulation.

The most direct method of raising a campaign fund is the best. I recommend that a special assessment of one dollar per member be levied; ten per cent of it to go to the National Office, forty per cent to the state office, and fifty per cent to the locals and branches.

The campaign ought not to be conducted on the vote catching plan. Without making any special appeal for votes, we will get all the votes that are coming to us and probably more. The campaign should be a campaign of education.

#### AN ERA OF BIG THINGS.

The Socialist Party is entering upon an era of big things. We must give ourselves room to do big things. We must expand our activities in accordance with the needs of the hour. We have a stupendous task before us and we must use the most efficient means of accomplishing it.

We have a stupendous task of education and a stupendous task of administration.

Anyone who permits himself to be fooled into believing that the path from here to the co-operative commonwealth is a smooth and gentle incline will find himself terribly mistaken.

On the contrary, there are mountains to climb, cliffs to scale, jungles to penetrate, rivers to ford and wild beasts to overcome, before the goal can be reached.

We shall have reverses and discouragements. We shall have need for every grain of our courage, wisdom, persistence, resourcefulness, constructiveness, and self-control.

But all obstacles will be overcome, the goal will be reached. The industry has evolved to the point where they are ripe for Socialism. It is ours to convert our fellow workingmen and women to this is true, and to transform our principles into action. We believe that the present is the most promising moment in world's history, and we face the future with enthusiastic confidence.

Fraternally submitted,

JOHN M. WORK,  
National Secretary

## APPENDIX M

## Report of Lyceum Department.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT, APRIL 15.

Receipts.	
Subscriptions:	
(Locals) .....	\$76,899.32
(Organizers) ..	379.00
(Misc.) .....	270.84
Slides (Lan-	
tern) .....	98.45
Printing .....	12.11
Special Lec-	
tures .....	1,561.31
Donations and	
Collections ..	499.51
miscellaneous ..	222.68
	<u>\$79,943.02</u>
Advanced by	
National Of-	
fice before	
Jan. 1 .....	3,038.75
	<u>\$82,981.77</u>
Expenditures.	
Postages .....	\$ 6,510.02
Stage .....	1,859.79
Telephone and	
Telegraph .....	338.00
Postage and Ex-	
press .....	1,971.54
Stationery and	
Supplies .....	536.35
Office Fixtures ..	849.19
Slides (Lantern	
Advertising) ..	124.28
Printing .....	12,250.06
Organizers .....	5,735.20
Lecturers .....	21,503.15
Subscriptions ..	27,166.58
miscellaneous ..	298.69
	<u>\$79,142.85</u>
Bank Balance,	
April 15 ....	3,838.92
	<u>\$82,981.77</u>
Assets on Hand.	
Bank Balance,	
April 15 ....	\$ 3,838.92
Office Fixtures	
(approx.) ....	700.00
Supplies .....	500.00
	<u>\$ 5,038.92</u>
Liabilities.	
Postage and Ex-	
press .....	\$ 53.51
Stationery and	
Supplies .....	45.20
Printing .....	.60
National Office.	3,086.71
	<u>\$ 3,186.12</u>
Estimate of Unfinished Business.	
Amount still due	
from Locals ..	\$21,962.28
Amount needed	
to complete	
course:	
Office (esti-	
mated) ....	\$ 400.00
Lecturers	
(estimated) ..	1,600.00
Subscriptions	
(estimated) ..	10,000.00
	<u>\$12,000.00</u>

I shall submit at the convention for the consideration of such delegates as may be interested a detailed and itemized statement of the amount paid by each Local and the amount paid to each organizer, lecturer and publisher, together with the number of subscriptions forwarded to each up to May 9th.

It is probable that this entire work will be completed without one cent of expense to the National treasury. In the amount put down as due the National Office is included one-fifth of the National Secretary's salary and part of the salary of other National Office employees proportionate to the increase that the Lyceum has meant in their work. The Lyceum has also been charged with one-half the National Office telephone, one-third the light and one-fourth of the rent, so that it can truly be said to have been self-sustaining. In comparing it with any other Party activities, this should be kept in mind:

That, whereas practically all other propaganda work is partly paid for with dues, either local, state or national, not a cent of dues-money has been used to carry on the Lyceum, except that about \$3,000 was advanced during six months preceding January 1, to start it. This is now on hand and can be returned at any time. The entire proposition has been paid for out of the commissions on the Socialist papers and books sold by the comrades.

## EVOLUTION OF LYCEUM PLAN.

But the real significance of this Lyceum work cannot be measured in terms of money. Weighing the arguments for and against it, it is essential to understand the conditions that led up to the project, the fundamental ideas at the bottom of it and the objects to be accomplished.

Like many other comrades, I have for years studied the problem of how to hold our Party membership. I noted that during campaign time our membership always grows, but when no active campaign is being waged by a local, the tendency is ever present for the organization to dissolve itself into a mere little philosophical discussion society, where a few of the faithful come together semi-occasionally and engage in the more or less pleasant pastime of "clarifying" each other.

With others, I have come to the conclusion that just as a man must exercise to develop his muscle, so an organization to hold its members and build itself up, MUST WORK.

The first purpose of the National Socialist Lyceum is to furnish this work to locals, together with a special incentive for them to do it; work that is worth while enough to bring back into the harness every old war horse and to make use of the enthusiastic energy of every new convert; work through which they will learn that they can accomplish more together as an organization than by themselves as individual bushwhackers;

work that will develop the locals into well drilled, efficient fighting armies.

The second fundamental idea of the Lyceum is that this work should be done in such a way as to secure the greatest possible results for the energy expended. It requires a certain amount of energy to take a subscription for a Socialist paper or sell a Socialist book. It also takes a similar amount of energy to get a non-Socialist to attend a Socialist lecture. By combining the two operations we make it easier to accomplish both than it was before merely to succeed in one. In other words, the subscription lecture is a labor-saving device for our propaganda. We kill two birds with one stone.

There is the additional advantage that our literature is most effective when reinforced by the personal appeal of our speakers; while on the other hand, our lecturers' message will find its readiest response if the audience has already been set to thinking by our papers, books and pamphlets. The written and the spoken word combined with the personal work of the Local Comrades form the ideal propaganda.

The third fundamental of the Lyceum plan is that the same number of speakers can accomplish more working as one team than they can in disconnected lectures.

It is impossible for one speaker to cover the whole subject of Socialism satisfactorily in one evening's time. In a series of lectures a greater measure of justice may be done, especially if each lecture is delivered by some one well suited to his special part and if each speaker knows what the other speakers have said or will say and adapts himself so that each lecture supplements the others. This was one objective in planning the lecture courses, to secure even among our speakers the greatest possible amount of "team work." The first speaker was to present the problem, the second to go into our philosophy, the third to make clear the fact that there is a class war, the fourth to eliminate all other ways of dealing with the problem and the fifth to tell how Socialists meet it. The plan was to present our whole position logically and bring the audience step by step to the inevitable conclusion, Membership in the Socialist Party.

This plan was not altogether untried. Some of its essential features had been proven successful under different private auspices. The direct antecedent of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau was the Chicago Daily Socialist Lecture Course, of which I was in charge. In spite of the fact that many mistakes were made and that financially the proposition was a failure, it was very much worth while as far as the Party was concerned, more than two thousand new members being brought into the organization through the work.

Many other papers have also conducted lectures along similar lines. Two or three papers having started in this work, competition forced others into it—they found the plan successful and within a year nearly every Socialist publisher would have been using it.

#### NATIONAL SOCIALIST LYCEUM ESTABLISHED.

Now, as long as there were only a few trying to route speakers, it did not cause much confusion in the Party work, but a score or more different agencies trying to make dates for speakers independently of each other would cause a confusion altogether unbearable. It would also mean a great waste in competitive advertising on the part of the different publishers to persuade the Locals to take up this proposition

or that one. It would mean a terrible waste of railroad fare in touring so many speakers back and forth across the country with no plan or system.

According to our Socialist philosophy such conditions in the commercial field breed cut-throat competition, resulting in strong gobbling up the weak; then the survivors, seeing the cost of their competitive war, get together in a "trust."

This same condition would have developed in the Socialist propaganda field; a central Lyceum Bureau would inevitably have grown up controlled by the strongest Socialist publishers. If such a central bureau controlling practically all prominent Socialist speakers, had been allowed to grow up outside the party organization, it would have meant to say the least, a dangerous concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals without corresponding responsibility to the party membership.

This was the condition that faced the National Executive Committee at its meeting in Boston on May 1st, 1911, when I laid before them the plan for the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau, to be established at National Headquarters under the control of the party. There were only three possible ways of meeting the situation:

1—To do what some of the State Organizations tried to do; that is, to prohibit speakers from taking speakers routed on the subscription plan. This would have stopped the smaller papers from entering this line of work, but would not have prevented more powerful ones from doing so. It would therefore have been manifestly unjust. Even if this could have been done it would not have been desirable because subscription lectures offered the best, most effective propaganda yet devised.

2—To let the whole development go on its logical conclusion. This would have meant within the near future a central Lyceum Bureau outside the party organization and party control that would have absorbed and assumed many of the functions that long to the State and National offices.

3—The only other alternative was a course that was pursued—the establishment of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau.

The fundamental object of this bureau, which must always be kept in mind, is to help build up the Socialist Party organization.

#### PROGRESS OF THE WORK.

It was decided to conduct the Bureau along the most liberal lines possible with the following limitations:

(a) Every speaker to be a good standing party member.

(b) The Lyceum Course to be placed only with locals in good standing and only with the consent of state officers.

(c) Only periodicals controlled by good standing party members to be handled.

The first letter announcing the plans of the Bureau was sent to state secretaries June 1. Beginning June 26, I put in all time in the National Office, directing Lyceum work. The response from state secretaries, locals, speakers and publishers was most gratifying, and on August 11, when the Executive Committee met in Milwaukee I was able to report that only one state refused permission to the operation of the Lyceum; that most of the states were operating with a splendid spirit; that a sufficient list of speakers had expressed their willingness to serve on the Lyceum, that the plans had met with enthusiastic response from a sufficient number of locals to guarantee a fair measure of success to enterprise.

The Committee approved the plans as a whole. With their sanction the country was divided into four circuits and afterward the assignment of the speakers and subjects made substantially as follows:

## LIST OF SUBJECTS.

1. How We Are Gouged.
2. Why Things Happen to Happen.
3. The War of the Classes.
4. The Trust Busters.
5. Socialists at Work.

## LIST OF CIRCUITS AND SPEAKERS.

Eastern Circuit—64 Lecture Courses.

TERRITORY: New England, Atlantic Coast States and Pennsylvania.

- SPEAKERS: 1. Charles Edward Russell, Janet Fenimore.  
2. Walter J. Millard.  
3. Ben F. Wilson, James H. Maurer.  
4. John W. Slayton.  
5. Lena Morrow Lewis.

Central Circuit—68 Lecture Courses.

TERRITORY: Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas.

- SPEAKERS: 1. Arthur Brooks Baker.  
2. W. Harry Spears.  
3. Frank Bohn.  
4. Phil H. Callery.  
5. A. W. Ricker, Walter J. Millard.

Western Circuit—85 Lecture Courses.

TERRITORY: Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma.

- SPEAKERS: 1. W. F. Ries.  
2. Ernest Untermann.  
3. R. A. Maynard.  
4. Mila Tupper Maynard.  
5. Ralph Korngold.

Pacific Circuit—92 Lecture Courses.

TERRITORY: Montana, Idaho, Utah, Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado.

- SPEAKERS: 1. Eugene Wood, Edward Adams Cantrell.  
2. N. A. Richardson.  
3. George D. Brewer.  
4. May Wood-Simons, Anna A. Maley.  
5. George H. Goebel.

The plans for the Lyceum also received the unanimous endorsement of the convention of Socialist Elected Officials Meeting in Milwaukee during the Executive Committee session.

According to these plans we issued special combination subscription tickets good for admission to the lectures and also for subscriptions to Socialist papers and books. A ticket to one lecture was attached to each 25 cent subscription and a ticket to all the lectures to each dollar subscription. The course of five lectures was offered the locals as a prize for selling \$300 worth of these combination subscriptions. In this way every worker could hustle for the publication that he liked best and the subscriber could get the one of his own choice with the lecture ticket. We paid the speakers' wages and expenses and furnished advertising matter. The locals got the collections and literature sales made at the meetings and a commission of 40 per cent on all the combination subscriptions sold above the \$300 requirement.

One good fortune deserves mention here. We discovered that Comrade Arthur Brooks Baker, who was to have worked as an advance organizer, was an expert printer. With

his help we published for the advertising appropriation of \$30 that we had allowed for each local, not only a much greater quantity of advertising matter than we had originally planned, but advertising matter of a much higher grade than we had hoped to produce.

Our plan included sending advance organizers to locals to make the preliminary arrangements. The following are the comrades selected for this work and the number of days that each one was in the field:

Arthur Brooks Baker	4
Thomas G. Beem	9
Frank Bohn	5
Prudence Stokes Brown	167
Edwin F. Cassidy	77
H. G. Creel	18
Leon Durocher	101
M. J. Hynes	115
W. B. Killingbeck	33
Anna A. Maley	12
Edward J. McGurty	21
H. C. Mestemaker	71
Ernest J. Moore	172
J. E. Snyder	105
Piet Vlag	9
Clyde J. Wright	68

Quite a number of locals that were not visited by field men took the offer up by mail; altogether 442 locals accepted the proposition and signed the agreement to sell at least \$300 worth of subscriptions for the Lyceum Course.

## SHORTCOMINGS.

Before mentioning the results achieved through this work, I want to say that no one can realize more fully than those of us that were actively engaged in conducting it, how far it has fallen short of the possibilities, financially as well as in other ways. In no single detail is the work above criticism; in no detail has it been done as well as it should be done.

There are many reasons for this, some of which I want to mention, not as excuses but as explanations, in the hope that they will help increase the effectiveness of whatever may be undertaken in the future.

**LACK OF EXPERIENCE.**—Both we here in the office and the comrades in the field lacked experience. Much time and money was used for correspondence which would have been needless if we could have furnished locals and hustlers with printed instruction books, covering the different contingencies that would be likely to arise. In many ways we had to experiment. Now we KNOW.

**A LATE START.**—The preliminary work was begun too late to get full results. In many cases it was impossible to get out the advertising as early as it should have been sent. Some of the locals did not have sufficient time to make their own advance arrangements and sell the subscriptions. Capitalist bureaus begin their preliminary work over a year in advance, and their local contracts are usually made several months in advance. We can not begin too early for the coming season.

**SHORT FUNDS.**—The Lyceum was greatly handicapped at the beginning by lack of funds. We could not carry on the right sort of advertising campaign and we could not put out enough advance organizers. Later, when we had plenty of money for these things, the season was too far advanced for the best work.

**SHORT HELP.**—In launching such a large enterprise, involving so much work in new fields, the Lyceum needed several men of force and initiative, capable of taking charge of the various departments, thinking out plans and putting them into execution. It is

not easy to secure Socialists possessing these qualifications so long as privately-owned publishing houses are glad to pay them much better salaries than the National Office is permitted to offer.

**HIGH COST.**—The Lyceum Course cost the locals too much. Many elements contributed to this high cost.

First—There was much waste, part of which was inevitable because of the difficulties incidental to the launching of any enterprise, but some of which might easily have been avoided had all concerned given their hearty co-operation.

Second—We were compelled to use expensive advertising, to compete with privately-owned Socialist publishing houses for the enlistment of the party workers and hustlers. This turning the attention and arousing the enthusiasm of the workers cost a great deal of money. We were at a decided disadvantage, as our competitors, with second-class postal rate and rapid-fire periodical issue reached the worker often and cheaply, while we could only talk to him at longer intervals and high expense.

Third—The experiments necessarily attending the building of a new business necessitated items of cost which will not be a permanent feature. For instance, now that the locals generally are familiar with the plans, it will not be necessary to repeat the pioneer work of sending out advance organizers, which this year cost nearly \$6,000.

Fourth—The business methods used, both by the Bureau and the locals, were so loose as to involve much unnecessary expense. We offered them a contract which was not sufficiently rigid; they accepted it because it was easy to sign, and in many cases did not even attempt to carry out their obligations. All the expense of advance work, correspondence, etc., with locals which failed to make good was necessarily shifted upon those that were able and willing to carry out their obligations.

Fifth—Because of inadequate preliminary work, the fixing of dates was done too late, and to accommodate locals which secured their halls at the eleventh hour the speakers were often obliged to "back track" at greatly increased mileage and expense. By working farther in advance, a more nearly perfect order of dating can be secured and the mileage greatly lessened.

Sixth—The same rush of work and lack of time caused unnecessary expense in routing the lecturers. Instead of each speaker beginning near his home, several were transported two thousand miles to the place of their first engagement, receiving wages and all expenses while en route.

Seventh—While the manufacturing cost of the advertising matter was low owing to the great quantities purchased, the results secured were at high cost. Owing to the rush of work, with insufficient help, many locals received their advertising too late to get its full value (even though we sent some of it by high-priced express). Many others, not having paid directly for the advertising, failed to appreciate its value and did not circulate it properly. In fact, from lecturers' reports, the advertising was properly and fully used only in exceptional cases. This was largely the fault of our office, in that while we gave full instructions, we had no system of constantly reminding and urging upon committees the necessity of circulating and posting their paper.

Another factor which decreased the results of the Lyceum and increased the cost per local over what it should have been, was the lack of co-operation of some of the state offices and the active hostility of certain individuals. Furthermore, some of the

papers that should have been enthusiastic in support of this plan to build up a better party organization remained silent. It was impossible to achieve the best results and the greatest economy without the publicity that similar enterprises conducted under private agencies had secured in the past.

All this meant for us an indirect expense of thousands of dollars so that instead of having a \$10,000.00 surplus we are coming out barely even financially. We must learn how to co-operate so as to do our party propaganda work with less waste.

Still another respect in which this year's Lyceum fell far short of the original plans is in the lecturers themselves. The fact is that the speakers did NOT do the desired team work. The lecture course was not altogether what we intended it should be: a connected series of lectures giving a logical presentation of the entire Socialist position. This was due partly to the fact that the individuality of most lecturers is abnormally developed so that it is hard for them to overcome the temptation to "star" rather than work as members of a team, but the main reason for this shortcoming was that because of lack of time any adequate interchange of ideas preliminary to the lecture tour was practically impossible.

A further criticism of this year's work can be made because contrary to original intentions some of the speakers peddled literature for their own profit. They should be excused since this has been the custom for Socialist speakers in the past who thereby increased a wage which seemed to them insufficient. We ourselves are to blame, since because of lack of time and lack of experienced help we had not worked out a systematic plan for handling the literature to be sold at the meetings.

But all the energy wasted here at the office and by the lecturers is insignificant when compared with the energy wasted by some of the locals as measured in their failure to make the most of their opportunities. Compared to what might have been done the results achieved are small indeed. Compared to our hopes and aspirations the Lyceum cannot yet be called a success, but it would not be just to weigh it in such a scale.

## RESULTS.

In spite of all these mistakes and shortcomings; in spite of all disappointments, difficulties and obstacles, the following results were accomplished:

1—309 of the 442 locals that voted to take up the Lyceum Course carried it through, which means a total of 1,545 Lyceum lectures. The average audience at the Lyceum lectures was over 300. In addition to the Lyceum lectures 82 special lectures were given on open dates. The advance organizers had over 500 advertised meetings. The Lyceum work has brought together audiences totaling over five hundred thousand.

2—The number of subscriptions to Socialist papers forwarded to the publishers up to April 15th was 50,494. The number of cloth bound books sold on the Lyceum subscription cards was 18,000, while the number of paper bound books sold in this way was 24,735, making the total number of subscriptions for books and papers, already forwarded to the publishers 93,229.

3—The reports from Lyceum locals indicate that in addition to all this literature sold on Lyceum subscriptions, the literature sales at the meetings averaged about \$10.00. The Lyceum has therefore already meant the distribution of about \$100,000.00 worth of Socialist papers and books, about one-half of the total being books.



4—Over 2,000,000 pieces of advertising matter were distributed. All of this was arranged so as to have the greatest possible propaganda value, especially the big 16 page folders, over 300,000 of which were used.

5—We have received clippings from capitalist papers totalling about 10,000 inches of reports of Lyceum lectures. In many ways this is the most valuable feature of the entire work, since the paragraphs quoted from the Lyceum lectures printed in the local capitalist papers reached a vast number of people to whom the message could not be carried by any other method. It would have cost the party many thousands of dollars to accomplish a similar amount of propaganda in other ways.

6—In some of the locals individual comrades found it necessary to dig into their own pockets to make up the amount due on the Lyceum Course, but reports show that other locals have made enough profit from the lectures to offset this.

7—A number of new locals have been organized by the Lyceum lecturers on open dates. Collections were taken up at many of the meetings for the benefit of strikers in different parts of the country, thousands of signatures were secured to the woman suffrage petition, and in many other ways the Lyceum was made use of to help along other party activities.

8—The records of the National Office show that the Lyceum work did not supplant activity in other lines, but that the locals working on the Lyceum Course at the same time ordered more than their proportion of leaflets for house to house distribution, pamphlets and other literature for sale. Reports from the locals also indicate that the Lyceum work did not decrease but rather augmented the demand for local speakers.

9—Specific reports received from a large number of the locals that had the Lyceum Course indicate that the work has brought into the party to date in those locals at least 10,000 new members. This means additional dues of \$6,000 per annum to the national treasury, \$6,000 to the state offices and \$18,000 to the locals concerned. It is of course true that other agitation preceding the Lyceum Course is largely responsible for the members so far brought in. On the other hand it is equally true that the full effects will not be felt for a long time to come, since the people whom the Lyceum has started studying this winter will only in exceptional instances join the party before next year.

10—A large number of locals that have had the Lyceum Course have been successful in their local elections this spring, and at least a few of them attribute their success at the polls directly to the general influence of the Lyceum work upon their community.

11—According to reports received from secretaries, the Lyceum has increased the working efficiency of nearly every local that took it up. It means a vastly more efficient campaign next fall than would otherwise have been possible. The fact that this has been carried through successfully will gradually get the comrades to more and more make use of the organization for doing their work. The experience gained through the Lyceum will be an invaluable asset to the locals for whatever they may undertake in the future.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS.

For the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of the work I made certain recommendations to the Executive Committee at its March session. In order to learn

the sentiment of the locals that had this year's Lyceum Course and to secure further data as a guide to future action, I submitted the same propositions to an advisory referendum of the Lyceum locals and the state secretaries of the 41 states in which the Lyceum was held. I am pleased to announce that of all these state secretaries only two voted against the continuation of the Lyceum and of the 182 locals whose advisory ballots we have received only one voted against it and 181 voted to continue the Lyceum, which is about as nearly unanimous as anything has ever been in the Socialist Party. (96 of these locals reported the number voting which was 1,893 yes and only 25 nays.)

We may be pardoned for feeling gratified with this splendid endorsement of the Lyceum plan on the part of comrades who out on the firing line have stood the brunt of the fight, and whose devotion to the cause and never-tiring work without hope of immediate personal reward has made possible whatever of success has been achieved.

Most of these recommendations are mere matters of administrative detail and should not properly take up any of the convention's time. Since, however, a general knowledge of the problems that confront the management of the Lyceum is essential to its greatest success, I herewith append the recommendations together with the vote thereon, the first figure in each case representing the vote of the locals and the second the vote of the state secretaries. I shall also add to each recommendation some of my reasons for making it.

1. That the Lyceum be continued next year with such changes as seem advisable.

Yes, 181 and 20; No, 1 and 2.

Comment:—There are four possible courses of action: (1) the entire work of arranging subscription lectures or Socialist lecture courses could be prohibited. No argument seems necessary on this point.

(2) This work could be left to the private agencies of Socialist publishers. The reasons that were given earlier in this report and that prevailed with the executive committees one year ago should be sufficient here.

(3) The work could be turned over entirely to the state offices. This does not seem to me a good plan since most of the state offices are in no way equipped to handle the details of such a proposition and even if all of them were so equipped it would mean in many ways a worse than useless duplication of effort. Much of the Lyceum work can be done as easily for the whole United States as for one state or even one local. It would mean applying to our own problems the logic of a Bryan, who would "Bust the Trust" and go back to the days of small-scale production.

(4) Let the Lyceum develop under national auspices, with the guidance of the Executive Committee and under the control of the party membership, in such ways as experience may teach to be wisest and best. This is my recommendation.

2. That the preliminary work start as soon as possible, but that the lecture course do not begin until after the fall election.

Yes, 176 and 18; No, 6 and 2.

Comment:—This past season we were behind the time all the time. The work was not started early enough. At least six months should elapse between the selection of speakers and the beginning of their lecture tours. I therefore recommend, that the preliminary work begin immediately.

I do not however, agree with some enthusiastic comrades who want the Lyceum lectures to run during the campaign. Most competent speakers are already engaged, and most state secretaries have already completed their plans for the fall campaign. Let us take advantage of every ounce of campaign enthusiasm for selling Lyceum subscriptions but, in order to avoid confusion and secure the best possible results, let us not start the lecturers themselves until after election.

3. That two lecture courses be arranged, one course of six numbers at \$300, another course of three numbers for \$150.

Yes, 174 and 19; No, 3 and 1.

Comment:—Since I made this recommendation Comrade Arthur Brooks Baker, the printing expert whose technical knowledge has already saved the National Office many thousands of dollars, has revised our estimates on advertising and printing costs. I have carefully gone over all the other figures in the light of last season's experience, and feel sure that if the recommendations made in this report are adopted, we can give the Lyceum Course of five lectures to every local that sells \$150.00 worth of subscriptions, instead of requiring \$300.00 worth as last season. I therefore recommend one lecture course of five numbers for \$150.00 worth of subscriptions.

4. That one of these numbers be an illustrated lecture.

Yes, 177 and 16; No, 2 and 3.

Comment:—There has been considerable demand for an illustrated lecture. I myself do not yet know as to the practicability of making one of the Lyceum lectures an illustrated lecture, and would like to hear from all who have experience on the subject.

5. That the Executive Committee put on the "Approved List" at least twice as many speakers as will be needed.

Yes, 173 and 18; No, 4 and 1.

Comment:—In filling vacancies this season, we could not consider the wants of comrades in states to be traversed, since the small approved list left the management so little choice. It may be that it would be impossible to find enough speakers to carry out this proposal literally, but there should be an approved list so large that we can at all times give due consideration to the special adaptability of speakers to subject and territory. Of course, no speakers will receive any pay except those actually employed.

6. That opinions on party tactics receive no consideration in the selection of speakers and that on the other hand the speakers be instructed not to dwell on these moot questions during their lectures.

Yes, 171 and 17; No, 9 and 4.

Comment:—The Lyceum should be above factional fights. We should select speakers not because of opinions on tactics, but only for their special qualifications as Lyceum lecturers. On the other hand, they should use their position, not to boost party factions but to teach undisputed fundamentals.

7. That speakers be paid a uniform flat rate of \$50 per week and railroad fare, and that they pay out of their \$50 their own hotel bills and incidentals, it being understood that \$28 of this is wages and \$22 personal expenses.

Yes, 167 and 11; No, 11 and 7.

Comment:—Under the Executive Committee's ruling that the constitutional limit of \$3 per day for organizers did not apply

to Lyceum lecturers, we paid them \$35 per week and railroad fare and personal expenses. Personal expense accounts of different speakers varied so greatly that it seems better to pay a flat rate and let them pay their expenses. This last season the speakers cost from \$55 to \$70 per week plus railroad fare. I now recommend that this be REDUCED to \$49 per week and R. R. fare, which would be just \$4 per day salary and \$3 for hotel and incidental expenses.

I certainly do not favor the fancy salaries that some are said to draw from our movement, but on the other hand I think our speakers should not feel compelled to make out their incomes by peddling things for private profit as seems to have been the custom in the past, but should receive enough to keep themselves in good condition and care for their families.

If this conflicts with the constitution then let's amend the constitution.

8. That party membership of at least three years' standing be required of Lyceum lecturers.

Yes, 147 and 19; No, 31 and 2.

Comment:—It may be that three years is rather long, but I am sure that the best interests of the movement demand that ambitious orators be "kept in pickle" at least two years.

9. That the maximum wage limit in the office be raised to equal that of the speakers.

Yes, 151 and 10; No, 21 and 5.

Comment:—At present the highest wage that can be paid to any office employee is \$21 per week. My recommendation is to raise this maximum limit to \$28 per week.

Different departments of the work should be in charge of specialists who are also in demand elsewhere. The inevitable effect of the present limitation is that some of the best brains in the movement are bought by private enterprises more or less indirectly connected with it, instead of being in the direct service of the party.

10. That I be permitted to scour the country for the best and most efficient persons for this work.

Yes, 174 and 19; No, 7 and 1.

Comment:—I do not wish to minimize the worth of private enterprises in advancing the Socialist movement. But to me the most important part of the work is that done directly through the party organization. I believe that our party should have in its service the most efficient machinery, the most efficient methods and the most efficient men that can be had. If I am to manage the Lyceum, I want permission to search for and secure the best persons for this work no matter where or by whom they may at present be employed.

11. That as much as possible of the work, especially the advance work, be turned over to State Offices, and that the State Offices be paid \$10 for each Local that makes good on the \$300 course, and \$5.00 for each Local that makes good on the \$150 course.

Yes, 162 and 17; No, 16 and 4.

Comment:—Most of the Lyceum work can be done so much cheaper and better from one central point that it would be ridiculous to divide it up among forty different State Offices. However, some of the for instance the advance work, could in many cases be directed better by the State Secretaries, who know the Locals in the territory. There seems to be some opposition to turning this work over to the State Offices on the part of State Secretaries themselves, and I have come to the conclusion that it would be best to make

cial arrangements only with those State offices that may be able and willing to do this special work.

12. That the list of "approved speakers" be submitted to State Offices or their approval.

Yes, 169 and 18; No, 11 and 3.

Comment:—This merely means that no speakers shall be toured in a State whom the State does not want. It is very embarrassing to bring these matters up after arrangements have already been made. Unmy plan dislikes could be discovered and taken into consideration before the speakers are assigned.

13. That publication of a series of special propaganda leaflets for Lyceum advertising be authorized.

Yes, 179 and 20; No, 1 and 1.

Comment:—I propose the publication of special propaganda leaflets to fit the course outline, two of the leaflets to distributed house to house before the first lecture and one before each of the others, each leaflet to advertise the following lecture. In this way an immense amount of propaganda work will be accomplished in a systematic manner.

14. That the Lyceum Department be permitted to publish a weekly leaflet for "Party Boosters," this leaflet to be mailed under second class rates.

Yes, 176 and 18; No, 5 and 3.

Comment:—This year it cost \$100 postage to send a message to each of the 5,000 Lyceum hustlers. To send the same message a leaflet under second class rates would cost only fifty cents postage, a difference of \$99.50. If there were a party paper in which a column could be devoted to the Lyceum work, this leaflet would not be needed, but as it is the Lyceum is very much "hobbled." I believe that the party's Lyceum Bureau should have as good opportunity to encourage party builders to their best efforts as different private institutions have to enthruse their respective supporters. This year's experience teaches that such a periodical is essential to the great success of this or any other party work.

15. That a report of this year's Lyceum Bureau, together with the plans for next year, be submitted to the National Convention for endorsement.

Yes, 176 and 21; No, 1 and 0.

Comment:—By this I do not mean to take up the time of this Convention with a discussion of these recommendations in detail. They are properly the work of administration, and the management should be left free to work out these problems as they present themselves, under the guidance of the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee. The Convention will probably not care to consume its time discussing details of the Lyceum management, but I shall be glad to receive personally all suggestions from individual delegates who have ideas on how to improve the work. The question, however, of stopping or continuing the Lyceum work is one that in my judgment must be decided by the Convention.

This past season every bit of progress made by the Lyceum has been made with brakes set in certain quarters, which made the work exceedingly difficult. The Lyceum should either be stopped altogether or should have the united support of the entire party organization. The endorsement of the proposition as a whole on the part of this Convention would gain this united support. I therefore recommended the Executive Committee that the ques-

tion of continuing the Lyceum be referred to the Convention.

Some additional recommendations that in my opinion will greatly increase the effectiveness of the Lyceum work are the following:

16. That we select a series of books, appropriate for the different lecture subjects, and either publish them ourselves or buy them in large quantities. Lecturers and publishers should not exploit the Lyceum audiences for private profit. Literature sold at Lyceum lectures should be handled systematically through the Lyceum and the Locals.

Comment:—This recommendation I submitted in a letter to Lyceum Locals and received unanimous endorsement. I believe the best results would be obtained by selling, after each lecture, printed copies of the lecture itself. Comrade Baker, who has demonstrated with "The Growing Grocery Bill" that he can substantiate his printing estimates, tells me that if we publish the lectures ourselves we can retail them in the form of 32-page pamphlets at ten for a dime and still turn over 50 per cent of the selling price to the Locals. I recommend that all the Lyceum lectures be published.

On the back of each pamphlet could be stamped an announcement of the following lecture. The people who buy these pamphlets at one lecture will distribute them to their neighbors, and in that way not only do some excellent propaganda work, but also help to build up the audience for the next speaker.

17. That the publication of ten Socialist books, approximately the size of "What's So and What Isn't," be authorized for sale in connection with the Lyceum lectures.

Comment:—In no way can we facilitate the sale of Lyceum subscriptions more than by putting into concrete, visible, tangible form the best book offer ever presented to the public.

We now know that even without a National Print Shop, such as I hope will be established, we can print on our own account ten books, averaging 160 pages each, total 1,600 pages, and sell them together with a Lyceum ticket for fifty cents. To make this possible we would have to ship to the Locals direct by freight and get cash in advance from the Locals. But by placing in the hands of the hustler a set of paper covered volumes which the prospective customer could see and feel and weigh, we would be giving the Comrade Hustler a lever with which he would find it easy to pry loose the fifty-cent piece.

The ten books should be selected so as to cover the main elements of the Socialist Philosophy and their application to present day problems, following the same general outline as the leaflets and the lectures themselves.

18. That the \$3,000 advanced by the National Office last year to start the Lyceum be left in the Lyceum Fund for beginning this year's work.

Comment:—Even this sum is utterly inadequate to start the work upon the scale that it should be done. I believe, however, that by using our credit and getting the Locals to make advance payments the plans can be worked out to bring a sufficient income by the time the \$3,000 is spent to carry on this work. Next fall the \$3,000 could be returned to the National Treasury.

#### CONCLUSION.

If these recommendations are adopted by the Executive Committee and the Lyceum is endorsed by the Convention, we shall

make the following offer to the Locals:

A lecture course of five numbers to every Local that sells \$150 worth of subscriptions. Every 50-cent subscription will entitle the holder to admission to the entire course of five lectures and to a library of 10 Socialist books or a 50-cent subscription to any other Socialist books or papers whose publishers give a satisfactory rate to the Lyceum. This offer is the best that can be made until the party owns its own press and its own publishing plant, which I hope will be in the near future.

Under such an unprecedented offer even Locals in the smallest country towns could avail themselves of this great organizing campaign. Judging from this year's experience, two thousand Locals could make a success of this undertaking, necessitating 16 circuits with five speakers on each circuit. This would mean in round figures 80 lecturers, each filling 125 dates, a total of ten thousand Lyceum lectures for the season. It would mean the selling of at least four million Socialist books, and several hundred thousand subscriptions to Socialist papers. It would mean the circulation of ten million pamphlets and the distribution of thirty million propaganda leaflets. It

would mean that instead of our campaign relaxing after the National election the fall, it would increase in vigor and enthusiasm throughout the entire year.

I feel sure that these estimates can be surpassed with this Lyceum plan. It combines logically arranged series of lectures by specially trained speakers, careful planned publicity campaign in the Capitalist press, publication and sale of specially prepared lecture pamphlets, publication and sale of a special library of ten strong propaganda books, sale of subscriptions to all other Socialist papers and books, house to house distribution of a suitable series of propaganda leaflets, personal effort of every live member and co-operation of State Organizers, State Offices and the National.

It means co-ordinating all the different factors of our movement so as to get the greatest possible results for every ounce of our energy. It means the development of great labor saving device to do our propaganda and organization work. It means LESS FRICTION AND MORE POWER.

Fraternally submitted,

L. E. KATTERFELD,  
Manager

## APPENDIX N

### Report of Representative Victor L. Berger, of the Fifth District of Wisconsin, as to His Activity.

The fall election of 1910 marked a new epoch in the history of the Socialist movement in America. A Socialist was elected to the Congress of the United States.

Naturally I considered it a great honor to be the first representative of the class conscious proletariat of America in the halls of our national legislature. But having been in the fight for the emancipation of the working class for almost a generation, I also at once realized the difficulty of my position. I was the only member of a much feared and much hated party in the lower House, with 391 other members of the House, and 96 Senators, absolutely and uncompromisingly opposed to me on all vital political and economic questions.

Moreover, our republic differs from all other republics known in the civilized world. The President of the United States is not only the chief executive and is elected by a general vote of all citizens—on account of his veto power he also forms a very important part of the national legislature.

Under our Constitution the real power of the House of Representatives lies in the fact that the House, being the so-called popular branch of the legislature, has the sole power to originate bills raising revenue—the Senate has only the power to amend a bill containing an appropriation, and cannot originate an appropriation.

Our Constitution was formed very much after the English form of government—as to the control of the treasury our House of Representatives was to resemble the House of Commons in England.

In our country, however, in practice this power of the House of Representatives is reduced to a shadow.

The shortness of the term of the members of the House when compared with the much longer term of the Senators, and the Senate's power over the patronage of the different districts very soon gave all the practical advantages to the Senate. The Senate today is really the ruling legislative body of our country.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that when our constitution was formed less than one-third of the male inhabitants were given the right to vote. The upper house of our national legislature was even created for the very purpose of representing "the wealth and invested interests of the country" as Alexander Hamilton put it—even against that third of the male population that could vote for it.

From the beginning of our government the Senate was intended to "form a check upon the will of the people." Therefore, its selection was removed from the people as far as possible and put in the hands of the respective legislatures.

Our reformers have been trying to remedy this by having the senators elected directly by the people. However, this so-

called remedy is only superficial. Even in a reformed Senate the 30,000 voters of Wyoming would have as many Senators as the two million voters of New York, which is absurd on the face of it, although the Senators of each state are elected directly by the people.

Moreover, the Senate is indefensible as a check against bad legislation. Either the Senate agrees to the legislation proposed by the Representatives of the people and then it is superfluous. Or it is opposed to the legislation of the Representatives of the people and then it is dangerous and undemocratic.

If there is any corrective to be provided in a democracy, let democracy provide for it. The best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation is a referendum of the people. Abolish the Senate. The best cure for any ills of democracy is more democracy. I mention this only so that some of my bills should be understood.

The fact is that the Senate is the paramount power in the Congress of the United States and that as a body it represents best the power of capitalism.

The Senate has a small membership, and discussion in the Senate is unlimited; thus one senator with some powers of endurance may talk to death any bill which he opposes. The House has a very large membership and this has made it necessary to limit the right of the individual members to speak and to offer amendments from the floor.

The short intervals between elections of members of the House which makes many of them in a sense permanent candidates and the fact that most of them are lawyers and professional orators makes stringent rules obviously necessary to limit the output of oratory.

The proceedings of the two houses of Congress are supposed to be published verbatim in the Congressional Record. Therefore, the custom has grown up of printing speeches that have never been delivered on the floor. And this is a wise custom owing to the temptation of the members to impress themselves upon their constituents at home by making speeches in Congress.

As it is, the constructive work amounts to very little. Our system of government by checks and balances—the ideal of the American bourgeois—and the antiquated constitution have resulted in the fact that not a single great and important measure has passed our Congress in thirty years, unless we consider tariff bills and the Sherman anti-trust act as great and important measures.

Moreover, both houses of Congress are practically made up of the same type of men. Wealth was always held in great respect in our country. When our government was formed George Washington was

chosen the first president not only on account of his merits, but also because he was the richest man in America.

The majority of the members of Congress belong to what I would call the upper middle class. Capitalism as a whole is of course excellently represented—especially the railroads, the manufacturers, the banks and similar interests. Yet there are even large groups within the capitalist class of America that are not over-well represented. An overwhelming majority of both houses is made up of lawyers. There are quite a number of business men and manufacturers, and I also want to say in connection with this, that these men are not dishonest or crooked as is often claimed. They are as a rule honest to the class and the interest they represent, only they do not represent our class, nor our class interest.

As everybody knows there are a few workmen in the House of Representatives—about half a dozen so-called card men—men with union cards in their pockets. They do in no way, however, differ from the other representatives of the capitalist parties in their votes, argumentation or method of thinking.

Practically all the work of Congress and of the House of Representatives is done in the committees. There is hardly any possibility of rejecting a bill that is proposed by the ruling party in the House of Representatives. Of course the bills are discussed in the committee of the whole and smaller amendments are occasionally agreed to. But as a rule, the Democrats will vote absolutely with the Democratic leaders and the Republicans with the Republican leaders, and every one knows beforehand what the fate of the bill is going to be when it is once reported to the House.

There is no such thing as an adverse or unfavorable report in the House. A bill reported always means favorably reported by the majority of the committee. If the minority disagrees it can make a minority report. Of the many thousand bills introduced only very few are reported.

Of the nearly 40,000 bills introduced in the preceding Congress, only 700 became law—the great majority of these were administrative acts of small importance to the country in general. Besides these, Congress passed about 6,000 private pension bills.

Such are the parliamentary conditions that confronted your first Socialist Congressman. They are as unfavorable to any new departure as they can possibly be, and yet some people expected wonderful things. It is no exaggeration to say that not only the eyes of the Socialist Party, but the attention of the entire American people, as far as it gave any attention to the doings of Congress, were riveted upon me.

I could not afford to do or say anything that would make one cause and one party ridiculous before the many millions that are not yet with us. There was no precedent in the experience of any other party in our country to guide me, because ours was essentially a two-party country in the past—the People's party never got a real first hold in Congress.

In Germany they always had many parties and three Social Democrats were elected right from the beginning to the Reichstag in 1867, so that was no criterion to go by. Our parliamentarism is of an entirely different makeup. It is based upon the two-party system. The appointment for the committees, where all the real legislative work is done, and even the assignment of the time for the debate is on a two-party basis.

There were two ways before me. I could make a free-speech fight all alone, try to break down all precedent and all barriers speak about the coming revolution and the co-operative commonwealth, as long as my lung power would hold out, and wind up my short parliamentary career by being suspended from the House, and thus also make an end to political action by this "direct action."

Or I could pursue the other course, obey all rules and precedents of the House until they are changed—get the respect and the attention of my fellow members, speak sparingly and only when measures directly concerning the working-class are up for discussion, giving, however, close attention to all the business before the House of Representatives. This latter course I decided to follow—and this I did follow from the very beginning.

Owing to the unique position I held, however, I was from the beginning called upon to do a greater variety of things than any other Congressman in Washington.

Not only did my correspondence grow to such enormous proportions that it kept three secretaries busy, although only about three per cent of this correspondence came from my district. But the answering of these letters was only one part of that work. I was also considered a court of last resort for a great number of men and women who had real or imaginary grievances, against our government and our federal courts, or even against state governments and state courts. Moreover, I was the recipient of requests for investigations of all kinds in the various departments of our government, and of course was asked to protect numerous immigrants all over the country who were either to be sent back to Europe or were refused admission for various reasons, some of them being political refugees.

In each and all cases I did examine the evidence and the circumstances, and wherever there was even the slightest chance of making good on the case, I took it up with the respective departments. And I succeeded in very numerous instances.

I take pleasure in stating I was treated with uniform civility by the government and I am especially indebted to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Hon. Charles Nagel, an otherwise very conservative gentleman, who went as far as the existing law would permit him, in helping me with immigrant cases, his office allowing him considerable discretion in the matter.

The work of the departments was exceedingly laborious, and took a great deal of time, not only of myself, but also of my helpmates in the office. On this occasion I want to acknowledge my appreciation of the very valuable services of my secretary and comrade, Wm. J. Ghent, not only in answering letters, but in helping me to frame bills.

In the framing and introducing of bills embodying the demands of the platforms of the Socialist Party of America and of the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, I saw one of my most important duties—because thus I gave expression to the concrete demands as well as to the hopes and ambitions of my class. As to my votes in the House I tried to follow strictly not only the letter but the spirit of our platform.

I may divide my work on general lines in legislative activities, work before committees, and departmental activities.

The following are some of the more important facts, some of them very big, some of them very small—just as life is made up of big and small things. All of them

will convey the idea, however, that I always tried to fulfill my duty as the "congressman at large" at the disposal of the working class of America.

## BEFORE COMMITTEES.

1911.

MAY—

11. Appeared before House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service and spoke in favor of the Lloyd bill to give Government employes the right to organize and petition Congress.

29. Before House Committee on Rules and made a statement in favor of an investigation of the kidnapping of the McNamara brothers. Also conducted the examination of witnesses during hearing.

1912.

JANUARY—

17. Again before House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service in advocacy of a favorable report on the Lloyd bill.

MARCH—

1. Before House Committee on Rules to conduct the hearing on my resolution to investigate the Lawrence strike.

4. Before House Committee on Library to advocate the reporting of a bill to establish a legislative division of the Library of Congress.

16. I was then in Milwaukee but a statement which I had prepared in advocacy of woman suffrage was read by Comrade Elsie Cole Phillips before House Committee on Judiciary.

MAY—

4. Before House Committee on Immigration to express my opposition to the Root amendment to the immigration bill, providing for the deportation of political refugees.

## LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES.

1911.

APRIL—

22. Introduced a petition containing 87,600 signatures, calling upon Congress to withdraw the United States troops from the Mexican border.

JUNE—

14. Delivered my first speech in advocacy of a reduction of the tariff on wool.

AUGUST—

7. Made a speech in favor of general old age pensions.

DECEMBER—

14. Introduced my old age pension bill as an amendment to the then pending appropriation bill. Made a speech in its favor, but the amendment was ruled out on a point of order.

15. Addressed the House in favor of the bill providing for the eight-hour day on all Government contract work.

1912.

JANUARY—

13. Made a short speech, pointing out that the insurgents could not claim separate recognition as long as they were part and parcel of the old parties.

14. Called the attention of the House to the fact that the Democratic appropriation bill for the District of Columbia contained only starvation wages for some of the employes, some getting as low as \$240 a year.

17. Again addressed the House on the above subject and offered an amendment to raise the wages but failed.

18. Advocated the establishment of a municipal asphalt plant for the District of Columbia.

29. Showed, in a short speech in the discussion of tariff bill, that labor is never protected by tariffs.

FEBRUARY—

23. Interposed in the personal debate between Representatives Hay and Hobson, and suggested that the House had better investigate the problem of unemployment rather than to elect committee to settle personal differences.

28. Addressed the House in favor of an investigation of the Lawrence outrages.

MARCH—

4. In a short speech denounced the provisions for low wages for laborers employed in the Department of Agriculture.

APRIL—

19. Made a short speech and offered an amendment in favor of the automatic promotion of all postal employes from the \$1,100 grade to the \$1,200 grade. My amendment was defeated by vote of 45 to 33.

26. Spoke in favor of a woman suffrage clause in the charter for territorial government given to Alaska.

MAY—

1. Made an address and introduced an amendment in favor of permitting postal employes to use stools for at least two hours a day. This amendment was defeated by a vote of 55 to 35.

3. Made a short speech against the amendment to the post office appropriation bill requiring newspapers to print weekly a list of all their stockholders. This amendment would have proved a great hardship to Socialist and labor papers, which are owned by a great number of individuals and organizations. The House defeated that amendment and instead passed one requiring that only the names of those persons owning more than \$550 worth of stock shall be printed.

## DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES.

1911.

JUNE—

29. Took up with the Department of Justice the unjust imprisonment of Matthew H. Lough, an engineer of the Panama Railroad. He was arrested as a result of an unavoidable accident on the road. After some correspondence he was released.

JULY—

1. Called upon the Post Office Department to permit mail carriers in warm weather to wear blouses. The Department has modified its position in this matter to a great extent.

7. Called upon the Post Office Department to facilitate the application of the California Social Democrat for the second class mail privilege. Request granted.

2. Through some correspondence with the War Department, Charles S. Glimblin, a youthful deserter of the Pacific Coast Artillery, was freed.

27. Called on President Taft to free Albert Dewey Carter, a twelve-year-old boy, who had been convicted of embezzling a money-order while employed as a postal messenger in Texas. Although he was below working age and the blame being, therefore, on the Government, Carter has not yet been freed.

## AUGUST—

10. Took up with the Department of Commerce and Labor the case of Theodore Malkoff, a political refugee, who was detained at Ellis Island. The Department admitted him.
11. Took up the case of Dr. H. C. Barkman, of Washington, who was denied citizenship papers because of his belief in Socialism. The matter is still pending.

## DECEMBER—

15. Took up case of Zoliel Marcus, another refugee. He was also admitted into this country.

1912.

## MARCH—

1. Called on President Taft to order an investigation of the Lawrence outrages. The Department of Justice was instructed to take up the matter.

## APRIL—

18. Department of Commerce and Labor, at my request, took the same action in regard to The Russian refugees, Fitel Kagan and Vasily Lachatachoff, who had escaped from Siberia and were denied admission by Tacoma, Washington, immigration authorities, under the pretext that they were Anarchists. The decision was reversed and both admitted.

## - VOTED FOR

Campaign publicity bill.

Canadian reciprocity.

Farmers' free list bill.

To admit Arizona with "recall."

To reduce tariff on steel, wool and cotton.

Against the Russian treaty.

So much for the first year of the first Socialist Congressman in America.

I have tried to do my duty fearlessly, faithfully, to the best of my light. You always want to keep before you that was only one man with work enough for 300 Congressmen and 60 Senators and President of the United States; that was not only alone, but I had to hew a path through this "wilderness" and had to overcome mountains of prejudice and sea of ill will. I believe that I have cleared a modest path on which other comrades can join me which we can widen and which will finally wind up in a clear road for Socialism and the emancipation of the working class as far as the legislative halls of our nation are concerned.

It is for you, comrades, and for the working class to elect the many who will accomplish this.

VICTOR L. BERGER.



## APPENDIX O

## Reports of Foreign Speaking Organizations.

## REPORT OF THE FINNISH TRANSLATOR-SECRETARY TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL

## CONVENTION, 1912.

to the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

The organizing of the Finns into the Socialist Party was mainly begun in 1902 and 1903, and during the years following there were scores of Finnish locals and ranches organized. But the movement was weak until our present form of national organization, composed of all Finnish locals and branches of the Socialist Party, was started in 1906 and the translator's office established at the party's national headquarters beginning with the year 1907. At the beginning there were fifty-three ranches in the organization with membership of about 2,000. With this small but promising group of units and members our organization was then heartily recognized by the Socialist Party, through its national executive committee and national secretary, and a space for our translator in the national headquarters was arranged for. Of course, we had to have our own office fixtures, pay rent for the space and compensate our translator-secretary, but the ample recognition and the moral and advisory aid given to us by the Socialist Party was of great help to our organization when added to the praiseworthy enthusiasm in the rank and file. From May, 1908, we have had the office space free, and from October, 1910, the translator's wages have been paid by the national office. The continuous growth of our organization will be best seen by the following figures as shown by the records in the translator's office. The average paid-up membership per month and the number of locals in good standing at the end of each year respectively has been as follows:

no. of locals at the end of year.....	133
no. of locals at the end of year.....	160
no. of locals at the end of year.....	180
no. of locals at the end of year.....	173
no. of locals at the end of year.....	217
no. of locals at the end of April.....	223

The figures showing the financial transaction of the translator's office during the same period are as follows:

In 1907—Total receipts, \$7,329.52; receipts for party dues, \$4,128.36. Total expenditures, \$6,545.45; for state and national dues, \$3,570.13.

In 1908—Total receipts, \$10,069.82; receipts for party dues, \$4,770.45. Total expenditures, \$9,964.74; for national dues, \$339.40; state dues, \$2,121.09.

In 1909—Total receipts, \$15,645.94; receipts for party dues, \$6,087.00. Total expenditures, \$15,208.79; national dues, \$476.10; state dues, \$2,862.63.

In 1910—Total receipts, \$18,836.34; receipts for party dues, \$8,332.25. Total expenditures, \$18,824.39; national dues, \$3,539.50; state dues, \$4,135.89.

In 1911—Total receipts, \$20,646.46; receipts for dues, \$9,469.52. Total expenditures, \$19,578.56; national dues, \$4,604.80; state dues, \$4,755.55.

In 1912 (up to and including April 30)—Total receipts, \$11,315.06; receipts for dues, \$4,087.80. Total expenditures, \$9,902.57; national dues, \$1,993.70; state dues, \$2,094.10.

Besides the receipts and disbursements for party dues the financial transactions consist mainly of the following: Special monthly assessment of 5 cents per member, collected for agitation and organization purposes, which has been permanent during the whole life of our organization and which is required from every affiliated branch; special assessments and donations for the Finnish College; special yearly assessments to our convention fund, and contributions to Finland's socialist and trade union movements; for Russia revolutionists; for the general strike in Sweden (\$1,369.70 in 1909), and for every strike, labor controversy, special election fund, etc., in this country, for which a call for funds has been issued among the socialists. The total amount, collected as assessments for the College during the years 1909, 1911 and 1912 up to April 30, has been \$6,073.79. The next highest sum collected through our organization during 1908, 1910, 1911 and 1912 has been for the socialist movement in Finland, a total of \$4,622.92.

To our call for statistics about the activities and conditions of the Finnish locals, during and at the end of last year, 185 of the 217 locals answered. According to the answers of these 185 locals, the following data is given:

The membership of these locals on December 31, 1911, was: Paid up to date,

1907.....	membership, 2,928
1908.....	membership, 3,960
1909.....	membership, 5,384
1910.....	membership, 7,767
1911.....	membership, 9,139
1912 aver. for 4 months, membership,	11,483

8,332; total in the books, 13,391, of which 9,138 were men and 3,755 women. Members of labor unions, 2,317; naturalized citizens, 1,635, and 2,234 having the first papers.

Business meetings held during the year, 4,346; propaganda meetings, 2,128; entertainments, etc., 3,233.

Sub-committees: 83 agitation committees, 12 women's committees, 106 show committees, 22 singing societies, 28 brass bands, 89 sewing clubs and 53 gymnastic clubs.

Lecture courses were held in 39 locals, for a total time of 58½ weeks and the combined attendance has been 4,576 per-

sons. Schools for English in 21 locals for 615 pupils.

Locals own 19 libraries with 10,061 volumes. Besides there are 62 libraries, with 20,419 volumes, which are not owned by locals, but by all the Finns in each locality and in most cases are controlled and managed by Socialists.

Approximate amount of literature and papers distributed free, \$2,436.19.

Approximate amount of literature and papers sold, \$22,644.70.

Total receipts for the year, \$193,569.47; expenditures, \$180,922.50.

Sixty-three of the locals own real estate or hall buildings, or both, with a total valuation of \$313,365.11. Total value of shares of stock and bonds to the college and different publishing companies, etc., \$55,118.00. Total value of all property belonging to these locals, \$550,751.00. Debts to individual members and real estate sellers, \$232,084.98. Net resources of all the locals combined, \$323,964.41.

Approximate Finnish population, men, women and children, in the localities where these party locals exist is 108,323.

The actual paid-up membership of the Finnish locals and branches of the Socialist Party is well over 10,000. The number of Finnish locals in good standing is 223, which are located in 28 states, as follows: Arizona 1, California 6, Colorado 2, Connecticut 1, Florida 1, Idaho 3, Illinois 5, Indiana 2, Maine 5, Massachusetts 17, Michigan 26, Minnesota 48, Montana 10, Nevada 3, New Hampshire 7, New Jersey 3, New York 6, North Dakota 2, Ohio 11, Oregon 3, Pennsylvania 10, Rhode Island 1, Utah 2, Vermont 3, Washington 16, West Virginia 2, Wisconsin 17, Wyoming 10. With the exception of Connecticut, Florida, New York and Rhode Island and the large cities in California, Ohio and Oregon, the Finnish locals and branches in these states have had the right to buy their party due stamps from the translator. The state organizations of Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin and Wyoming have already allowed the Finnish branches the requested 50 per cent rebate on state dues, but not always on local dues: California, Montana, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington and West Virginia are allowing some rebate, and the rest of the states do not allow any at all.

The agitation and organization work is being carried on by the eastern, middle and western district committees, which were organized after the plan decided upon at our Hancock convention in 1909. Every district is routing a permanent organizer and special organizers occasionally. While, on account of language difficulties, our work is and has been more of an educational propaganda, still we are trying to take part in the political affairs as well. Our locals are bound, by the prevailing resolution of Hancock convention, to participate in the affairs of their county and city organization as much as possible, and every effort is being made in the way of urging our members to become American citizens. At least three special organizers will be put in the field during the coming campaign.

The Finnish Socialists of the United States have had three national conventions. The first one was held at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1904; the second one at Hibbing, Minn., in 1906, and the third at Hancock, Mich., in 1909. The welfare of the Socialistic activity among the Finns in this country, the plans of work for our national organiza-

woman's paper, "Toveritar," at Astoria and its relations to the Socialist Party have been the most important matters for discussion at the conventions. The Socialist Party has had a representative at every one of these conventions. Our next convention will be held June 1, 1912, at Duluth, Minn., and most likely it will be no less of importance than any of the previous conventions. One of the propositions that will come under discussion is the taking over of our papers and publishing houses into the ownership of the organization.

The Socialist papers in the United States published in the Finnish language, are:

"Työmies," a daily, published at Hancock, Mich., circulation of about 12,000; "Raivaaja," a daily, published at Fitchburg, Mass., circulation over 6,000; "Toveri," tri-weekly, but will appear as a daily, and after July 1, published at Astoria, Ore., circulation around 4,000; a week Ore., has been in existence since July last year and already has a circulation over 2,000. A monthly magazine, named "Säkeniä," is also published at Fitchburg, Mass., and a comic semi-monthly paper "Lapatossu," at Hancock, Mich. Besides these, there is "Työkansa," published at Port Arthur, Ont., Canada, heretofore tri-weekly, but by May 1 will be a daily which is widely circulated among and gets a considerable part of its support from the Finns in the United States. The papers are owned by stock companies, in which the Finnish locals as well as individual Socialists are the shareholders. Työmies and Raivaaja both own their buildings, convenient for printing and publishing the Socialist message which they have been doing in the most valuable manner.

"Työväen Opisto" (The Working People's College), with its school building and other accommodations at Smithville, Minn., is also owned and controlled by the Finnish Socialists and Socialist locals. This institution is being conducted on the same lines and for the same purposes as workers' universities in European countries. The common school subjects are taught, special stress being put upon the study of the English language, and lectures are given on Socialism and economic subjects. The attendance in the school has been increasing every year. The tuition has been made as low as possible in order to give an opportunity for a greater number of people to attend. Heretofore the school has been maintained mainly by special assessments and voluntary donations by the locals. Our organization, and methods for its support in the future will be discussed at our next convention as well as at the annual meeting of the College stockholders, which will be held after the adjournment of our convention.

As seen by the figures above published the Finnish Socialists have always been lavish in their support of the movement in the old country. From time to time we have sent over financial aid for the political and educational campaigns of the Socialist Party of Finland. This has not been done for the love of the "fatherland," nor for the purpose of keeping our nationality alive, or to simply save the so-called state autonomy of Finland. At least a great majority of us have had a deeper interest in the matter—have had the aim of international Socialism in mind and have given help to that part of the globe where such oppression is more felt and where, on the other hand, our cause at present has considerably strong foothold. It is the fight against Russian autocracy, which for a decade and a half has used every effort

to bring in reaction in the place of the advanced education and ever-increasing interest in Socialism in Finland, in which we are taking part. We are in this fight with the struggling proletariat of Russia, and we know that only in the victory of the Socialists in Russia lies the victory of the Socialists in Finland. Before the victory is won, the struggle may become more pressing, and the time may come when you—the delegates to this convention—and your constituents will be asked to do your utmost in the way directed in the resolution on Finland adopted at the last International Socialist Congress.

In conclusion I take the liberty to make a few suggestions regarding the matters concerning our organization as well as the other foreign-speaking organizations in the American Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party should do everything in its power to organize the so-called foreigners—all kinds of them—as it is the only probable way to prevent them from lowering the American standard of living. The same help should be given to every nationality in order to prevent the capitalist class from using the unorganized and yet unawakened nationalities against others that happen to be organized and are trying to better their conditions. Agitators should be sent to speak to them in their own language and the organization of all non-English speaking Socialists should be given all possible forward push. The provisions for conducting the work of national non-English speaking organizations should be made a part of the national constitution and such part of the constitution made imperative to all state and local organizations, without regard to any state autonomy, as the welfare of these organizations affects the national party as a whole. The provisions in the present constitution have been of good help for non-English speaking organizations, but some modifications in them should be made. It should be strictly provided that only one national organization of the same language shall be admitted or recognized by the Socialist Party; branches of non-English speaking organizations should belong to the national party only on the condition that they also belong to their respective state organizations; the non-English speaking organizations should not be compelled to come under the jurisdiction of the county and city organizations, but in political campaigns and conventions for political purposes they should have equal standing with the rest (this provision has been successfully practiced in the state of Washington, for instance); an allowance of a certain amount, say 50 per cent, of the state and local dues should be granted for use in agitation and organization work by such organizations; for the present the non-English speaking branches, no matter in what state or county they are located, should have the privilege of buying their party dues stamps from their respective national translator-secretaries.

The more you help the foreigners to organize, the sooner they cease to be foreigners. When, in the course of time, the National Finnish Organization will be no more a necessity, the moral spirit and the material holdings, which then will be left to the Socialist Party, will be worth receiving.

Fraternally submitted,

J. W. SARLUND, Translator-Secretary.

## REPORT OF SOUTH SLAVIC SECTION.

To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

At the Joint Convention of the South Slavic nationalities, which was held at Chicago on July 3 and 4, 1910, it was decided that they form a South Slavic Socialist Federation, which should affiliate with the Socialist Party of the United States, and that the new organization should begin January, 1911.

The South Slavic Socialist Federation includes the following nationalities: Slovenians, Croatsians and Servians. The Federation was organized in the latter part of December, 1910, and it affiliated itself with the Socialist Party in the early part of January, 1911, in accordance with Article XII of the National Constitution.

At the time of affiliation the Federation had 36 active locals, as follows: Chicago, 5; La Salle, Ill., 1; Glencoe, Ohio, 1; N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa., 1; E. S. Pittsburgh, Pa., 1; Conemaugh, Pa., 1; Johnstown, Pa., 1; Milwaukee, Wis., 2; Forest City, Pa., 1; Kenosha, Wis., 1; Sygan, Pa., 1; St. Louis, Mo., 1; Clairton, Pa., 1; E. Youngstown, Ohio, 1; S. Sharon, Pa., 1; Kansas City, Kan., 1; Chisholm, Minn., 1; Indianapolis, Ind., 1; Pullman, Ill., 1; Hegewich, Ill., 1; Neff, Ohio, 1; Cleveland, Ohio, 1; Roslyn, Wash., 1; Seattle Wash., 1; Breezy Hill, Kan., 1; West Mineral, Kan., 1; W. Newton, Pa., 1; New York, N. Y., 1; Frontenac, Kan., 1; W. Allis, Wis., 1, and E. Palestine, Ohio, 1.

The 36 locals had at that time a membership of 635, of which were—

Croatsians .....	340
Slovenians .....	250
Servians .....	45

Total .....635

Of these 36 locals, the following were affiliated with the State and County organizations: Two in Chicago, 1 in Pittsburgh, 1 in South Sharon, 1 in Clairton, 2 in Milwaukee, 1 in Kenosha, 1 in Sygan, 1 in Conemaugh. Total, 10, with a membership of 120.

All the 635 members (with exception of 22 in Cleveland) expressed the wish to buy the dues stamps from the South Slavic Socialist Federation. The Executive Committee has tried to bring each local into State and County organizations wherever the foreign organization received a rebate on County and State dues. The Executive Committee could not force the locals which were in districts where the rebate was not allowed to join the County and State organizations. According to the view of the Federation it is not the fault of the foreign branches that they are not affiliated with the County and State organizations, but in many cases it is the fault of the respective State and County offices.

From January 1, 1911, to December 31, 1911, there were 30 new locals organized with over 800 members. At the close of 1911 there were 58 active locals in the field with a membership of 1,266.

Eight locals lapsed during the year for various reasons.

The discontinued locals were Chicago Women's branch, on account of merging with the men's local; Kansas City, Kan., on account of the neglect of the Secretary; Seattle, Wash., on account of unemployment; Hackett, Pa., on account of closing of mine; Pullman, Ill., on account of unemployment; Hegewich, Ill., on account of unemployment; Joliet, Ill., on account of members leaving town; Johnstown, Pa., on account of neglect of the Secretary.

The locals admitted to the Federation, according to months, were:

January	2
February	2
March	4
April	2
May	4
June	1
July	0
August	3
September	5
October	4
November	1
December	2

Total .....30

Six hundred dollars was paid during the year to the National Office for dues stamps, an average of 1,055 dues stamps per month.

On December 31, 1911, there were 1,266 members in good standing. Of these were—

Slovenians	607
Croatians	558
Servians	101

Total .....1,266

During the year the locals paid the following amounts to the South Slavic Socialist Federation:

For the National Committee, party dues, at 5c	\$ 590.70
For the South Slavic Central Committee, at 5c	253.38
For the National Central Committee, at 3c	378.59
For Special dues, at 5c	229.44
For Membership books, at 2c	44.58

Total .....\$1,495.69

The National Committees received \$319.15 out of \$378.59, as follows:

Slovenian Central Committee	\$156.39
Croatian Central Committee	137.35
Servian Central Committee	25.42

Total .....\$319.15

As some reports of the locals were not definite on the question of nationalities, the Executive Committee could not apportion \$59.44 to the respective National Committees and the sum was given over to the Federation.

### AGITATION.

There were held 58 public meetings under the auspices of the South Slavic Socialist Federation. The meetings were held in the following cities: Indianapolis, Ind.; Detroit, Mich.; South Sharon, Pa.; N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.; Monessen, Pa.; S. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.; Barberton, Ohio; Clairton, Pa.; Chisholm, Minn.; E. Pittsburgh, Pa.; Waukegan, Ill.; La Salle, Ill.; Sygan, Pa.; Kenosha, Wis.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Gary, Ind.; Hammond, Ind.; Pullman, Ill.; Chicago, Ill., and E. Youngstown, Ohio.

The Executive Committee has held 15 meetings during the year and considered 145 matters.

The Executive Committee proposes to have the best Socialist speakers of Austria during the present fall campaign at its service. The speakers will be under the direction of the South Slavic Socialist Federation and will tour the United States during the coming September and October.

### FINANCIAL REPORT.

Financial report of the South Slavic Socialist Federation, from January 1, 1911, till December 31, 1911:

Total Receipts	\$1,833.58
Total Expenditures	1,621.35

Cash on hand, Dec. 31, 1911	\$ 212.22
Special fund (to be deducted)	229.44

Deficit for the year.....\$ 17.21

### LOCAL ACTIVITIES.

There are at present—March 31, 1912—the following locals which are affiliated with the County and State organizations:

Chicago, Ill.	1
N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1
La Salle, Ill.	1
Conemaugh, Pa.	1
Milwaukee, Wis.	2
Kenosha, Wis.	1
E. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1
Sygan, Pa.	1
Cleveland, Ohio	1
Frontenac, Kan.	1
W. Allis, Wis.	1
Collinwood, Ohio	1
Indianapolis, Ind.	2
Detroit, Mich.	1
Viriden, Ill.	1
Waukegan, Ill.	1
Oglesby, Ill.	1
Panama, Ill.	1
East St. Louis, Ill.	1
Livingston, Ill.	1
Springfield, Ill.	1

Total	27
Union members	340
American citizens	201
Public meetings held by locals	58
Singing Societies and Tamburica Clubs	21

Paid to Counties and States	\$ 239.67
Paid for arrangements of public buildings by locals	493.67
Paid for maintenance of singing and tamburizas	947.44
Paid for rent, light and furniture	1,322.44
Paid for books, stationery, buttons, etc.	1,968.21
Collection for the party press	620.11
For political campaigns and strikes collected	309.77
Grand total receipts	8,662.88
Grand total expenditures	7,538.21

Cash on hand, Dec. 31, 1911, by all locals	\$1,124.67
Property value of all locals	3,537.77

### PRINTING AND PARTY ORGANS.

The organs of the South Slavic Socialist Federation are "Proletarec" for the Slovenians, "Radnicka Straza" for the Croatians and "Narodni Glas" (The People's Voice) for the Servians. The first two names are weeklies, the last one a semi-monthly paper.

The South Slavic Federation has also established a co-operative printery with view of building up a plant where the organs and party literature could be printed. The establishment is incorporated under the Illinois State law for \$1,000.00 as capital stock, with the view of increasing it to \$10,000. The shares are \$10.00 each and can be sold to the Socialist local individual members and also to locals of various fraternal societies who are in sympathy with the Socialist movement.

From January 1, 1912, to March 31, 1912, further progress was made. The March report indicates that there was an increase of 8 locals with 140 members.

The financial report of these three months is as follows:

ance on hand January 1, 1912..\$	212.23
pts for this period.....	638.93
tal receipts .....	\$ 851.16
l expenditures for this period..	391.44
sh on hand March 31, 1912..\$	459.72
ial fund for campaign speaker	405.61
lance March 31, 1912.....\$	54.11
ie to Central Committees for January,	
uary and March, 3c for each member:	
Slovenian Central Committee..\$	60.57
Croatian Central Committee....	34.74
Servian Central Committee....	11.79
tal due .....	\$ 107.10
nce on hand .....	54.11

ficit .....\$ 52.99

Fraternally submitted,  
NK PETRICH, Translator-Secretary.

### REPORT OF ITALIAN SECTION.

the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

the activity of the Italians in the Socialist Party began in the latter part of the 1908, after a tour through the country made by Comrade G. Bertelli, under auspices of the National Office.

With the closing of the presidential campaign of that year the Socialist Party had about 40 Italian branches. Very few were the Italian branches affiliated with the party before the year 1908.

In the following year, 1909, a movement started by the New York branches to organize all the Italian branches of the party into a national organization in order to carry on the Socialist propaganda among the Italian immigrants. A convention was called in West Hoboken, N. J., for the purpose, but it had failed in its very beginning and nothing concrete could be accomplished.

The year after the West Hoboken, N. J., convention, December, 1910, with the consent of the National Office, the Italian Section was formally organized with about twenty branches, less than half of the 40 Italian branches affiliated with the party in that time, for the other branches did not fully realize the necessity of such organization.

From December, 1910 till October, 1911, twenty-two branches joined the Section, in the same period of time fourteen branches disbanded.

When I took the office as Translator-Secretary September, 1911, the Section consisted of twenty-eight branches with less than 660 members, although the translator was in communication with more than twenty other Italian branches directly connected with the party.

In the last seven months (September, 1911, to April 15, 1912) seventeen new branches were organized and eight branches disbanded while eight have disbanded, leaving a total of forty-four branches alive and in standing, scattered in the following states:

Illinois .....	14
New York .....	14
New Jersey .....	4
Pennsylvania .....	3
Massachusetts .....	3
Wisconsin .....	2
Vermont .....	2
Florida .....	1
Colorado .....	1

These have a total membership of 1,200. Italian branches of the party not affiliated with our Section, but in communication with the Translator-Secretary, can be

found in the following states: Pennsylvania, 6; Montana, 1; Illinois, 6; Michigan, 2; New Jersey, 3; Indiana, 1.

Italian members of the party can also be found in all the mining districts, especially in the states of Illinois, Michigan and Pennsylvania, where the party branches are mixed of different nationalities and also in many industrial centers.

The Socialist sentiment is very strong among the Italian workers in this country, and it will be only a matter of time to have a strong Italian organization, which will no doubt be able to accomplish its mission in organizing and educating the Italian workers in this country without the assistance of the party.

### PARTY PRESS.

Our press consists of three weekly papers: "La Parola Dei Socialisti," official organ, published in Chicago, Illinois, with an average circulation of three thousand copies. "La Fiaccola," published in Buffalo, N. Y., with 1,500 copies circulation weekly. "La Fiamma," published in Camden, N. J., with two thousand copies circulation.

The latter two weeklies will be combined in the near future, following a resolution passed at the interstate convention held in Schenectady, N. Y., April 7 and 8, 1912.

The New York branches and vicinity are working to establish a weekly paper of their own.

### ORAL PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZERS.

From October, 1911, to April, 1912, about 120 lectures have been delivered by A. Cravello, as a special organizer; in a three months' tour, and by G. Corti, A. Carotti, S. Bonfiglio and G. Bertelli. The states covered were Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, Kansas and New Jersey.

For the coming national campaign we have secured as a speaker one of the best orators and propagandists on the Italian platform, Comrade Miss A. Balabanoff, who will be in this country in the middle of May for a four months' tour.

At the same time Comrade V. Vacirca, publicist and orator, has left the city of Trieste the 13th of this month, bound for New York, who, after a short stay in that city, will come to Chicago to edit our official organ until he becomes acquainted with the American movement; then, he will be engaged as an organizer.

The future is full of promise and the prospects are very bright to our young movement. With a permanent organizer in the field, we are sure that in a year's time we will double the members of our branches and will build up a strong party press, without which we would not be able to accomplish much.

Fraternally submitted,  
JOSEPH CORTI,  
Translator-Secretary.

### REPORT OF POLISH SECTION. TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1912.

My report will be very brief, consisting only of figures, as they are more convincing and reliable.

#### GENERAL.

Four years ago, in December, 1908, the Polish Section of the Socialist Party was organized, with 23 branches and 400 members. But only a year ago, in April, 1911, the Polish Translator-Secretary's office was established. Therefore, I can give my report only for the period since then.

On December 31, 1911, the Polish Section was composed of 115 branches with a membership of 1,450 in good standing. The total membership was 2,130 members. During the year of 1911 there were 59 new branches organized and 25 branches disbanded. The net gain in the membership for the last year was 105 per cent.

From January 1 to March 31, 1912, there were 17 new branches organized and two dissolved, leaving 130 branches with a membership of 2,000 in good standing. The total membership was 2,460 members.

#### DUES STAMPS.

My first monthly report of the sale of dues stamps was made for the month of April, 1911, the amount of which was \$31.40, representing 628 members in good standing. The above sum was paid to the National Office and \$25.06 paid to several different state offices, as our branches, all of them, belong to their respective state organizations. Since that time a steady growth can be noticed up to the present time. Each month broke the record for the previous one. In March, 1912, the sale of dues stamps to the Polish branches amounted to \$78.15 paid to the National Office and \$63.07 paid to the State and County offices. This does not include the Polish branches in the States of New Jersey and New York, as the Polish branches in these two states secure their dues stamps directly from the locals, because these state and county organizations compel them to do so for reasons unknown to us. As there are 31 Polish branches in these two states, the Polish section represents altogether 130 branches and 2,000 members in good standing. The total membership is 2,460.

#### AGITATION AND ORGANIZATION.

During the last year two speakers were in the field, one for five months and the other for three months. Since January 1, 1912, one organizer was in the field for two months and on April 9th another lecturer was sent out on a lecture tour, which will continue until July 8th.

#### PRESS AND LITERATURE.

The Polish Section publishes one daily paper, "Dzienik Ludowy," and one weekly, "Bicz Bozy." During the year 1911 there was literature sold and distributed to the amount of \$1,285.00.

The above does not include subscriptions secured for our papers.

In conclusion I wish to say that the prospects for the future are bright and in not a very distant time the Polish Section will bring into the Socialist Party a large portion of the Polish people living in this country.

Respectfully submitted,

H. GLUSKI,  
Translator-Secretary.

#### REPORT OF THE POLISH ALLIANCE.

To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith I submit a statistical report of our organization as it stands on April 20, 1912:

Our branches are situated in fourteen states and Canada, as follows:

Connecticut	5
New York	11
New Jersey	16
Pennsylvania	18
Massachusetts	18
Rhode Island	3
Michigan	2
Illinois	6

Ohio	.....
Indiana	.....
Oregon	.....
California	.....
Maryland	.....
Washington	.....
Canada	.....

#### Membership dues paid for:

January	..... 197
February	..... 356
March	..... 763
April	..... 807

Total ..... 1,623

Members in arrears over three months not included.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) L. BANK.

Translator-Secretary

#### REPORT OF BOHEMIAN SECTION

To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

The Bohemian Socialist movement in the United States has been in existence more than fifteen years, but the Bohemian Section was affiliated with the Socialist Party of America as a foreign-speaking organization in December, 1911, and the present translator-secretary took his office on December 13, 1911. At that time the Bohemian Section had 37 branches with a membership of about 800, in ten states.

From December, 1911, to March 31, 1912, seven new branches were organized, the Bohemian Section had 44 branches in eleven states, with 1,164 members.

Bohemian branches are in the following cities: Chicago, Ill., 13; Baltimore, Md., 1; New Bedford, Mass., 1; St. Louis, Mo., 1; Omaha, Neb., 2; South Omaha, Neb., 1; Elizabeth, N. J., 1; Union Hill, N. J., 1; Buffalo, N. Y., 1; New York, N. Y., 1; V. field, N. Y., 1; Cleveland, Ohio, 5; Bellaire, 1; Bridgeport, 1; Neffs, 1; Allegheny, Pa., 1; Irwin, 1; Loyalhanna, 1; Mt. Pleasant, 1; North Braddock, 1; Philadelphia, 1; Wilkes-Barre, 1; Taylor Crossing, Va., 1; Manitowish, Wis., 1; Milwaukee, 1; Racine, 1.

The Bohemian Section resolved by referendum vote that every Bohemian branch has to belong to state and county. Every Bohemian branch can buy the party dues stamps unless it pays the dues to the state and county. It is the opinion of the membership of the Bohemian Section that they take in branches and members to the extent which are not affiliated with state and county would be a step backward.

After the very successful tour of Orade Dr. Francis Soukup from Prague, Bohemia, who was here last year and accomplished very good results, the Bohemian Section decided by referendum vote to enter in closer relationship with the Socialist Democratic Party in Bohemia and get a good organizer every year. Another important step was taken by the establishment of an information bureau for the purpose of warning the Bohemian workmen regarding steamship companies' agents, who are encouraging the emigration and, under false pretenses, are painting the beautiful life in America to get business. Immigrants after coming here are disappointed and used by patriotic American capitalists to lower the standard of living for the working class. For such Bohemian comrades who are members of the party in the United States the Bohemian Section established an information bureau to assist them in every possible way and to keep them in the party.

The Bohemian Section owns and controls five papers—one daily and four weeklies. The oldest of them, the weekly "Spravednost" (Justice), has been published since 1900. Eight years ago the Bohemian Section bought property—three lots and two buildings—at 1821-1826 Loomis street, in Chicago, where the printing plant was established.

In 1906 the daily "Spravednost" was started. In addition to newspaper printing, the plant has a modern and well-equipped job printing department. Last year a new press was bought for \$6,500, payable in installments in four years. The daily is not self-supporting at present, and the deficit is paid by collections, profits from different party affairs, such as bazaars, balls, picnics, etc.

In 1908 the Bohemian branches began to publish in Cleveland, Ohio, a weekly paper, "Americke Delnicke Listy" (American Workmen's News), to which they added in 1912 another weekly, "Pravo" (The Right). Both papers are printed in Cleveland in their own printing shop. This printing shop also has a job printing department.

In 1911 the Bohemian branch in New York, in co-operation with the Bohemian trade unions, started a weekly paper, "Obrana" (The Defense). In addition to papers, the Bohemian Section is publishing other literature—books, pamphlets, etc. During the year of 1911 the amount received for literature was more than \$1,000.

All the papers are owned direct by the Section, and the Board of Directors of same is elected by referendum vote, only members in good standing having votes.

The Bohemian Section has seven woman branches—two in Chicago, two in Cleveland, one in Omaha, one in South Omaha and one in Baltimore. In organizing women the Section has to face some difficulties in regard to the dues question, as the women are complaining of high dues. The Bohemian Section is awaiting some reform in this question from the convention.

One of the features of the Bohemian Socialist movement is the organizing of gymnastic associations, where both boys and girls are active members. This organization of young people is a recruiting station for Bohemian branches. It takes care of children from six years up for physical development, and when they reach the age of 18 years they become party members. In this way the Bohemian Socialist movement lays a strong foundation for spreading Socialism among the youth. At present the gymnastic associations are in the following cities: Chicago, 5; Cleveland, 3; Dillonvale, O., 1, and North Braddock, Pa., 1. This organization was formed three years ago, and at present has about 1,000 members, both men and women.

Faternally submitted,

JOSEF NOVAK,  
Translator-Secretary.

## REPORT OF SCANDINAVIAN SECTION. TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1912.

### ORGANIZATION.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation was organized at a convention held for this purpose in the city of Chicago, July 2, 3, 4, 1910.

At the beginning of the year 1911 the Federation consisted of seven branches with a membership of 216. During the year of 1911 the number of branches increased to 20 with a membership of 784,

and today it has thirty branches with a membership of over 1,000. Outside of the Federation are still a few Scandinavian branches not yet affiliated, mostly on account of technicalities and other hindrances, but it is believed that these obstacles will be overcome in the near future.

Our relation to the national and state organizations has, with a few exceptions, been the very best. The Federation has decided that all its branches shall be affiliated with the state and county organizations, and co-operate with them at all elections and otherwise.

### AGITATION.

The work of agitation has been carried on to as large a degree as the resources of the Federation would allow. At the beginning of 1911 we had only one small branch in the East, namely: Kearney Branch No. 3, New Jersey, and for a long time it seemed to be impossible for us to make any headway in that part of the country, mostly on account of the strong S. L. P. movement among the Scandinavians in the East, but the opposition seems now to be broken. The comrades out there have been working hard and steady and today we have eight active branches in the eastern states. We expect that this number shall be more than doubled as the result of an extensive organizing tour which Comrade Frithjof Werenskjold now is making under the direction of our Federation and with the assistance of the National Office.

During the months of November and December, 1911, the National Office routed Comrade E. Sibiakoffsky through the middle states, which resulted in the organization of ten new branches.

In the western states where the Scandinavian population is largest there are at present very few branches of the Federation, but our National Committee has now decided to send Comrade Werenskjold out there as soon as his work in the East is completed.

Our agitation among women has been neglected until a few months ago, but now the number of women members in our organization is steadily increasing.

### PRESS.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation is publishing two weekly propaganda papers: "The Svenska Socialisten" in the Swedish language and "The Social Demokraten" in the Danish language. These two papers are owned and controlled by the Federation directly. The only certificate that gives a voice and vote in deciding their policy and management is a paid up membership book. Fake advertisements, such as patent medicine, land and mining schemes as well as advertisements from saloons and liquor dealers have never been accepted by these papers, and, in spite of financial difficulties, our members are determined to never compromise on these points. The circulation of the papers has increased rapidly during the last few months, which to a large degree is due to the work of the Lyceum Course. Their present combined circulation is a little over 5,000. If the increase of their circulation continues at the present rate, then they will be self-supporting before the year is gone.

### PRESS FUND.

In order to meet the deficit of our papers, the Federation has provided for a press fund. This fund gets its income from special assessments, contributions, picnics, etc.

## LITERATURE.

The Federation has established its own literature department, which was begun on February 1, 1912. Several thousand pamphlets have already been published and sold, and we intend to develop this department to such an extent that we shall be able to meet all demands for Socialistic literature in the Scandinavian languages.

## INFORMATION BUREAU FOR IMMIGRANTS.

In order to assist the immigrants from the Scandinavian countries, helping them to find work and keep in touch with the American labor movement, etc., we are at present negotiating with the Socialist and other organizations in these countries for the purpose of establishing some kind of co-operation in this direction. We have always urged strongly upon our membership to become citizens in order to acquire their political rights, and in this work we have been very successful.

## CONCLUSION.

During the childhood of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation it has been nobly assisted by the Finnish comrades as well as the National Office of the Socialist Party, thus making it possible for the young organization to survive the hardships it had to pass through and to carry on the work it has undertaken to do.

We cannot boast, ourselves, of any great achievement, but we believe that a good solid foundation for the organization has been laid, and if it is allowed to develop unhindered, and in the future will be met with the same good understanding as in the past, then the Scandinavian Socialist Federation will surely be able to fulfill the mission for which it has organized.

By order of The Executive Committee,  
Fraternally submitted,

N. JUEL, CHRISTENSEN,  
Translator-Secretary.

## REPORT SUBMITTED IN BEHALF OF THE JEWISH SOCIALIST AGITATION BUREAU.

This foreign-speaking organization is organized on an entirely different basis than any of the other foreign-speaking organizations. The membership is affiliated with the Socialist party, in the respective States and Countries directly, paying the same dues as the English-speaking members of such localities do. The branches of the Bureau are in every respect similar to the ordinary party locals or branches, excepting that they use and speak the Jewish language in their meetings and to a great extent use same in the general propaganda.

Since the last Socialist Congress held in Chicago, 1910, the Bureau has extended its usefulness over thirty States. In the last two years it has organized sixteen new branches which are directly affiliated with the party, taking their places side by side with the English speaking organizations.

While the Bureau is not connected directly with the National Socialist party, as provided for in the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee has helped the Bureau in its work materially, donating sums of money for propaganda purposes, and the National Secretary helping by valuable advice.

A partial report of the work actually done, which we herein submit, will clearly

show the good that can be accomplished by foreign-speaking organizations among the immigrant workers in America.

## HALL MEETINGS.

May, 1910—May, 1912.....	320
Average attendance .....	200
Total attendance .....	64,000
Leaflets published and sold.....	150,000
Price per 1,000 .....	\$1.50
Total .....	\$225.00

LEAFLETS DISTRIBUTED BY BUREAU.  
Without cost to the branches..... 40,000

## BOOKLETS PUBLISHED AND SOLD.

Various Booklets .....	15,000
These booklets were sold in 1911 for prices ranging from \$20.00 to \$35.00 per thousand.	
American Government Booklets sold (\$70 per M.) .....	4,000
The American Government Booklet referred to is one that could be easily translated into other languages and would be of invaluable use among immigrant workers of other nationalities.	

At the present time the Bureau is in communication with upwards of 80 branches in about thirty States. Besides, it is in communication with hundreds of Branches of the Workman's Circle. It might be added that the Workman's Circle is of great help to this Bureau in its work.

There can hardly be two opinions as to the necessity of foreign-speaking organizations. The comrades of the non-English speaking nations are surely best fitted to carry on the propaganda among their own people. Yet, in some instances, local county organizations have refused to permit the organization of Language Groups.

The Constitution should be amended so as to give foreign comrades speaking foreign languages the right to organize separate branches and to conduct their affairs in the language they know best. At the same time it should be provided that all branches must affiliate with the local movement, in their respective localities, and through these local organizations, with the National party.

J. PANKEN,  
Delegate Jewish Socialist Agitation Bureau.

## REPORT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NATIONAL LETTISH ORGANIZATION, S. P.

## A. MEMBERSHIP.

Our membership is scattered through twelve different States of the Union, some of them are in Canada. It is a tremendous task to keep them together. In 1910 we had 27 clubs with a total membership of 1001; at the present moment we have 26 clubs with 983 good standing members, among them 210 women.

This decrease of membership is due to the fact that the Boston Lettish W. Association withdrew from our organization, as we have stated in our previous report to National Secretary Comrade J. M. Barnes. The B. L. W. A. with its 170 members, has remained, however, in the S. P.

All our members are organized in branches and locals of the S. P., and are directly affiliated both with state and local organizations of the party. They pay regular national, state and local dues.

The vast majority of our members have applied for citizenship, yet few have obtained their second papers.

Last year our rival organization among the Lettish workers, the Lettish Federation



of the S. L. P., split up. Since then about 50 of its members as individuals have joined the S. P., either through our branches or otherwise.

### B. FINANCES.

During the two calendar years 1910 and 1911 our members have paid:

1. Dues to the S. P. (national, state and local) ..... \$3,272.00
2. Dues to our branches for their local agitation ..... 1,097.37
3. Collections and subscriptions for the Lettish Social Democracy in Russia ..... 1,093.35  
This includes \$705.47 for the Relief Fund of political prisoners.
4. Our branches have collected for the Pol. Ref. Defense League on various occasions ..... 244.13

### C. REFERENDA.

In 1910 our membership adopted Referendum 1a requiring that wives of our members not engaged directly in industrial occupations, should be freed from membership dues.

For 265, against 244.

In January, 1911, this rule was reversed by another referendum No. 2 vote, with 463 to 30.

Referendum 1b provides that the Executive Committee of our organization pay the printers of our semi-weekly Strahdneeks sick insurance \$1 a month.

For 279, against 201.

Referendum 2a provides that the accounts and funds of the Executive Committee of our organization should be audited not by the Boston Branch alone, but by three auditors elected by our Boston, New York and Lawrence branches, and that the auditing committee should report its findings in our paper twice a year.

For 273, against 210.

Referendum 2b. That Comrades J. Klawa and J. Tomlin be sent to the Chicago convention of the Socialist party. Vote closed May, 1910. Comrade Klawa elected with 345 votes, and Comrade Tomlin with 234 votes.

Referendum No. 3. Dec. 1910.

### ELECTIONS OF NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

In 1911 Referendum No. 1. Election of the editor of our semi-weekly Strahdneeks. In January, 1911, Comrade John G. Ohsol elected with 437 votes.

Referendum No. 3, amended slightly our constitution. Carried in May, with 509 to 9.

Referendum No. 4, providing that the editor of the Strahdneeks be paid full wages (15 dollars a week), also those weeks when, owing to holidays, only one issue of our paper is published, was rejected with 245 to 217, in September, 1911.

Referendum No. 5a provides that 45 days time be granted for the discussion of proposed referenda instead of 30. Carried in September, 1911, with 400 to 65.

Referendum No. 5b provides that our Executive Committee elections should be changed so as to make the committee serve for one year from April 1 to March 31, instead of the calendar year. Carried with 461 to 13.

Referendum No. 6. Election of the editor of the Strahdneeks for the year 1912. Elected Comrade John G. Ohsol with 437 votes.

### D. AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA. 6

The chief business of the Executive Committee of our organization is the publish-

ing of the Strahdneeks, which is a 4-page semi-weekly (21x31 inches), and is being printed at Fitchburg, Mass. Since October, 1911, once every two weeks it has a literary supplement. The number of its subscribers varies between 1200-1500, the price is \$3.00 per year. We employ two printers, two editors and one mailing clerk.

Besides the subscriptions we have received towards the sustenance of the paper:

1. Special dues from our members, 15 cents per capita per month, in  
1910 ..... \$1,378.76  
1911 ..... 1,475.90
2. Donations:  
1910 ..... 250.00  
1911 ..... 422.15
3. From advertisements:  
1910 ..... 600.00  
1911 ..... 800.00

This paper is our chief propaganda and organizing medium. In fact it is the only means of keeping our members together. We are positively sure that the interest of our members in the English Socialist press is constantly increasing, as is witnessed by the discussions of our members in the "Strahdneeks," on party tactics, and in the Haywood-Hillquit controversy, on law and order, and on our party attitude towards trade unions.

On January 1, 1912, there were 7 propaganda circles in our various branches with a total membership of 105. During the year 1911 those circles had 31 propaganda meetings.

Large agitation meetings are being held by our Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco branches, every year on October 30th (in memoriam of the October Manifesto in Russia, 1905), on January 22nd (Red Sunday memorial) and in March (Commune memorial). Needless to add that our branches everywhere are taking active and energetic part in all propaganda and agitation work carried on by the English speaking locals of the party. Our members responded liberally to the McNamara defense fund, toward the support of the Lawrence strikers, etc.

Our Socialist book agency, now located at Fitchburg, Mass., has been in business since 1907. Its object is to supply our members as cheaply as possible with Socialist literature in Russian, Lettish, German and English. At the present moment the total value of our book supply, both at Fitchburg and at the branches, is \$1,810.70, while in 1910 it was \$1,429.19. During the last three years (1910, 1911, 1912) we have published a fairly good sized (7x10 in., 96-112 pages) Socialist Almanach, 1500-2000 copies. We hope to continue this line of work and may possibly publish some pamphlets also.

Some of our branches (Boston Lettish No. 2, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia) occasionally circulate special agitation leaflets.

One of the chief duties of our organization has been to introduce our members to the S. P. so as to make them permanent and active workers within the English speaking body of our party. To that end the Eastern Coast Agitation Bureau was formed by the end of 1909, comprising our ten branches in Massachusetts (Boston, Lawrence, Beverly), New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, with 536 members.

We hope to form a similar agitation bureau around Chicago before long. We have instructed our lecturer, Comrade J. G. Ohsol, to help organize such a bureau on his present lecturing trip in Chicago, Aurora, St. Louis, Cleveland and Minneapolis. These five branches have a membership of 264.

Our Eastern Coast Agitation Bureau has arranged the following agitation trips:

1. Spring, 1910, by Comrade J. Klawe, who lectured on

- (1) Darwinism.
- (2) Woman's suffrage.
- (3) Materialistic interpretation of history.

2. September, 1910, by Comrade John G. Ohsol, who lectured on

- (1) New currents in the American trade unions.

- (2) The minimum wage.
- (3) The Constitution of the U. S. v. the working class.

3. February, 1911, by Comrade K. Jan-son, whose topics were:

- (1) Co-operatives.
- (2) Intellectuals and Socialism.
- (3) Socialist attitude towards general strike.

4. May, 1911, by Comrade G. Bernhard, on

- (1) American literature.
- (2) Development of Capitalism in the U. S.

- (3) Growth of Socialism in the U. S.

5. In September, 1911, by Comrade R. Hansen, on

- (1) Russian politics.
- (2) Socialist tactics in municipalities.
- (3) Social growth and natural growth.

6. In February, 1912, by Comrade Sierin, on

- (1) The Chinese revolution.
- (2) S. P. attitude towards trade unions.
- (3) Darwinism and Socialism.
- (4) Significance of Art in Life.
- (5) Materialistic interpretation of history.

Each agitation trip, including two weeks' wages (\$12.00 each) for the lecturer, has cost the bureau about \$60.00.

On December 24th and 25th, 1911, the Agitation Bureau called a conference in New York city, where among several technical details of organization and propaganda work, also some resolutions on general questions were adopted.

As the conference was merely a deliberative body, these resolutions were nothing but suggestions to our branches. All those resolutions were taken up by the branches, discussed at their meetings and in the Strahneeks, and subsequently adopted as recommendations to our party institutions, subject to their consideration and approval.

We quote these resolutions here:

#### ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE S. P. TOWARDS THE TRADE UNIONS.

1. Whereas, For the complete emancipation of the working class from its intellectual, political and economic bondage, both the political and the economic struggle are equally necessary, and as for the successful conduct of this struggle in nearly all countries permanent relations between economic organizations of the workers and Socialist parties have been established,

2. Whereas, In the United States the existing relations between the S. P. and the trade unions are very weak and sporadic,

3. Whereas, The activities of the S. P. members among the trade unions are unsuccessful as long as those activities are not co-ordinated and led by the party institutions,

4. Whereas, The members of the S. P. often have turned over without fight, the responsible posts in the trade unions to the agents of the Civic Federation and to other opponents of class struggle, who are tying up the trade unions with capitalist

politics and are resisting the spread of Socialism among the organized proletariat,

5. Whereas, The trade unions, in denying the existence of class struggle, are upholding among their rank and file the craft spirit, which splits up the economic struggle, leads to civil strife among the craft organizations and to many lost battles of labor,

6. Whereas, Such lost battles have forced some members of the trade unions to resort to desperate means (McNamara case) which, in the first place are a demoralizing influence upon labor organizations, and second, are helping along the crusade of the capitalist organization and the government against the proletariat,

We suggest:

1. That all members of the S. P. join their respective trade unions.

2. That the members of the S. P. in each trade union come to a better understanding among each other that under the guidance of the responsible party authorities they should be able more successfully to explain from the Socialist point of view all issues resulting from the economic struggle, and thus educate the members of the trade unions to a better understanding of the class struggle.

3. That the members of the S. P. nominate their own candidates for responsible offices in the trade unions, especially in the referendum elections and in conventions.

4. That our comrades strive towards uniting the various mutually independent economic organizations which are acting in one and the same establishment, in one and the same industry or on the same territory into such centralized bodies of economic organizations as in each given case the solidarity of all workers in the class struggle requires.

5. That the central institution of the S. P. have to take care of establishing relations with the central bodies of the unions both during periods of great economic and political battles, and during the regular parliamentary struggle for labor legislation with the ultimate end in view that permanent organized relations between both militant bodies of organized proletariat be secured.

#### RESOLUTION ON PARTY CENTRAL ORGAN.

1. Whereas, The central organ is one of the most necessary means of securing the party unity in its intellectual leadership, as well as in its organization.

2. Whereas, The lack of such an organ has led the S. P. to confusion in theory and practice (organization), as witnessed by:

(a) The Arizona and Missouri controversies.

(b) The syndicalist theories preached in the International Socialist Review, by the campaign of slander against party institutions and party officials, carried on in the Christian Socialist, Provoker and the Militant.

(c) By the sudden change of the party program in regard to our agrarian policy.

(d) By the too frequent and haphazard referenda about the change of our party constitution.

3. Whereas, Nearly all Socialist papers are at the present time private concerns, which require large sacrifices from individual members as well as from party institutions, but do not feel obliged to stand up for the interests of the party as a whole in many important questions.

4. Whereas, The party, owing to the absence of a central organ, is unable to take a definite stand on many important politi-

issues and questions of tactics, because resolutions of the National Executive Committee often give only technical hints. Whereas, The present Party Bulletin, owing to its limited and dry material, can replace a party organ.

That a national referendum vote be taken in order to change immediately the respective sections of our national constitution so as to empower the National Executive to establish a central organ.

That the National Executive take immediately the necessary preliminary steps toward the creation of such an organ, including the necessary funds, etc.).

That the National Executive Committee submit a detailed project on the publication of a central organ to the coming National Convention.

### RESOLUTION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION.

The Conference finds:

1. That the plank demanding the Socialization of all land, which was stricken out of a national referendum of the S. P. be reinstated into the platform of the party.

2. That we should strongly reject any attempt of the S. P. to voice the interests of the farmers or some other non-proletarian social group on points not identical with those of the working class, no matter whether this be done by putting up compromising demands or by using compromising tactics.

Comment:—Some people think that the change from private or corporate ownership of land to common ownership under the present capitalistic organization of society necessarily involves socialization of land.

In fact this demand aims only to do away with speculation in land rents and proposes to pass over the rent from private landowners and corporations to social institutions. This may be realized either through socialization of land or through municipal ownership of land. In the first case the whole nation takes over the land and manages it through its representatives; in the second case states, towns or municipalities become land owners. In any case this measure does away with the land owning class, under whose grip whole nations are suffering at the present moment.

At the S. P. Congress at Chicago, 1910, the farmers' committee and some speakers opposed the socialization of land, because they confused the issue. They stated that it was the duty of the Socialist party to support the farmers as a subjugated social group. The support of the farmers, however, means the defense of their private ownership and artificial maintenance of their small households which can not stand the competition of the large ones. The farmers' committee draws no line just here such support should cease.

In the first place, this is not the duty of the S. P. since it is the party of the working class and not a farmers' party. In the second place such aim is a utopia which can never be realized. The farmers' committee at the Chicago Congress formulated not the demands of farm laborers, but those of the farmers. The so-called problems of rural development, the irrigation of farms, insurances of live stock, improvements, etc., are entirely out of place in a Socialist congress. Farmers' societies or agricultural development companies have to deal with those problems. We have to be on the lookout that our party should not be tied up with the demands of an economically decaying class of small bourgeoisie.

### RESOLUTION ON OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CHURCH.

The conference finds:

1. That our members ought to be enlightened about the evolution of the universe, development of mankind, and other important matters of natural science in order that any kind of superstition may be eliminated from amidst our ranks.

2. That the church and its teachings should be directly opposed where it tries to take a hand in the class struggle with attempt to bridge over the class conflict, that is:

(a) We should oppose the teaching of religion in the schools in any masked or unmasked form, since it is calculated to cultivate the spirit of serfdom among the young generation.

(b) We should oppose the mixing of religious questions into the economic strife, in the strikes, in the trade unions, at their conventions, etc.

(c) We should denounce the reactionary conduct of the servants of the church, of the Catholic bishops, of the priests of the Civic Federation, and other Socialist eaters, who are opposed to the democratization of our political institutions, who are fighting against the initiative, referendum, recall, against women's suffrage and other urgent and timely reforms.

3. The conference advises the members of the party to abstain from any anti-religious agitation within the parishes or similar religious bodies.

Comment:—It is not our task to investigate the evolution of religious views. All we have got to state is how to carry out the plank of our party program, which requests that religion be private affair of the individual.

While large masses of the people are in complete ignorance about the most elementary parts of natural science, it is an easy task for the church to beguile the workers and to make them intellectual cripples. Once they have become such, they gladly accept the spiritual crutches extended to them by the servants of the church and thus religious beliefs gradually become a public concern, a social necessity.

In order to put a check upon the deadly influence of the teachings of the church upon men's minds, it is necessary to disseminate knowledge about nature—a task which has been entirely neglected in this country. In destroying man's superstition about nature we take away one of the foundations on which every religion rests.

The complexity and the uncertainty of our social life under capitalism breeds timidity of intellect, it furthers fatalism, which is another pillar of the church. Man has ceased to be the ruler of his destiny under capitalism. To be sure there are a few gods among men, whose purses control the destinies of millions of toilers.

Science is the best antidote against religion. Where science comes in, beliefs and creeds must give way. Instead of belief and faith we put conviction, based on freedom of conscience. Freedom of conscience is broader than freedom of belief. It includes both freedom of belief and freedom of non-belief. A man can believe what he will. He may not believe anything. Similarly, freedom of speech includes both the right to speak and the right to keep silent. Freedom of assemblage includes freedom to stay from meetings which you do not approve. Some members of the party (Comrade Shier in the S. P. Bulletin) seem to have confused notions about the task of the Social Democracy. They do not yet realize that Social Democracy has not

undertaken to defend any religion, not even the Christian faith. Scientific Socialism can not be Christian or pagan just as there is no Jewish arithmetic or Catholic astronomy.

The ethics of socialism and religion are directly opposed to each other. Christianity preaches brotherly love for all, Socialism discriminates among social classes. It preaches the class struggle among those whose interests are opposed. It does not create the class war, but it does explain it, while the church tries to conceal it. Socialism maintains that through class struggle the workers will eventually win and do away with class differences. Socialism bases all its ideals on this "sinful world;" the church can not help preaching about some other world. Socialism condemns what hurts the working class, it commends what helps to improve the conditions of the working class. The church puts its stamp of approval (good) or disapproval (bad) according to some superhuman ethics, dictated by being unknown to mankind.

The church tries to organize strikers according to their creeds, as was seen in the recent Illinois Central Railroad strike. Thus the class solidarity of the workers is impaired and their enemies triumph. The dragging in of the Carpenter of Nazareth into discussions at trade unions conventions is a silly attempt to distract the worker's attention from the main issues. The "Militia of Christ" has become an active enemy of the workers and is helping the state militia to crush the strikers. The role of the church as a strike-breaking agency should be made plain to the workers.

It is true, that the church is struggling hard to save its vanishing power. It promises the workers to help them. We should refuse such a help. In a land where the organization of political parties and the participation in political action is free to everybody, we can not recognize any intermediaries for the attainment of our political ends.

Party members should not tolerate any political censure of their churches over their political action, and they should withdraw from such religious bodies, who are opposing the decisions of our party.

Our party should not waste any time or money on anti-religious agitation within the church organizations. Where religion has really become a private affair, there is no need for our agitation. As long as the gods remain confined to their temples, they can cause no direct harm to the class struggle.

#### RESOLUTION ON THE S. P. TACTICS IN THE LEGISLATURES AND EXECUTIVE INSTITUTIONS.

##### I.

1. Whereas, The demands of the working class can best be realized and defended, when the possibly largest masses of the population are involved in the struggle for those demands.

2. Whereas, The employers in different states of the union are refusing to comply with the demands of the workers on the ground that progressive labor legislation,

restricting the exploitation of workers, make them unable to compete with employers in similar industries in the states; such motives are often endorsed by the people and are a stumbling block against necessary labor legislation.

3. Whereas, The centralized class struggle of the proletariat needs a broader basis in order to facilitate the conquest of central political powers in the U. S. for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

We declare:

1. That all legislation having any bearing upon the people of the United States as a whole, should be concentrated in Congress at Washington, while at the same time the state legislatures and other legislative bodies should be made use of.

2. That it is unbecoming to reserve the right to sign the petitions of the S. P. to the citizens of the United States, since a large portion of the workers of the United States are not yet citizens.

3. That such petitions in places where there are already representatives of the S. P. should be presented only through the representatives.

##### II.

Whereas, The experiences of the proletariat in the class struggle up to the present time have demonstrated:

1. That any success in the labor legislation is directly dependent upon the organized power of the masses.

2. That the elections, generally speaking, are helpful to the organization work of Social Democracy, but that the parliamentary struggle in a more restricted sense is chiefly a means of agitation.

3. That the activities of representatives of the S. P. in legislatures are only a part of our party action, and that only the respective central institutions of the S. P. can successfully co-ordinate and lead the action.

4. That in all cases the action of the S. P. representatives in those institutions fails, if it is not backed up by political action of the workers outside the legislatures.

We regard as indispensable:

1. That all steps of the representatives of our party in the said institutions, even in unforeseen cases, be taken in full accordance with the decisions of the party.

2. That the leading institutions of the S. P. have to use all means in order to back up each important measure of working class by mass action; by meetings, demonstrations, petitions and similar means.

3. That all S. P. factions in the legislatures have to use their positions in the interest of the revolutionary agitation of the S. P. in presenting its demands uncompromisingly and in criticizing unreservedly measures of the bourgeois parties and government.

4. That any attempt of the representatives of the bourgeois parties to promote their measures through compromising and through surrender of the workers' demands be condemned as being opportunist and harmful to the class struggle.

SECRETARY C. KARKI  
6 Chestnut Ter., Boston,

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